This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

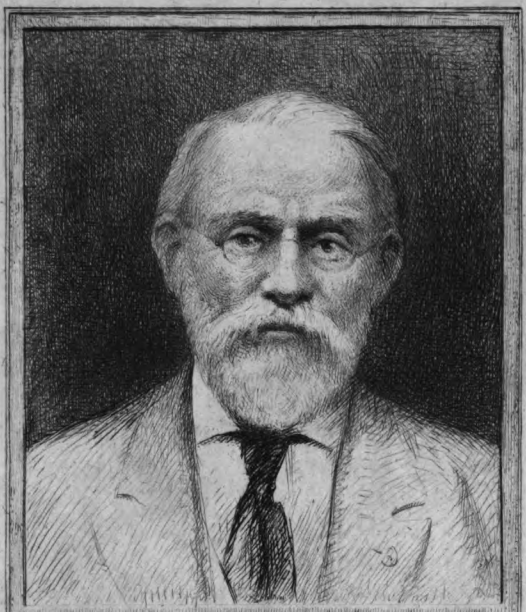
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



SILAS WRIGHT DUNNING
BEQUEST
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
GENERAL LIBRARY

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

891.606
G16

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.

VOLUME XXIV.

1899-1901

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

GAELIC SOCIETY

OF INVERNESS.

VOLUME XXIV.

1899-1901.

Clann nan Gaidheal an Guaillean a Cheile.

Inverness:
THE GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.

1904.

Digitized by Google

Inverness:

PRINTED BY THE NORTHERN COUNTIES NEWSPAPER AND PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED.

Digitized by Google

Dunning
Grant
12-20-39
39536

INTRODUCTION.

THE 24th volume of the Society's Transactions, now put in the hands of members, is the largest yet issued, and it covers over two years of the Society's work—from July, 1898, to the end of October, 1901. It will be remembered that the preceding two volumes covered only the period of one year each. The volume has also taken less than a year and a half to publish, and, considering the changes that have taken place in the working staff of the Society, this may be claimed as satisfactory progress in making up for arrears. The Society is still over two years behind its proper time; but the next volume is at once to be proceeded with, and may be in the members' hands by the time of the Annual Dinner.

It is with much regret that we have to record the death of Mr Duncan Mackintosh, Secretary to the Society since 1886. He died on 1st June, 1903, in the 56th year of his age, his death being due to pneumonia. Mr Mackintosh was a native of Glen-Urquhart, which he left in 1866 for a banking career in Inverness, and, with the exception of the first three years, he was employed in the Bank of Scotland, rising to the post of Accountant. His connection with the Gaelic Society dates from its first meeting, and for a long period he acted as Treasurer — finally, on the appointment of Mr William Mackenzie (the then Secretary) to the Crofter Commission, becoming in 1886 Secretary and Treasurer. His uniform courtesy, his Celtic enthusiasm, and his knowledge of men and manners in the North, made him exceedingly popular and successful in both capacities, and he certainly financed the Society, amidst considerable difficulties, into a state of sound solvency. *A chuid de Phàras da!*

The death of Mr Mackintosh, and the resignation of the Assistant Secretary, Mr Macdonald, caused the Council to con-

Digitized by Google

sider anxiously the financial future of the Society. The large donations given to the funds for many years could not be depended on for the future, and it was felt that the members generally should be appealed to, with a view to raising the annual subscription or otherwise lending financial help. In view of this, a circular, as the members are aware, was sent out proposing to double the honorary members' subscription, and to add half-a-crown to the ordinary membership. The response to this circular was highly gratifying, and, according to the Society's rules, the Council might have proceeded with raising the subscription, but, seeing that members were willing to bear the additional burden quite enthusiastically, the Council finally resolved to leave the subscription meanwhile as it stands, and trust to the generosity of the individual members. The volumes cost the Society annually from fifty to sixty pounds, and when working expenses are added the members can at once see that a five-shilling membership must make solvency and success a difficult business.

On our death-roll we have two further names of good friends and literary contributors to the Society—Mr John Murdoch, who died early in February of 1903, and Mr Charles Fergusson, who was accidentally drowned in February of this year at Nairn. Mr Murdoch had entered his 86th year at his demise (born Jan. 1828). He was born in Nairnshire, but brought up in Islay, of which island he counted himself a native. He passed his business life in the Inland Revenue service, his final station being Inverness. Here he started the famous *Highlander* newspaper in May, 1873, wherein he advocated with fiery enthusiasm the cause of the Highland crofter. He was one of the originators of the Gaelic Society, and did much to help it in its early days. On the demise of the *Highlander* in 1881, he retired to Glasgow, but his kilted figure could often be seen in after years, as he spoke and exhorted in various parts of the country. Mr Charles Fergusson was a gardener by profession, but an extremely able and well-informed man, especially in Highland lore. He has written much for our Transactions, and a paper of his has still to appear.

Digitized by Google

Since the Introduction of the last volume was penned, in July, 1902, considerable literary work has been done in and connected with the Highlands. The most important event was the appearance in February of last year of the Revised Edition of the Gaelic Bible. The revisers have done their work admirably; they have given us a standard of Gaelic literature in form and idiom. Mr Donald Mackechnie has published his poems under the title of "Am Fear-Ciùil," and the book also includes some clever prose sketches. Mr. T. D. Macdonald is the author of a series of translations from English into Gaelic, entitled "Dàin Eadar-Theangaichte" (Æneas Mackay, Stirling). Mr Malcolm Macfarlane has edited a little work for juniors in Gaelic, called "An Treòraiche," which should do for scholars from nine or ten years old. It is pleasing to note that both Dr Gillies and Mr Reid have new editions of their respective Gaelic Grammars issued from the press.

Professor Magnus Maclean has just issued his second volume on Celtic literature—this time "The Literature of the Highlands," which forms an excellent critical guide to the literature of the last one hundred and fifty years. Several historical works have appeared. Mr Drummond-Norie has given four sumptuous volumes on the history of Prince Charles, replete with excellent illustrations, with a good Jacobite narrative. Mr W. C. Mackenzie has published a bulky volume, entitled "The History of the Outer Hebrides," where he gives all that is known of Long Island history and archæology. We are glad to see that Miss Freer's "Outer Isles" has come to a second edition. Mr A. M. Mackintosh of Geddes has issued a second edition of his history of the "Mackintoshes." The work is largely re-written, and now forms one of the best Clan histories in the country. Nor should a rival work be left unmentioned. The Scottish History Society have published Sir Æneas Macpherson's MSS.: "The Loyal Dissuasive," &c., a work dealing with the history of the Macphersons and Clan Chattan, written about 1700. We miss the genealogical portion of Sir Æneas's MS. The late Mr Noble left some Inverness notes and a bibliography of Inverness newspapers. This has

Digitized by Google

been published (1902) under the title of "Miscellanea Invernessiana" (Æneas Mackay). Topography has been much in evidence lately. Mr Johnstone's "Place-Names of Scotland" has appeared in a second edition, with a few of the much-needed improvements on Gaelic names. Mr Mackinlay has published a work on the "Influence of the Pre-Reformation Church on Scottish Place-Names," a perfect mine of information, but marred by the usual want of knowledge of Gaelic. Concurrent with this volume of Transactions will appear Mr W. J. Watson's "Place-Names of Ross-shire," part of which, as will be seen in the present volume, was delivered in papers before the Gaelic Society. Mr Watson's book will really be the first work on topography to deal scientifically and intelligently with Gaelic names. None but a native can do it. This is abundantly and painfully evident from recent works on the subject, such as Messrs Johnstone's and Mackinlay's works above named, not to mention Sir Herbert Maxwell's labours in the same field some years ago. Mr Watson has prefixed his detailed work by an admirable introduction on general and particular principles in regard to Highland names. The whole work lays the basis for scientific inquiry into place-names throughout Scotland.

Much activity is being shown in Gaelic matters in Scotland just now. The "Mòd" of the Comunn Gaidhealach is a growing annual success, and just lately an Edinburgh "Mòd" of the local "Celtic Union" was held, at which a play in Gaelic was enacted. Principal Story of Glasgow has advocated the institution of a Celtic Lectureship in his University, and he has already close on £200 of annual income guaranteed for five years. A Gaelic-English quarterly, with the title of "Guth na Bliadhna," has appeared twice this year. We believe the editor is the same that edited the late "Bàrd," a monthly periodical. The contents of the quarterly are varied, but unfortunately it flies in the face of the Gaelic Highlander by an immoderate abuse of the prevailing religion. Another review—the "Celtic Review"—is announced from Edinburgh, edited by Miss Carmichael, with Professor Mackinnon as advisory editor, and it promises to be a successful venture.

Digitized by Google

The success of the Gaelic movement in Ireland has had a reflex action on this country, and this, together with the passing of the new Education Act, has roused Highlanders and Gaelic Societies all over Britain into enthusiastic activity. As these lines are penned, Rev. Mr Morrison is in London, representing our Society on a deputation to the Lord Advocate in favour of teaching Gaelic in schools. Mr Murray has received the representatives of the Societies with great favour, and has given them an encouraging answer. Of course, the Act itself cannot recognise Gaelic or any curriculum as a subject of legislation; the matter is purely administrative, and depends on the Department and the School Boards. Mr Watson of the Royal Academy, Inverness, one of our Honorary Chieftains, and already mentioned above, applied to the Department to get Gaelic acknowledged as one of the Leaving Certificate subjects. The Department answered that they would favourably consider a scheme, on the usual lines (a three years' preliminary course), for a Lower and Higher Certificate, if such were submitted to them. It is clear that on this point the Department will yield all that is in reason asked. As some doubt exists as to what extent the present Code recognises Gaelic, it may be as well to state it: (1) A pupil teacher, extra to all the other requirements of the school, may be employed to give bilingual instruction, the P.T. receiving the Government grant like any other P.T.; (2) such P.T., and in fact all Gaelic-speaking P.T.'s, may take a Gaelic paper at the examination for entry into training colleges, gaining thereby 80 marks (or less, according to the character of the answers to the questions) extra to any other P.T. examined. This, surely, is a great privilege, but it is not taken full advantage of by any means. The Societies must now see to it that the new County School Boards do their duty by Gaelic. They are easily got at, compared to the hundreds of School Boards in the past, each working its own petty, rate-saving way.

INVERNESS, *June, 1904.*

Digitized by Google

COMUNN GAILIG INBHIR-NIS.

CO-SHUIDHEACHADH.

1. 'S e ainm a' Chomuinn "COMUNN GAILIG INBHIR-NIS."

2. 'S e tha an rùn a' Chomuinn :—Na buill a dheanamh iomlan 's a' Ghailig; cinneas Canaine, Bardachd agus Ciuil na Gaidhealtachd; Bardachd, Seanachas, Sgeulachd, Leabhraichean agus Sgriobhanna 's a' chanain sin a thearnadh o dhearmad; Leabhar-lann a chur suas ann am baile Inbhir-Nis de leabhraichibh agus sgriobhannaibh—ann an canain sam bith—a bhuineas do Chaileachd, Ionnsachadh, Eachdraidheachd agus Sheanachasaibh nan Gaidheal, no do thairbhe na Gaidhealtachd; còir agus cliu nan Gaidheal a dhion; agus na Gaidheil a shoirbheachadh a ghna ge b'e ait' am bi iad.

3. 'S iad a bhitheas 'nam buill, cuideachd a tha gabhail suim do runtaibh a' Chomuinn; agus so mar gheibh iad a staigh:—Tairgidh aon bhall an t-iarradair, daingnichidh ball eile an tairgse, agus, aig an ath choinneamh, ma roghnaicheas a' mhor-chuid le crannchur, nithear ball dhith-se no dheth-san cho luath 's a phaidhear an comh-thoirt; cuirear crainn le ponair dhubh agus gheal, ach, gu so bhi dligheach, feumaidh tri buill dheug an crainn a chur. Feudaidh an Comunn Urram Cheannardan a thoirt do urrad 'us seachd daoine cliuiteach.

4. Paidhidh Ball Urramach, 's a' bhliadhna .	£0	10	6
Ball Cumanta	0	5	0
Foghlainte	0	1	0
Agus ni Ball-beatha aon chomh-thoirt de.	7	7	0

5. 'S a' cheud-mhios, gach bliadhna, roghnaichear, le crainn, Co-chomhairle a riaghlas gnothuichean a' Chomuinn, 's e sin—aon

Digitized by Google

GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.

CONSTITUTION.

1. The Society shall be called the "GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS."

2. The objects of the Society are the perfecting of the Members in the use of the Gaelic language; the cultivation of the language, poetry, and music of the Scottish Highlands; the rescuing from oblivion of Celtic Poetry, traditions, legends, books, and manuscripts; the establishing in Inverness of a library, to consist of books and manuscripts, in whatever language, bearing upon the genius, the literature, the history, the antiquities, and the material interests of the Highlands and Highland people; the vindication of the rights and character of the Gaelic people; and, generally, the furtherance of their interests whether at home or abroad.

3. The Society shall consist of persons who take a lively interest in its objects. Admission to be as follows:—The candidate shall be proposed by one member, seconded by another, balloted for at the next meeting, and, if he or she have a majority of votes and have paid the subscription, be declared a member. The ballot shall be taken with black beans and white; and no election shall be valid unless thirteen members vote. The Society has power to elect distinguished men as Honorary Chieftains to the number of seven.

4. The Annual Subscription shall be, for—

Honorary Members	£0	10	6
Ordinary Members	0	5	0
Apprentices	0	1	0
A Life Member shall make one payment of .	7	7	0

5. The management of the affairs of the Society shall be entrusted to a Council, chosen annually, by ballot, in the month of

Digitized by Google

Cheann, tri Iar-chinn, Cleireach Urramach, Rùnaire, Ionmhasair, agus coig buill eile—feumaidh iad uile Gailig a thuigsinn 's a bhruidhinn; agus ni coigear dhiubh coinneamh.

6. Cumar coinneamhan a' Chomuinn gach seachduin o thoiseach an Deicheamh mios gu deireadh Mhàirt, agus gach ceithir-la-deug o thoiseach Ghiblein gu deireadh an Naothamh-mios. 'S i a' Ghailig a labhrar gach oidhche mu'n seach aig a' chuid a's lugha.

7. Cuiridh a' Cho-chomhairle la air leth anns an t-Seachdamh-mios air-son Coinneamh Bhliadhnail aig an cumar Co-dheuchainn agus air an toirear duaisean air-son Piobaireachd 'us ciuil Ghaidhealach eile; anns an fheasgar bithidh co-dheuchainn air Leughadh agus aithris Bardachd agus Rosg nuadh agus taghta; an deigh sin cumar Cuirm chuideachdail aig am faigh nithe Gaidhealach roghainn 'san uirghioll, ach gun roinn a dhiultadh dhaibh-san nach tuig Gailig. Giulainear cosdas na co-dheuchainne le trusadh sonraichte a dheanamh agus cuideachadh iarraidh o 'n t-sluagh.

8. Cha deanar atharrachadh sam bith air coimh-dhealbhadh a' Chomuinn gun aontachadh dha thrian de na'm bheil de luchd-bruidhinn Gailig air a' chlar-ainm. Ma 's miann atharrachadh a dheanamh is eiginn sin a chur an ceill do gach ball, mios, aig a' chuid a's lugha, roimh'n choinneamh a dh'fheudas an t-atharrachadh a dheanamh Feudaidh ball nach bi a lathair roghnachadh le lamh-àithne.

9. Taghaidh an Comunn Bard, Piobaire, agus Fear-leabharlann.

Ullaichear gach Paipear agus Leughadh, agus giulainear gach Deasboireachd le run fosgailte, duineil, durachdach air-son na firinn, agus cuirear gach ni air aghaidh ann an spiorad caomh, glan, gus a reir riaghailtean dearbhta.

Digitized by Google

January, to consist of a Chief, three Chieftains, an Honorary Secretary, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and five other Members of the Society, all of whom shall understand and speak Gaelic; five to form a quorum.

6. The Society shall hold its meetings weekly from the beginning of October to the end of March, and fortnightly from the beginning of April to the end of September. The business shall be carried on in Gaelic on every alternate night at least.

7. There shall be an Annual Meeting in the month of July, the day to be named by the Committee for the time being, when Competitions for Prizes shall take place in Pipe and other Highland Music. In the evening there shall be Competitions in Reading and Reciting Gaelic Poetry and Prose, both original and select. After which there will be a Social Meeting, at which Gaelic subjects shall have the preference, but not to such an extent as entirely to preclude participation by persons who do not understand Gaelic. The expenses of the competitions shall be defrayed out of a special fund, to which the general public shall be invited to subscribe.

8. It is a fundamental rule of the Society that no part of the Constitution shall be altered without the assent of two-thirds of the Gaelic-speaking Members on the roll; but if any alterations be required, due notice of the same must be given to each member, at least one month before the meeting takes place at which the alteration is proposed to be made. Absent Members may vote by mandates.

9. The Society shall elect a Bard, a Piper, and a Librarian.

All Papers and Lectures shall be prepared, and all Discussions carried on, with an honest, earnest, and manful desire for truth; and all proceedings shall be conducted in a pure and gentle spirit, and according to the usually recognised rules.

Digitized by Google

GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.

OFFICE-BEARERS FOR 1900

CHIEF.

Sir Hector Munro of Fowlis, Bart.

CHIEFTAINS.

Rev. J. MacRury, Skye.
W. J. Watson, Esq., B.A. (Oxon.)
Thos. A. Mackay, Esq.

HON. SECRETARY.

William Mackay, Esq., Solicitor.

SECRETARY AND TREASURER.

Mr D. Mackintosh, Bank of Scotland.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY.

Mr Alex. Macdonald.

COUNCIL.

Dr Alex. Macbain.
Mr And. Mackintosh.
Mr Wm. Macdonald.
Mr Wm. Fraser.
Mr Alex. Mitchell.

LIBRARIAN.

Mr William Fraser.

PIPER.

Pipe-Major Ronald Mackenzie

BARD.

Mr Neil Macleod, Edinburgh

OFFICE-BEARERS FOR 1901

CHIEF.

A. Bignold, Esq., of Lochrosque, M.P.

CHIEFTAINS.

W. J. Watson, Esq, B.A. (Oxon.)
A. Mackintosh, Esq.
Rev. A. J. Macdonald, M A., Killearnan.

HON. SECRETARY.

William Mackay, Esq., Solicitor.

SECRETARY AND TREASURER.

Mr Dun. Mackintosh, Bank of Scotland.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY.

Mr Alex. Macdonald

COUNCIL.

Dr Alex. Macbain.
Mr Wm. Macdonald.
Mr Wm. Fraser.
Mr Alex. Mitchell.
Mr D. F. Mackenzie.

LIBRARIAN.

Mr A. Macdonald.

PIPER.

Pipe-Major Ronald Mackenzie.

BARD.

Mr Neil Macleod, Edinburgh.

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Introduction	v.
Constitution	x.
Office-Bearers	xiv.
Annual Assembly	1
Unpublished Literary Remains of the Reay Country—Rev. Adam Gunn, Durness	5
The Bighouse Papers (No. IV.)—Captain Wimberley, Inverness	29
Some Unpublished Gaelic Songs—Rev. R. L. Ritchie .	66
Twenty-eighth Annual Dinner	84
The Boycotting of Killihuntly—C. Fraser-Mackintosh, Esq. of Drummond, LL.D.	100
An Œconomical History of the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scotland—Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie, Bart. of Gairloch	120
Further Notes on the Trial of James of the Glens—J. R. N. Macphail, Esq., Advocate, Edinburgh .	140
Unpublished Gaelic Ballads from the MacLagan MSS.—Rev. John Kennedy, Arran	156
O Chionn Leth Cheud Bliadhna (No. 1)—Rev. John MacRury, Skye	184
Sketches of the Early History, Legends, and Traditions of Strathardle (No. VIII.)—Mr Charles Fergusson, Nairn	195
The Early History of the Parish of Kiltarlity—Rev. Alex. Macdonald, Kiltarlity	231
Annual Assembly	250

Digitized by Google

PAGE.

The Gaelic Bards and the Collectors of their Works—Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair, Nova Scotia . . . 259
Incidents in the '45, and Wanderings of Prince Charlie in Badenoch after Culloden—Mr Alex. Macpherson, Kingussie 277
The Gaelic of the West of Ross-shire—Rev. Chas. M. Robertson, Badcall, Lochbroom 321
Annual Dinner 369
Neil Macleod, Last of Assynt—Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, Esq. of Drummond, LL.D. 370
O Chionn Leth Cheud Bliadhna—(No. II.)—Rev. John MacRury, Snizort, Skye 383
Gaelic Poetry from the MSS. of the late Mr James Macpherson, Edinburgh—Rev. Thomas Sinton, Dores . 394
The Macgregors of Roro—Mr Charles Fergusson, Nairn . 413
Shelta: The Cairds' Language—David MacRitchie, Esq., C.A., Edinburgh 429
Members of the Society—
Honorary Chieftains 469
Life Members 469
Honorary Members 470
Ordinary Members 471
Deceased Members 480
Society's Library—List of Books 481

Digitized by Google

TRANSACTIONS.

ANNUAL ASSEMBLY—JULY 13TH, 1899.

Owing to the Music Hall being in course of reconstruction, the Assembly was held in the Rifle Drill Hall on this occasion. The hall is a capacious building, and it proved an excellent substitute in many respects. Ample sitting room was afforded for the large audience, and the platform, smartly decorated with stags' heads and draped with tartans, had a warm and attractive appearance. Sir Hector Munro, Bart. of Foulis, occupied the chair, and he was supported by Sheriff Scott-Moncrieff, Provost Macbean, Mr T. A. Wilson, manager of the Highland Railway; Rev. Mr Sinton, Dores; Rev. Angus Cameron, Arpafeelie; Dr F. M. Mackenzie; Mr Steele, banker; Mr Duncan Campbell; Mr A. C. Mackenzie, Maryburgh; Mr Fraser, Mauld; Mr Scott, Rhifail; Mr D. Mackintosh, secretary, and others.

Sir Hector Munro, who was received with applause, said it gave him great pleasure to be able to take the chair that evening at one of the most interesting Highland Assemblies in the North of Scotland, and he was glad to see by their attendance that anything connected with their old Celtic language, customs, and traditions was of interest to Highlanders even in those latter days. As they knew, the object of the Gaelic Society of Inverness was to foster interest in the literature and music of the Highlands, and to encourage the use of the Gaelic language in their midst. With the view of encouraging those objects, they had an excellent library bearing on all those subjects, and, on looking through some of the volumes of their "Transactions," he found that the papers were of the most interesting and exhaustive description, and showed that the members of the Society were enthusiastic and diligent Celtic scholars, who were handing down in their "Transactions" most valuable historical matter for those who were to come after them. For one who had the leisure and inclination, he could imagine no

Digitized by Google

more delighful pastime than to take up the study of Gaelic, and, though to one who did not know the language, a page of Gaelic was sufficient to frighten him, yet he believed it was possible, after a few months' study of the language, to acquire such a knowledge of it as would enable one to read easy Gaelic. To his own knowledge, a friend of his own who did not previously know a word of Gaelic took it up last winter without the aid of any teacher, except a grammar and a dictionary, and he (Sir Hector) might now tell them that his friend was able to read the Gaelic columns of the local press with very little assistance. He could relate instances of the revival of Gaelic in our midst, one or two of which he might be pardoned mentioning. It was well known that the son and heir of their former Chairman, The Mackintosh of Mackintosh, was a fluent Gaelic speaker, and was able to converse with ease with the Gaelic-speaking people on his estates. He might also relate the case of a Ross-shire laird, at present stationed with his regiment in India, who wrote a friend of his the other day to send him any books he could lay his hands on bearing on the teaching of Gaelic; they hoped, of course, with the view of perfecting himself in the Gaelic language. He (Sir Hector) fancied some of them were saying they hoped the Chairman was following his friend's good example. Well, he might say that his son—a boy of some four years—had made a beginning, and they hoped he might continue. But he was sorry to tell them that personally he had not the leisure to carry through such a delightful programme; but, all the same, living as he did among Highlanders who made daily use of Gaelic in their houses, he was in full sympathy with the aspirations of the Highlanders, their language, and traditions. He was told by those who knew Gaelic that nothing connected with the language had impressed them more than its antiquity and purity; it was far more so than their English, which was a hash of Saxon, Latin, Greek, Norse, and he knew not how many others. He understood, too, as a proof of its age, that there was scarcely an article made or invented within historical times for which there was not a Gaelic term—nothing connected with trade or commerce that was not represented in pure Gaelic. In the light of present-day research he would be a bold man who would say that Gaelic was not an ancient language, and its literature not worth studying, for there was not a human emotion or phase of human life and character that could not be expressed in pure Gaelic, showing that, whatever else they might have been, it was the language of a highly intellectual people. Even in the present day, more especially where Celtic blood is purest, they would find the spirit of poetry existing among even illiterate men who could not write their

Digitized by Google

own names, and they would hear proverbs full of wit and wisdom, and meet men who could use and apply them most aptly. Where, too, could they find music like their own Gaelic songs, full of sweet melody, that stay with the Highlander in whatever part of God's earth he made his home? The labours of the Society for the past twenty-five years had done much to save and develop all this Celtic sentiment, and the record of its work, as contained in the volumes of its "Transactions," was one of which the Society had good reason to be proud. Their Society, along with the many other agencies now operating to preserve Gaelic, would, he hoped, enable this generation to hand it down to the next in all its native purity. In these days it was not expected that Gaelic could be the language of commerce, but he did think that in many paths of life in the Highlands the knowledge of Gaelic was most useful, and increased the speaker's value tenfold. For instance, to whom could Gaelic be more useful than to the medical man, or, in many cases, to the country legal practitioner? Every day the want of it was felt by those men, and if more encouragement were given in schools to keep up Gaelic to a certain extent, those who took advantage of it would, he was sure, reap their reward. Unfortunately, under the new Education Code, Gaelic teaching did not get much encouragement, and its position as a specific subject had disappeared. He was glad to observe the other day that, under the presidency of Sheriff Mackay, a meeting of the subscribers to the Blackie Highland Memorial was held in Edinburgh. It was reported that they had a capital of £650, and the feeling of the meeting was that it could best be applied by providing a triennial prize of £60 to enable some promising Gaelic student to spend a time abroad at some centre away from Scotland where he could supplement his knowledge of Gaelic; but only those students who passed the test examination in Gaelic were to be eligible for the bursary. Now, if some such encouragement as this were oftener given to Gaelic students, they should soon see a noticeable increase in the interest taken in Gaelic teaching, and it was for societies like theirs to encourage those schemes by constant representation to the proper authorities. He could not close without referring to the great loss the Society had sustained in the death lately of some of its oldest friends. He referred, among others, to the late Sir Henry Macandrew, Mr Charles Innes, that fine old soldier and Highlander, Captain Chisholm of Glassburn, and Mr Alexander Mackenzie, better known as "the Clach." Sir Henry Macandrew was ever ready to give the Society a helping hand, and to preside, with ability, at their meetings when others failed them. He was certain that the efficient manner in which Sir Henry always pre-

Digitized by Google

sided at their winter meetings would never be forgotten, and that his memory would be ever held in affectionate remembrance by all members of the Gaelic Society. He was glad to still see in their midst one whom he might perhaps call the founder of the Society —he referred to Mr William Mackay, one of their oldest and ablest friends, and he was sure that he was echoing the wish of everyone in the hall that Mr Mackay might be long spared to give his valuable assistance to the Society. He (Sir Hector) was afraid that he had taken up too much of their time, and encroached, perhaps, upon the more legitimate part of the programme, which he saw included, as it ought to, some of their finest Gaelic songs. He thanked them for the patient hearing they had given to his remarks. He asked the managers of the Assembly to allow the concert to begin.

Rev. Angus Cameron, Episcopal Church, Arpafeelie, delivered the Gaelic address, which was attentively listened to, and much appreciated by the audience. Mr Cameron advocated the improvement of Gaelic singing in the churches, with a greater variety of tunes. He held that the fact that the theme of the song and poetry of the Highlands was founded on nature and the sentiment of love was proof that the Highlander was a musical being.

The musical part of the entertainment was well sustained, and received with enthusiasm. Several of the singers had to respond to demands for encores.

At the close of the concert, a hearty vote of thanks, proposed by Provost Macbean, was awarded to the Chairman. Sir Hector acknowledged the compliment, and, at his request, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the ladies and gentlemen who had sustained the excellent programme. Subjoined is a copy of the programme for the evening:—

PART I.

Address.....CHAIRMAN.
Part Song (Gaelic)—"Mo Mhali bheag Og"...INVERNESS SELECT CHOIR.
Song—"Cam' ye by Athole" ..... Mrs MUNRO.
Song (Gaelic)—"Chi mi na mòr bheanna'".....Mr R. MACLEOD.

HIGHLAND STRATHSPEY AND REEL SOCIETY.

1. "Clachnacuddin."
2. "Jessie Smith."
3. "The Smith's a gallant Fireman."
4. "Cameron's got his Wife again."
5. "Fairy Dance."

Song—"O! why left I my Hame".....Miss KATE FRASER.
Dance—Sword Dance.....Mr D. G. BROWN, Pipe-Major SUTHERLAND.
Song—"Tam Glen".....Miss WATT.
Part Song—"The Coronach".....INVERNESS SELECT CHOIR.
Dance—Scotch Reel.....

Interval of Five Minutes.

Digitized by Google

Bagpipe Music by Pipe-Major RONALD MACKENZIE, Gordon Castle, Piper to the Society, accompanied by Pipe-Major A. MACKENZIE, Seaforth Highlanders.

March—"The Battle of Harlaw."
Strathspey—"The Duchess of Roxburgh."
Reel—"Christmas Carousing."

PART II.

Address (Gaelic).....Rev. ANGUS CAMERON.
Song—"Doon the Burn, Davie"...Mrs MUNRO.
Part Song (Gaelic)—"Iseabail Nic-Aoidh"...INVERNESS SELECT CHOIR.
Song (Gaelic)—"An gille dubh Ciar-dubh".....Miss KATE FRASER.
Song—"Bonnie Wee Thing".....Miss WATT.

HIGHLAND STRATHSPEY AND REEL SOCIETY.

1. "Braes o' Mar."
2. "Lady Madelina Sinclair."
3. "Stumpie."
4. "Reel of Tulloch."
5. "Deil among the Tailors."

Song (Gaelic)—"An Cluinn thu 'Leannain"....Mr R. MACLEOD.
Part Song—"Scotland Yet"....INVERNESS SELECT CHOIR.
Song—"The Brier Bush".....Mrs MUNRO.
Dance—"Reel of Tulloch".....

AULD LANG SYNE.

7th NOVEMBER, 1899.

The first meeting of Session 1899-1900 was held on this date, in the Society's Room, Queen's Gate. The paper for the evening was by the Rev. Adam Gunn, Durness, and entitled "Unpublished Literary Remains of the Reay Country." The paper is as follows:—

UNPUBLISHED LITERARY REMAINS OF THE REAY COUNTRY.

The district known as the Reay Country occupies the north-western part of Sutherland, and comprises the parishes of Farr, Tongue, Durness, and Eddrachilles. Its Gaelic name is Duthaich Mhic-Aoidh (Mackay's Country). About the beginning of the seventeenth century this tract of country was included for the first time in the Sheriffdom of Sutherland, and it now forms a part of the county of Sutherland. But when the name of Sutherland (N. 'Sudr-land'—Southern Land) was first applied it in-

Digitized by Google

cluded only the present south-eastern part of the county, that part lying south of Caithness, and still distinguished in the vernacular from the rest of the county by the Gaelic name of 'Cataobh.' It would appear that during the Norse occupation the Reay Country was looked upon rather as a continuation of Caithness along the North Coast as far as Cape Wrath. In the "Orkneyinga Saga" reference is often made to 'Katanes,' 'Sudrland,' and the Dales; and it is probable that 'the Dales' refer to the principal straths of the Reay Country—Halladale, Strathy, Armadale, and Strathnaver. The Norse never applied the name of Sutherland to the region of Cape Wrath.

This country produced two bards of considerable repute, Rob Donn, and John Mackay, of Mudale, the hymn-writer. The works of the former have acquired a world-wide reputation, and have already run through four editions. Specimens of the labours of the latter have also been published from time to time. But it must not be inferred that these were the only bards the district produced. The Reay Country was always rich in song, for which its people had most retentive memories. In this connection it may be interesting to mention that the most perfect and complete copy of the tale of "The Muileartach" we possess was taken down from the recitation of two Reay countrymen, and will be found in the late Dr Cameron's "Celtic Review." But far the greater portion is now irretrievably lost. In the introduction to the first edition of Rob Donn's poems, reference is made to two contemporary bards of the period, and the elegies they composed on Rob's death are incorporated in that work. These are John Mackay, Strathan, Melness, and George Morrison, Ard-beg. It is well known that Rob Donn himself was quite willing to give the precedence to the former, whom he addressed as 'father.' Alexander Cormack was another poetic contemporary of Rob Donn, and a foeman worthy of his steel. After his death, too, there were many imitators in his native parish, and I was fortunate enough some years ago to secure from Miss Helen Findlater, a daughter of the Rev. William Findlater, who came to this country in 1808, thirty years after the bard's death, quite a number of songs by various authors, which have never been printed. Some of these are worthy of preservation, and it occurred to me to make a selection from them for your Society, together with such notes on the song-writers as I have been able to gather from the old people of the parish of Rob Donn.

Before coming to these, however, it may be well to refer to some songs of the great bard himself which have never been

Digitized by Google

published. Mr Hew Morrison, in his recent edition, has enlarged the old collection by a few; still there are some songs and many snatches which have hitherto escaped publication. One of the most important of these is "Oran nam beanntaichean," containing some sixty lines. It is well known in the bard's parish as the composition of Rob Donn, and is still a favourite with the older people, who cannot understand why it has been omitted in all editions of the bard's works. The reason, however, is not far to seek. There is very little poetry in it—only a string of names, of interest only to natives of the district, or to the topographist. Among the many evils consequent upon the removal of the people from the interior to the sea coast may be included the loss of a large number of place-names. In this song the bard makes honourable mention of every hill and glen and knoll and corrie where he was wont in early days to follow the deer, and one can easily understand how the old people should preserve intact this rather lengthy composition, not because of any merit in the song, but by reason of the many happy associations which were recalled to their minds by the mere mention of these places.

ORAN NAM BEANNTAICHEAN.

Chi mi 'n Dìthreabh gorm mar b' àbhaist,
Torr-mhic-Bhàtair, is a' Chraig ann;
Chi mi Malmaisgeag 's a' Chùil ann,
'S chi mi Druim-na-cùb fo raid ann.

Chi mi Beinn-Shitheil gu h-iosal
'S air 'n taobh shìos di tha 'Chlais-tharsuinn;
Chi mi Bheinnabhreac mar b' àbhaist
Ged sud frìth is tàire th' againn.

Chi mi Beinn Laghailone gu h-àrd ann,
Is Ceann-t-sàile aig a bun ann;
Chi mi Circeabol is Tunga ann,
'S deth 'n rudha 'n iar dhinn, chi mi Muir ann.

Chi mi Pùitig gorm an fheòir ann,
'S a Mhòine tha air 'n taobh shuas di;
Chi mi na h-Ursannan àlainn,
Craig-na-garbhad, stan is shuas ann.

Chi mi Faoghlaichean Beinn Hòp ann,
An gorm choir' mòr' is an t-Sàil ann;
Chi mi sud, is a' Chraig-riabhach,
'S chi mi sliabh air feadh nam blàr ann;

Digitized by Google

Chi mi Chlais-mhòr 's an Leitir,
'S am Bard-rabhan* air 'n taobh shuas da;
Chi mi sud is Cnoc-an-t-sobhail,
'S na Sgrithichean odhar mu 'n cuairt da.

Chi mi mullach Cnoc-a'-chrìch ann,
Far an robh seann laghard† an t-sluaigh ann;
Chi mi sud is Beinn Dìridh,
'S Coire-a'-chruitear, sinnte is fuaighte rith'.

Chi mi mullach na Beinn-Dìridh,
Sàil nan ios agus nan aighean;
Càrn ga 'thional gu h-airde,
'S mi 'g amharc mhàn air na strathaibh.

Chi mi tri Choireach' an Easaibh,
Agus Glaiseadh mhòr nam mang ann;
Chi mi Cnoc-cragach Mac-Bhatair,
Ulmhach coire,‡ Sàil nam beann ann.

Chi mi mullach Meall-Shòrn || ann,
Is coire bòidheach an Dùghaill;
Chi mi Foinne-bheinn 's am Bà-theach,
'S chi mi Sàbhal is Coire Dùbh-loch.

Chi mi Airceall nam fear cràiceach,
Craig nam Blàr-loch, Sàil nan aighean;
Chi mi sud 's an Coire-grannda,
Stac is àirde tha mo radharc.

Chi mi Strath-Chaireacha-dubh ann,
Far 'minig 'n robh subhaich a' sealg ann;
Chi mi Far-mheall, is an Leacach,
Chi mi Glais-bheinn 's a' Bheinn-dearg ann.

Aig àm dhuinn siubhail nam frìth
Chunntainn tri mìle de dh' fhear dearg ann;
Gun àireamh air procaich is aighean,
Bliadhnaich mu Shamhuinn ri 'n earbuill.

* Rabhan (rafan), remains of a *spate* or tide on the shore.
† Laghard, law-giving, moot-hill?
‡ Ulmhachcoire, N. ulf-r, wolf.
|| N. orn-r, eagle.

Digitized by Google

Bho chaidh Seòras ¶ uainn as an Dùthaich,
Gur ciùrrtach mo chridhe 's cha n-ioghnadh,
Ach taing do 'n Ti mhòr mar thachair
Gu 'n triall thu thighinn dhachaigh 'Feill-Màrtuinn.

Agus ma thig thu sin dhachaidh
Seall gu taitneach air na dh'fhàg thu;
Thabhair dhomhsa 'Commission' seachduin
Gu dìoladh mo thalcuis air Sàbhal.

Another song, not hitherto published, is one to a Bighouse dairy-maid, and moral considerations probably account for its omission in the first edition. The bard, it seems, carried on a mild flirtation with this damsel, although he ought not, for he was engaged to another. He was at the time visiting Major Mackay of Bighouse, and some informer came the way who declared the real state of matters to the fair one before it was too late. The bard thereupon sings her praises in verse, and does not try to minimise his own deceit in the matter:—

Do Bhanaraich Tigh-Bhiogais.

Eadar stàiridheachd is bréugan
Bha mi fhein an dùil bhi réidh 's tu,
Ach thainig fear eile anns an èisdeachd
Dh' inns a' sgeul, 's gu 'n mhill e 'n ròsd.
Gur tu nighean donn mo chridhe,
Gur tu nighean chridheil chòir.
Gur tu nighean, etc.

Ach tha mi 'n dùil dar thig am Màidsear
Nach bi tuilleadh dàil air Màiri;
Ged a ghealltadh dhi Port-na-h-Aithne,
'Dearbh cha tàmh i anns an Tòrr.
Gur tu nighean, etc.

Cha 'n 'eil uair ni mi ùrnuigh dhiomhair
Ni mi athchuinge, 's cha 'n ann gu diomhain;
Ma tha neach ann a bheir dhiot mi
Ni mi 'chrionadh mar an fheòir.
Gur tu nighean, etc.

¶ George V., Lord Reay, 1761, died 1768.

Digitized by Google

Cha 'n 'eil agamsa de bheartas
Ach mo làmhan is mo chasan;
B' fheàrr leam Màiri, as an t-seasamh,
No te phrosbeic a' pheic òir.
Gur tu nighean, etc.

Innumerable snatches of song are still floating in the Reay Country which are fathered upon Rob Donn; but it is questionable how many of these are genuine. There is good reason, however, to believe that he was in the habit of making impromptu verses on almost all occasions, when meeting old friends, or joining convivial parties. It cost him little trouble, and it gave them much amusement. Some specimens of this sort have been supplied to me by Widow Ann Murray, the bard's great-grand-daughter, who is now in her 94th year. She well remembers Christina Donn, her grandmother, for Ann Murray was grown up before the last of the bard's daughters died. On one occasion the bard went to a funeral in the heights of the parish, when a terrific storm came on, drenching them to the skin. Thereupon he remarked to his equally unfortunate neighbours:—

"'S iomadh latha grianach
Dh' fhaodadh sinn bhi lomnochd;
Theid an diugh a dhioladh oirnn
Aig tiodhlacadh Ni'n-Donnachaidh."

Of this class is the following, to one who laid claim to the limpets on the rocks adjoining his croft:—

"Mac-Allais-'Ic-Naoise gràdhach
'Buain nam beàrnach air Leac-fhlìrim;
'S maith a shloinneadh és a chairdeas
Ris gach càrn air 'fasadh maorach.

Shaoilinn gum bu chàra dhuit
Bhi 'g àiteach 'nuair bhiodh tìm ann;
Na bhi 'sireadh tràghad
Anns gach àit 's am fàsadh maorach."

"Oran a' Bhotuill" was composed to one who went a long distance in quest of a wife, armed with a bottle of liquor, but who, on being refused by the fair one, carried the bottle back untouched:—

Digitized by Google

" Fàilte air suiridheach a' bhotuill,
Fhuair e 'n tiotal ud gu saor,
'Bheil sibh 'n dùil gu 'm pòs i 'feasd e
Is sgéul a' bhotuill air dol sgaoilte;
Saoil sibh fhein nach b' e an t-amhlair
Thigeadh o 'n Ghleann-dubh do Mhaldi,
Le botul sìn-eibhir aig no Branndaidh
Is na bh' ann thoirt dachaidh rìs;
Saoil sibh fein nach e bha gòrach
'Dhol an cleamhnas dhaoine còir,
Am fear crìon, nach briseadh sgòrnan
'Bhotuill ghòinich, 's beag a phrìs."

On another occasion, a certain individual of the name of Murdoch dogmatically predicted rain, as the wind had veered to the west. The bard disliked the too confident assurance of his friend, and replied—

" Air son creidimh Mhorachaidh liath
Air mo bhriathar cha dean e tùrn;
'Smuaineachadh nach b' urrainn Dia
Gaoth an iar 'chur dh' easbhuidh bùrn."

It is stated in the first edition that some of his daughters possessed more or less of the 'airy gift.' That was so, and one of his sons also, namely, John, the soldier son of the bard, who is thus referred to in a note which Colonel Stewart of Garth quotes from Munro's narrative of the casualties at the battle of Arnee, 2nd June, 1782:—"I take this opportunity of communicating the fall of John Donne Mackay, a corporal in Macleod's Highlanders, son to Robert Donn, the bard, whose singular talent for the beautiful and extemporaneous composition of Gaelic poetry was held in such esteem. This son of the bard has frequently revived the spirits of his countrymen, when drooping in a long march, by singing the humorous and lively productions of his father. He was killed by a cannon shot, and buried with military honours by his comrades the same evening." Not only could he sing his father's songs, but he also possessed to a certain extent the gift of versification characteristic of the family. It is recorded that when he was about to take part in the last action, he cheered on his company against shot and bullet with an impromptu verse, reminding his comrades of the game of shinty on Balnakiel sands:—

" Nach e so na 'cailleagan'
'S cha 'n e 'cailleagan' Tràigh-na-Cille."

Digitized by Google

This power of versification also characterised the children of the bard's brothers. Barbara, the daughter of Gilbert Donn, known as Barbara-Ni'n-Ghilbeart, composed freely. One of her songs to Murdoch Low is well known. It was on the death of her favourite lap-dog: —

"Mharbh iad mo chù bòn,
B' fhearr leam e 'bhi beò;
Fhir a rinn a' cheard
Na dean thus' an còrr.
Mharbh iad, etc.

Fhir a mharbh mo mheasan
'S thug air falbh gun fhios e;
Na dean thusa do shuipeir
Gus an ith thu 'fheòil.
Mharbh iad, etc.

Morachadh beag na straighlich
Leis a' smigead gaibhre
'Dearbh cha dean mi t' fhaighneachd
Oir cha do thoill thu 'chòir.
Mharbh iad, etc.

Morachadh biogach 'crotach
Aig bheil airgiod focair;
'S mor tha neul na goirt
'S tan air port do bheòil.
Mharbh iad, etc.

Outside the bard's family, Durness can boast of a considerable number—both male and female—who with more or less success were wont in their day to cultivate the muses. Had it not been for the Rev. William Findlater, however, who carefully preserved the following pieces, not a scrap would have remained to the present day. He was himself a man of strong literary tastes, a feature which has been so happily reproduced in his granddaughters, Misses Mary and J. Helen Findlater. I have before me some specimens of his composition in Gaelic poetry, and considering the subjects on which he worked—versifying the Shorter Catechism—they are most creditable. It is also apparent that he encouraged such of the parishioners as possessed the gift, for among the papers which have been handed to me there is a little missive bearing marks of the old-fashioned wafers, written in verse, and inviting one of the most prolific of the Durness bardesses to the manse to supply an air to one of his latest productions.

Digitized by Google

It was in 1808 he came to the parish of Durness, and the event is worthily commemorated in a song by Janet Mackay, wife to Donald Mackay, alias Abrach, in Eriboll. His predecessor, Rev. John Thomson, was now aged, and Rev. John Kennedy, latterly of Redcastle, his predecessor in the mission of Eriboll, had some time before this gone to Assynt. She sings:—

"Tha ministear na Sgìre so, a' fàs gu h-aosmhor liath,
Tha e mar na craobhan pailm, tha bho 'n talamh 'g éiridh suas;
Do mhéud 's a theid do chudthrom oirr', is ann is mò am brìogh,
Mar sin tha maise na naomhachd 'na aodainnsa le fiamh.

Nach iongantach do riannan ris an fhearann fhiadhaich bhorbs'?
Thug t' fhacal ann do liùbhraigeadh an guthan mìn is garbh;
Thug clathrar do luchd-riarach' ann 's bu mhiann a bhi 'n am pàirt,
Chunnaic mi m' as fhior dhomh 's a' bheatha shiorruidh 'fàs.

Am fear mu dheireadh dhealaich ruinn bu shoilleir air a ghràs,
Fhuair e gibht gu liùbhraigeadh o 'n Trianaid Naomh is Aird';
'S Maighstir Ian Ceannadaidh, a dh' imirich as an aite-sa,
Fhuair comunn-làithreachd t-inntinn, cho cinnteach ris a' bhàs.

Thugadh leat do dh' Assint e gu t' fhacal 'chur an céill
Do mhuinntir gharbh is aineolach, mar dh' fhàg e as a dhéidh;
Chaidh gach seòrsa a ghlacadh leis 's gach àit 's'n do thachair e
A fhuair an t-eàrlas firinneach fo neart a shaothair féin."

The following verse refers to the Rev. Mr Findlater, who had just come to the Mission of Eriboll, and in the course of a few years (1812) was inducted to the parish of Durness:—

"Thug thu fathast òganach do sheòladh t' obair fein;
Thoir tuigse is gràsan mòra dha gu t' fhacal chur an céill;
Dean aois is òige a ghlacadh leis, gu neartaich thu a cheum,
Gu tréudan ùr a bheathachadh gu rioghachd t-athair fein.

Thoir dhuinn bhi tric a' meadhrachadh an caoimhneas pailt nach tràigh,
A rinn gach beàrn a lionadh dhuinn, a' meudachadh do ghràidh
A dh' fheuch do rùintean diomhair dhuinn, an lionmhoireachd do ghràis
An dorchadas a shoillseachadh do bhraighdeanaibh tha 'n sàs."

Another bardess of the period immediately succeeding Rob Donn, was Barbara-Ni'n-Rob, already referred to. Her son is still living—an old man who supplied valuable information in the

Digitized by Google

recent controversy about the bard's surname. Barbara's father was Robert Mackay, a contemporary elder of Rob Donn, when the latter was an assessor of the Kirk-Session. He was known as Robert Mac-Ian, or more fully, as in Baptismal Register, Rob-Mac-Ian-mhic-Uilleam-mhic-Neill. Barbara's father was on very intimate terms with the bard, whose daughter Isobel was married to John Mac-Ian, Robert's brother. This habit of designating parties by means of genealogical trees going back to three, four, and sometimes five generations—Uilleam Mac Dhòn'll 'ic Huistean, mac Dhòn'l 'ic Gilbeart—makes the loss of surnames in the Reay Country much more difficult than some folk imagine.

If Rob Donn's mantle fell upon any one in his native parish, it was upon Barbara-nighean-Roib. In the collection handed to me by Miss Findlater, there are more of her compositions than of any other song-maker of the period. She tackled all manner of subjects, grave and gay; elegies on worthy men and women removed by death; and satires upon passing events of public interest. I shall here give a few specimens of each class:—

1. Marbhrann le Barbara-Ni'n-Roib air cluinntinn bàs Pheigidh Nic-Dhiarmaid, bean uasal, dhiadhaidh an Dùthaich 'Ic-Aoidh, agus Mhr. Ceannadaidh a' Chaisteil Ruaidh.

"Bu chomaradan firinneach
A' mhuinntir chaidh thoirt uainn,
Bha air an gairm gu cabhaigeach
Gu cairtealan tha buan—
Maighstear Iain Ceannadaidh
Chaidh chruinneachadh gu 'shluagh,
Is Peigidh Mhòr nic-Dhiarmaid
'N tir na dì-chuimhne anns an uaigh.

Nach mòr an dithis fhianuisean
Chaidh spionadh uainn anns ràidh?
Bu mhòr an call do dh' Alba
Gu 'n d' fhalbh iad as cho tràth;
'S iomadh neach a dh' iarradh dhoibh
Bliadhnaichean de dhàil
Ach thug mionad iad gu siorruidheachd
Gu 'bhi na 'n gniomhra pàidhte.

Cha b' aithne dhomsa air thalamh
Gin a dh' aithriseadh am bèus;
No dithis bha cho caithriseach
Mas fhaigheadh 'n Deamhain tèum;

Digitized by Google

Bha 'n comhairlean cho brioghail
A' struthadh sios mar chèir;
'N an cantanas, 's na 'n gniomhra
'N am fianuisean an Dè.

Nach soilleir tha e fèuchainn dhuinn
Cianalas 'bhi dlùth,
'N trath chaidh leithid so de dh' fhianuisean
A spionadh air gach taobh?
Cha bu bheag an diomhaireachd
Gu 'n leigte an gniomh 's an cliù
'Chur do thìr na dìachuimhne leo
Gu chàireamh sios fo 'n ùir.

Ged a bha na mìlte
Ann an Israel de shluagh,
'S iad uile air an aon inntinn
Gus an Righ a chumail suas;
'N trath chual e 'n ceannard trèubhach
A dh' aon bhèum thoirt do 'n uaigh
Ghlaodh e, 'S lag a tha mi
Oir gheibh mo nàimhdean buaidh.'

Tha e duilich do na càirdean
'Bhi g' an càireamh anns an uaigh,
Ach cunnartach bhi 'g àicheadh
Na bheireadh 'n t-Ard-Righ bhuainn;
Oir tha gealladh cinnteach
Anns an fhirinn air a luaidh,
Tha 'g radh, 'Is mise an Ti sin
'Chumas puist na tìre suas.'

'S ann tha 'sealbh neo-chumanta
Air an tha ri t-obair fèin,
'N trath chi iad nithe duilich
Bheireadh tuisleadh air an cèum;
Ceart mar thuirt an Salmadair
Ri ni bha garbh do-dheanta,
'Dh' fhan mi 'm thosd gun argumaid
Oir leatsa do rinneadh e.'

Tha fios agam nach urra' mi
An cliu a chur an cèill,
'S tha fios agam nach buineadh dhomh
A ghabhail ann mo bhèul;

Digitized by Google

Ged a tha mo nàduir
Ga fhàsgadh uam le èud
'S ann dh' fhéuṃas mi bhi ga' fhàgail
Do 'n àl a thig mo dhèigh."

2. Marbhrann do Mhrs. Scobaidh, bean uasal dhiadhuidh an Cealldal, Sgire Dhùiranais.

'S e mo thìr (a) chaidh gu h-uilinn
Cha 'n 'eil filidh no bàrd ann,
Iad a dh' easbhuidh 'n ceann-cinnidh
Cha do chuir duine ann an dàn e;
Cha mhò chuir iad anns 'metre'
Chraobh mheasail thug 'm Bas uath',
'S gu 'm bi iomradh 's gach linn oirr'
Anns an tìr anns an d' fhàs i.

'Chraobh bhuadhach bha taitneach,
Bha maiseach le bèusaibh,
Bheireadh measan a seachad
Ris na frasan bu ghèire;
Ris na frasan bu ghèire;
Bhiodh fear nan racan air èideadh
'S ann bha 'cuid is a comhairle
Airson cobhair nan cèudaibh.

'S ann 'do chridhe bha 'n reùsan (d)
Gheibht' o do bhèul e le tàbhachd,
'S ann 'do cheann bha 'm foghlum
'Chuireadh sèul air do chràbhadh;
'S tu nach beanadh ri Teachdair
No chanadh facal 'chur tàir air
'N uair a gheibht' ann do chùirt e
'S e do ghnùis chuireadh fàilt air.

C'a'irson a bhuineanas idir
Ri ni nach b' urrainn mi innseadh?
Gu 'n deach t-iomradh cho fada
'S tha duine geal air an t-saoghal;
Ann an Eirinn, ann am Breattuinn,
Ann an Afric', 's na h-Innsean,
'S iomadh duine tha air chuairt annta
D' an eòl do bhuadhan is d' ìmeachd.

Digitized by Google

Cionnus chuirinnsa 'metre'
Air na gibhtean bha dlùth riut?
'M fear a b' àirde ann an oifig
Gu 'm biodh do chomhairle g'a stiùradh;
'N tràth thigeadh uaislean ar comunn
Ged be Moirear no Diùc e,
Bhitht' an comain do chuimhne
Air son naigheachd rioghachd is Dùthaich dhoibh.

Cho luath 's a bhios neach abuich
Theid a tharruing gun dàil uainn,
A thoirt a stigh gu bhi 'g innseadh
Ciamar dh' ìmich a thàlant;
Ma thug iad uainne le cabhaig
'N te bha maiteachail pàirteil,
Co chuig' idir a thèid sinn
'N trath thig èigin no sàs oirnn'.

Ach c'a'rson chuirear 'n teagamh
Na 'm faigheadh sinn creidimh a dh' iarradh
Air a' Ghliocas, gun mhearachd,
Bho 'n Bhith tha neo-chriochnaichte,
Gu bheil a gheallaidhean seasmhach
Anns na fireasdailibh diomhair,
Gu 'm bi 'fhianuis' air thalamh
Fhada 's bhios gealach no grian ann?

3. Marbhrann do Chaiptein Uilleam Scobaidh, Ardbhàr, Sgire Assint.

'Chaiptein Uilleam bha 'n Assainnt
Co b' urr' dhol a dh' aithris
Na h-uile buaidh bha mar-ruit
Fhada 's a mhair thu an tìm?
Bha thu iriosal, rianail,
Bha thu carthannach, fialaidh,
Bha thu smachdail le diadhachd
'Cumail riaghailt do thìr.
Tha mi faicinn do chuideachd
Fada mearachd gach duine aca,
'N uair bu mhath leo do chumail
Bho do bhunnaig* a chaoidh [*Advantage, reward.
'N uair a bha Sonas ga d' iarraidh
Gus na Flaithinnis shiorruidh

Digitized by Google

Chuala mi gun do thriall thu
Is tu gu ciallach a' seinn;
Theirig buadhan nam bàrda
Chuireadh am 'metre' do phàirtinn
'S tu bhuilicheadh 'n tàlant
Chuireadh càch gu droch fhéum.
Bha do ghibht air dhoigh àraidh
Air a measgadh le càirdeas,
Fhuair thu creidimh o'n Ard-Righ
Air chor 's nach d' fhàilnich do chéum;
Cha tugadh uaillse no àrdan
Ort gu 'm briseadh tu n t-Sàbaid;
'S tu bha coimhead na h-àithne,
Bha air 'cur mhàn le 'laimh fhéin;
'S air a teagasg le tàbhachd
Airson eiseamail làidir—
"Gaol do Dhia 's do d' nàbuidh
Suim nan àitheantan gu léir."

A few years after the Reay Country passed out of the Mackay into the Sutherland family there was an order passed to have all the dogs in Durness destroyed. Proprietors in those days were all-powerful, and however distasteful to the people this order, there was nothing for it but to obey. Barbara thereupon composed a song, bewailing the fate of the dogs, and ascribing the tyrannical order to the malignity of the 'Cat'—the 'Cat' being the crest of the Sutherland family.

4. CHORUS—"Air fàilirinn, illirinn, ullairinn, ù,
Cha 'n fhaic thu 'n diu duine le gunna no cù.
'S mi mo shuidh' air an tulaich
'S mi coimhead mu 'n cuairt,
Chithinn dà chuilean
Tigh 'n a m' ionnsuidh gu luath,
'G iarraidh, gach aonan diubh,
Cairtealan uam,
'S an Achd aig an darus
Bha labhairt riu cruaidh.
Air fàilirinn, etc.
Cha 'n fhaic, etc.

'Ach co bheireadh cairtealan duit-sa, a choin duinn,
'S nach bitheadh tu 'n a d' thosd, gus an itheadh tu mìr?
Na 'n tigeadh fear eile, mo rathad, 's e sgìth
Bhiodh tusa aig an daras, le sgal ann do chraos.'

Digitized by Google

'Cha teid mise gus an darus 's cha 'n abair mi dùrd,
Ma gheibh mi biadh-siubhail ach an ruig mi an Diùc;
Is dh' fhèumainn rud eile—deagh theisteannas ùr'
A nochdadh do 'n uachdran, mar a dhéilig iad riùm.

Nach 'eil cinneadh mo sheana'ir an diugh na 'n cuis-bhùirt
G' an cur leis na creagan 's an claigeannan brùite?
Cha chuala tu leithid de dh-achd anns an dùthaich
O'n uair sin bha Hàman ag àiteach na cùirte.'

'Ach cionnus theid thusa gu Lunnainn nan cleòc,
Gun dad air do chasan, gun bhoineid, gun bhròg?
Dh' fheumadh tu stob de mhaide na d' dhòrn,
'S glice dhuit fuireach an tulaich an ròig'.

Ars' an cù luideagach ris a' chù lòm—
'Nach deanadh tu suidh air an tulaich ud thall;
'N tràth chitheadh tu an cat, tigh 'n a mach le chuid lann
'Bhi aige gu h-apar, is car chur na cheann.'

Och! 's e 'n 'cat' a bhi n uachdair dh' fhàg gruaim air mo linn,
'S thug oirr bhi co cruaidh air an tuath, tha 'n Duth'ich-Caoidh;
Cha 'n fhaicear na giullain le 'n gunna 's a' bheinn
No sealgair, le 'chuilean a' siubhal na frithe.

'S e chi thu 'n diugh 'stiataidh,' a' meagail an cùil
Na h-iseanan iargalt, bha riamh na 'n cuis-bhùirt;
Cha bheag a' chuis mhi-thlachd luchd-riaghlaidh na cùirt,
Nach fhuiling iad duine le gunna no cu.
Air fàilirin, illirin, uilirin, ù,
'S e 'n cat, le chuid spuirean
Chuir uileann 's a' chù."

Barbara and her minister did not see eye to eye on all subjects. On one occasion he instituted a temperance crusade in the parish, and from the roll of members still preserved, the movement, to begin with, was a great success. On New Year's night a temperance soiree was held as a counter-attraction to the 'Change-House. Our bardess held aloof from the movement, and made a song on the event, chaffing the members on their sad declension from the customs of their fathers. Her sentiments may be gathered from the following stanzas:—

(5) "Tha 'n sluagh an diugh air cruinneachadh
Gu Fuaran mor' na Sean-airidh;
Na h-uaislean is am ministear
Theid thus' is mise da 'n èisdeachd.

Digitized by Google

Tha bliadhn' ùra air tighinn orra,
Chuir iad cùl ri cridhealas;
Cha d' thoir iad deur de 'spiriodan'
Do dhuine aig am beil déidh oirre.

Ged nach toir iad spioradan
Do 'n fhear a bhios ga'm frithealadh,
Olaidh iad gu cridheil leis
Dheth duilleaga' nan géuga'. (tea)

B' àite Gaidheal aon uair so
'S gheibht' uath' gun chunntadh e;
Ged tha e 'n diu cho Gallda
Ri cabhsairean Dhun-Eidin."

The ecclesiastical struggle known as the "Ten Years' Conflict" penetrated as far North as Cape Wrath, and one of the poems I have before me is entitled "Cumha air staid na h-Eaglais, le Barbara Ni'n-Roib," in which she bewails the encroachments of the State upon the sphere of religious liberty:—

"'S e so aimsir is cianail
Chunnacas riamh ri mo linn;
'Nuair tha neart an lagh shiobhalta
'Cur aobhar Dhia bun os cinn."

She prays for the success of those who fight for truth and freedom in the Church, but feeling herself unable to enter fully into the merits of the dispute, she contents herself by handing over the matter to her minister in the words—

"Féumaidh mise bhi ga 'fhàgail
Aig mo nàbuidh tha dlùth;
Ach bithidh mi 'g earbsa san Ard-Righ
Gu'm faic e an sgeàl so dùinte."

The deaths of chiefs never failed to be followed by an outburst of elegies from the local bards, and there are one or two specimens of this sort of poetry in the collection, the authors of which are not given.

Digitized by Google

ELEGY TO THE LATE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD REAY,
Who died 8th July, 1847.

AIR FONN—"Miad mo mhulad ga m' thaghal."

Dh' fhàs mo chridhe cho trom
'S gu bheil gach cuisle mo chom dol clì,
'S gur ann o Shasunn nan Gall
Thainig naigheachd, 's bu chall leam i;
Fhir nach togadh mo gheall
Ged thaghalainn bonn na frìth',
'S cian fada leam uam
T' uaigh, 's an dachaigh tha thall air tìr.

'S mòr a' naigheachd ri inns'
Deagh Mhoirear Mac Aoidh gu 'n d' éug,
Ged a dh' fhàg thu do thìr
Tha mi duilich o bhrigh mo sgéul;
Fhuair thu gean o'd shluagh
Nach fhaigh duine ta nis fo 'n ghréin,
'S ged a gheibheamaid Righ
B'e ar raghainn Mac Aoidh so féin.

'S cruaidh an teachdair am bàs
Cha 'n 'eil duine gun chàs d'a thaobh,
Air son càraid no pàisde
No cuspair gràidh is mò;
'S ged dh' fhuiling mi sàs
Air son iomadaidh pàirtidh bu dlùithe,
Gu 'n d' rinn a' bhuille so beàrn
Nach càirear gu brath 'mo chridhe.

Ach gu bhi 'g aithris do bhuaidh
Cha bu duilich no cruaidh do chliù,
Dh' innseadh ruiteag do ghruaidh
Gu 'm bu cheannard 's gu 'm b' uasal thu;
'S gann is urra' mi luaidh
Dh' easbhuidh gul, is sgur o'n chiùil,
Do chridhe farsuing is fial,
'S làmh bheireadh ri sia do 'n Diùc.

'N uair chithear do ghnùise
Rachadh mart-fheoil air cùl gu leir,
Sàr cheannard na cùirte
'S math mo bharail de thùs nam Féinn;

Digitized by Google

Cha robh duine fo 'n chrùn
B' àillt' cumadh, is sùil, is céum,
'S mi gu bràth 'sileadh air t-ùir
Nach eil mac-oighre le dùthaich a d' dhéigh.

The following lament is after the model of Macrimmon's, and is entitled "Rann air cluinntinn sgeàl-bàis Mhoirear Mac-Aoidh":

Mo thruaighe do thir
Mhic-Aoidh, 's nach d' thig thu;
Cha tiodhlaic iad thu
'S an ùir tha dligheach.
Cha till, cha till, cha till thu tuilleadh,
Cha till Mac Aoidh a chaoidh ri 'chinneadh.

Cha 'n eil gruaim air gnùis
'S cha 'n eil sùil a' sileadh;
Cor nach pill Mac Aoidh
A chaoidh ri 'chinneadh.
Cha till, etc.

Bu naigheachd ri inns'
Do 'n linn tha tighinn,
Nach tilleadh Mac Aoidh
A chaoidh ri 'chinneadh.
Cha till, etc.

Bu naigheachd 's bu bhéud
Mar dh' éirich dhuinne,
Gun do ghairm an t' eug
Le aon bhéum ar cinneadh.
Cha till, etc.

In 1841 occurred what is known locally as the Durness riots. These were occasioned by an attempt to remove part of the people from their holdings to make room for sheep. The tacksman of Rispond, Mr James Anderson, had accomplished the removal of some twenty-six families between the years 1838 and 1841, converting their crofts into a sheep farm. A list of the people removed then, as well as their destination, some of them to North America, has been preserved. Room was found for many of them in the townships of Saingo-beg and Lerin. But no sooner had they built houses there at their own expense than a second removal had to take place in 1841, in pursuance of the policy to clear the land of crofters, and substitute animals that paid better. This second eviction embraced no less than thirty-three families, the

Digitized by Google

majority of whom had but recently settled down in their new holdings. It was more than flesh and blood could bear, and when Finlay, the sheriff-officer from Dornoch, came to serve the summons of eviction, the females of the parish took himself and assistant in hand, and burnt the summons. Thereupon a strong force of policemen was despatched, with the Sheriff and Fiscal at their head, to arrest the ringleaders, and to vindicate the majesty of the law. Twelve policemen, with batons dangling from their waists, arrived late on Saturday evening at the public-house for the purpose, it was supposed, of capturing the guilty Amazons during the peaceful hours of the Sabbath morning. But this was not to be accomplished so easily as had been imagined. A crowd of people soon surrounded the public-house, and a deputation—consisting of Mrs Findlater, the lady of the manse—was despatched to the Sheriff to demand of him an assurance that no steps should be taken to break the stillness and the sanctity of the Sabbath day. No such assurance was given, and the lady was gruffly ordered to mind her own business. This was enough; the doors of the public-house were forced open, and the rioters, brandishing such weapons as they could lay hands on—flails and reaping-hooks and tongs—ordered the policemen, Sheriff, Fiscal, and officers to clear out, and leave the parish as speedily as their legs could carry them. The Sheriff pleaded that in the present delicate state of his health such a night march of twenty miles or more would cost him his life. In consideration of this they generously allowed him the use of his conveyance, which was speedily in readiness for him; but the policemen, mostly East Coast men, were glad to escape on foot, and some of them managed to hide in the corn-stooks for the greater part of the night. The rest were followed by the crowd a distance of seven miles to the confines of the parish. The worthy minister of the parish dreaded the consequences of this Saturday night's work, and knew that the next move on the part of the authorities would be the sending of soldiers to enforce their orders. He accordingly wrote immediately to the then proprietor of Durness, the Duke of Sutherland, detailing the hardship of the people, who had no prospective means of livelihood if removed, as no provisions whatever were made for them, and enlisting his Grace's sympathy in their behalf regarding the deplorable riot. The letter is as follows:—

"Durness, 2nd September, 1841.

"My Lord Duke,—I use the liberty of forwarding the enclosed documents* for your consideration. Though it may appear

* List of families under process of eviction and their circumstances.

Digitized by Google

foreign to my province, yet I plead the cause of humanity, and have every confidence in your Grace's benevolence that the cases of the poor people, though not under your immediate management, yet residing in that portion of your domains now in the course of providence under your paternal care, your Grace, on mature consideration and enquiry, will be pleased to devise some means, as your humanity and wisdom may deem necessary in the case; otherwise I dread the consequences will be painful and disastrous. . . . It is not for me to suggest what may be expedient to be done in their cases. It is evident, however, if no local sources of industry in the country be provided, that some legislative measures must be employed for the wants of the redundant population. I beg leave also to state that the district of Rispond was originally intended for a fishing station, and the population of it encouraged with a view to the productive industry of fishing several years ago, but which under its present management has not turned out a source of profit either to Mr Anderson or the poor people. I must also be candid in stating that two days ago, on the summons of ejection being about to be served by the officers, they were resisted by the females of the district, and a few others who sympathised with them also congregated. I dreaded the consequences might be serious. It was in vain to persuade in the present excited state of feeling, when no prospective opening was provided for so many destitute people; public sympathy cannot possibly be suppressed, and their indomitable love of country is more ardent in proportion to their poverty and seclusion.

"In the absence of local magistracy, I have taken it upon me, from a sense of duty, candidly to state the above circumstances, and I would implore your Grace's intercession in the manner you may deem expedient.

"With sentiments of high and, permit me to say, of affectionate regard, I have the honour to be, my Lord Duke, your very obedient and humble servant, "WM. FINDLATER.

"P.S.—I have not informed any of the parties of my writing your Grace on this painful subject, nor held out hopes of doing so. —W.F."

The effect of this letter, combined with the determined attitude of the people not to remove without bloodshed, fortunately made the authorities pause in their wholesale clearances, and the people are still in possession of their holdings, such as they are. The following verses commemorating the riot were composed by Mr Donald Mackay, when considerably over eighty years of age:—

Digitized by Google

ROINN LE CAILLEACH SMO.

AIR FONN—"Cha mhor nach coma leam cogadh no sith."

Bha mise ann an Smò o linnibh nam Fiann,
Nan laoch sin nach teicheadh gun fhuil thoirt a bian;
Cha chuimhne leam batail a chunna' mi riamh,
Gun duine ann nach seasamh ri clogha no liagh.

'N trath thàinig na Cataich, bu śpalpail an céum,
Is duil ac' ri creach thoirt an Crasg uainn do léum,
Gun duine nam feachd, chumadh buille no béum,
Ri mnathan Cheannabin, buaidh thapaidh leo féin.

'N trath chunnaic na gaisgich na h-armagan rùisgte
An clogha, 's an corran, an cabar, 's an t-sùist;
Chlisg iad le feagal, is thubhairt cuid dhiù,
'S miosa so do na Cataich no cath Dhruim-na-cùb.

'Feadh bha iad 's an Dùrin, bha cùisean orr' teann,
Ged thàir iad da 'n Inn, cha b' fhada dh' fhan iad ann;
Gun ùrachadh bidh' no dibhe, no dràma,
Chuir pìob Dhomh'll-ic-Cullaich iad uile do dhanns'.

Aig Tobair-a-chrib ann am priobadh na sùil,
Bha 'n 'Countari-dance' a bha annasach ùr';
'S ged choìsinn MacCullach le phiobaireachd cliù
'S olc chumadh na fleasgaich ud, 'step' ri chuid ciùil.

'S bhuail an 'retreut' aca le cabaig is caor,
Ruith Siorra' is Fiscal, Polisich is Maoir;
Bha cuid ac a' canntuinn "bithidh an gnothuch dhuinn daor
Mar fhàir sinn ar falach air taobh eile a' chaoil."

Gun fhuil thoirt air neach aca, ghlan theich iad air falbh,
Cuid ris an aonach, is cuid feadh an arbh';
Butchair Dhornoich gun fheòl thoirt do 'n arm
Gu madainn Di-Dòmhnaich 's an eòrna leth-mharbh.

Finlay, the sheriff-officer, whose pride was sorely wounded by the treatment accorded to him by the females, who sent him back half-naked, was made the subject of many satirical songs on the occasion. Here is a specimen, the author of which is unknown:—

CHORUS—Fhionnla, na tig ni's fhaisge
Fhionnla, Fhionnla;
Fhionnla, na tig ni's fhaisge,
Na tig am feasd mar aon fhear.

Digitized by Google

'M faca tu gin riamh cho coimheach
Ri Fionnla uaibhreach a Strathnabhair?
Bho 'n chaidh rusgadh leis na mnathan
Tha e caitheamh diombaidh.
Fhionnla, etc.

C'a'rson a bhitheadh tu cho tòrail
Ged a bha thu greis an Dòrnach?
Chi am fear bhitheas fada beò
Thusa gun òrdugh punndaidh.
Fhionnla, etc.

Thug thu earraid leat is Fiscal
Siorra' oir gur e bu mheasail;
Nuair a chaidh na fir 'n an drip,
Bha thus' am measg nan deanntag.
Fhionnla, etc.

Thug thu butchair leat a Dòrnach
Ann an dùil 's gum bitheadh feòil ann,
'S ann chaidh fhaotainn measg an eòrna,
'Caoineadh leabhair-cunntaidh.
Fhionnla, etc.

'S e 'n aon sealbh bha air a' tighinn,
Gun do thàir e as a rithist,
Bhris no mnathan bochd an cridhe
'Ruith an déidh Fhionnla'.
Fhionnla, etc.

'N staid na neo-chiont 'san robh Adhamh
Thug an aon bhean gu staid nàduir,
Nach tugadh leth-ceud agus dhà dhiubh
Car do dh' àrdan Fhionnla'.
Fhionnla, etc.

Ma theid thusa null do Chataobh,
Thoir fios uam gu Ruari Brocair,
Ach an cuir e fonn gu ceart
Do Mhuinntir Far air Fionnla.
Fhionnla, etc.

Besides the Findlater collection, from which I selected most of the above, Mr Hugh Mackay, mason, Durine—whose father was one of the best historians and seanachies of the Reay Country—furnished me with some unpublished songs of more or less interest.

Digitized by Google

The first is by Colin Macdiarmid—a brother of the famous Peggy Macdiarmid, known as "Bean a' chreidimh mhòir." Colin was a bard, and rather unhappily married. He was like most bards, fond of a 'droppie,' and it would appear that on that account he was subjected to frequent curtain lectures. On one occasion he took it much amiss, and speaks freely to his wife in song:—

Ged a dh' òlainn lan an taomain,
Thiginn dhachaidh cridheil faoilidh,
'S cha b' aobhar sud gu tigh a sgaoileadh
Ged a ghlaodhainn 'botul.'

Teann a nunn 's na teanndaidh riùm
Oir 's e do dhiùmbadh choisinn mi,
Luigh gu sàmhach air mo chùl-thaobh,
Sùgradh cha bhi nochd againn.

Fhuair mi thu gun chòt', gun léine,
'S iad air tolladh mu do shléisdean;
Cionnus 's urrainn dhomhsa a t-éideadh
'S e 'leidigeas' gu bochdainn mi.—Teann, etc.

Phòs mi thu a dheòin no dh' aindeoin,
'S bha thu deònach air mo mhealladh;
'Nuair bha mi òg is mi mo leanabh
Rinn mi gealladh amaideach.—Teann, etc.

'N am bitheadh tusa mar bu chòir duit
Dh' easbhuidh riamh thigh'nn nall a Cnòideart,
Gheibhinns' bean gun dhol deth m' eòlas
Cheart cho bòidheach coslach riut.—Teann, etc.

This same Colin was drowned near Loch Stack while hunting the deer. He had wounded a stag, which managed to make his escape on the ice of the lake. Colin followed on his track, when the ice gave way, and he was drowned. There is a reference made to his funeral in the cash account Kirk-Session records of Durness, under date 1799:—"To cash for mort-cloth on the occasion of Mr Colin Macdermot's funeral, 7s 6d."

The following lament was composed by the woman with whom he lodged on the night preceding his death, and must conclude my paper on this occasion:—

Ged a gheibhinns' 'n Ruí'-Ruadh
Righ bu chruaidh leam tàmh ann,
'N déidh smior an duine-uasail
O 'n latha chualas do bhàthadh.

Digitized by Google

Gu 'n do luigh smal air an dùthaich-sa
An deigh do 'n bhùrn bhi toirt sàr dhuit,
'S gur h-ann tha maisean nan daoine
'Na luighe an diugh anns a' bhàghan.

A Ghlinne-dubh 's tu tha daochail
'S ann ort thainig an caochladh 'm bliadhna;
Tha do threabhair na 'n aonaich,
Gun aon a chumas rian orra.

Bho dh' fhalbh maisean nan daoine,
Fear foinnidh, finealta, deas, fialadh;
Feuch gu'n robh triùir air an talamh
Do leithid Cailean Mhic-Dhiarmaid.

Ach a Chailean Mhic-Dhiarmaid
Bu tu Ceanna-cliar agus càirdean;
'S aig àm suidhe 's an tigh-òsda dhuit
Ge b' e dh' òladh 's tu phàigheadh.

Tha do pheathraichean gruamach,
'S mòr mo thruas ri do chàirdean;
Tha do mhathair fo chùram
Is mor ciùrradh do bhràithrean.

Tha do bhean 's i fo chnùsail
'Na luighe bochd ciùrrtach 's an àm so,
C' àit an d' fhairich no an cualas
Sgéula chò chruaidh thainig teann-oirr?

30th NOVEMBER, 1899

At the meeting held on this date the following were elected members of the Society, viz.:—Sir Hector Munro of Foulis, Bart., as life member; Major Davidson of Cantray, as honorary member; and Mr Geo. W. Kirkcaldy, Wimbledon; Rev. Mr Haggart, Lochcarron; Mr A. Macfarlane, Kingussie; Mr R. Finlayson, Ardjachie, Tain; Rev. Mr Maclennan, St Columba Church, Edinburgh; Rev. Dr Geo. Henderson, Edinburgh; Mr David Mackintosh, of Messrs Mackintosh & Coy., Inverness; Rev. Norman Maclean, Invergarry; Mr D. G. Cumming, Royal Bank, Forres; Mr A. M. Macewen, of Messrs Stewart, Rule, & Burns, Inverness; Rev. Alex. Fraser, Connell Ferry, Oban;

Digitized by Google

and Father Chisholm, Eskdale, Beauly—all as ordinary members. Thereafter Mr T. A. Mackay read a contribution by Captain Wimberley, Inverness, being the fourth instalment of his interesting series entitled "The Bighouse Papers." The paper is as follows:—

THE BIGHOUSE PAPERS.

Fourth and Last Section.

no. lxxiv.

Letter from Captain Allan Campbell, 42nd Highlanders, to his brother, John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "Camp at Lake George, 11th July 1758. Letter Allan Campbell."

Dr. Broyr.,—The 8th of this month we had a hot brush at the lines of Ticonderoga where we lost a considerable number of men and officers. The officers of your acquentance wounded are Major Campbell and his son, Both in their arms, and I hope will do well, Captain Strathcur slightly in the Breast, Ltt. Archd. Campbell Sheriff Badly in the Breast, Lt. John Campbell Glendaruel slightly in the arm, Capt. Ltt. John Campbell Duneaves killed, Ltt. Hugh Macpherson ditto, Capt. Graham, Duchra, and Broyr. Both wounded slightly and several other offrs. of the Regt. but not of your acquentance are killed and wounded.

Our Regt. aquired great glory by their good behaviour of both men and officers, tho' we were unsuccessfull. I have the pleasure to aquent you that both my nephew George and I eskeaped without a scratch, tho' both in the heat of the action. George is a pritty Lad: he's now a Ltt. in Coll. Gages Regt. of Lt. Infantry. Your son the Major was well about 2 months ago at Philadelphia. We are now at the end of Lake George Encampt. I have told you now all the news that can occurr to me or that I have time to write you, and I thought it my Duty to acquent you and my other Broyrs. of my being well after a smart action. I have no time to write you more being excesively hurried having no Body to assist me in the affairs of my Company having my three Ltts. killed or wounded viz. Ltt. Balie kill'd and Ltts. Archd. Campbell and William Grant wounded. I'll write you very fully in my nixt. My best wishes to my sister, to your family and all our friends, and I am Dr. Broyr. your most affec. and Lov. Broyr. while

Allan Campbell.

Camp at Lake George,
July the 11th 1758.

George has not time to write you, as I believe he has not heard of this express going off.

Digitized by Google

NOTES.—The loss of the 42nd at the unsuccessful attack on the entrenchments of Ticonderoga, in 1758, was extremely heavy, viz., 8 officers, 9 sergeants, and 247 men killed, and 17 officers, 10 sergeants, and 306 men wounded. Of those mentioned in the letter, Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe and his son, Alexander, were both severely wounded, the former died within a fortnight, and the latter was sent home, but died soon after landing; Lieut. Archd. Campbell was no doubt son of the Sheriff-Depute of Argyllshire; Capt. Thomas Graeme was of Duchray, and his brother was John; Capt. Strathcur was Capt. John Campbell of Strachur, who served afterwards as a Major in the 17th in North America, and was appointed Lt.-Col. of the 57th in 1773; with it he saw more service in America, and was subsequently a Brigadier and Major-General Commanding H.M.'s Forces on the East Coast of North America. He lived to settle down at Strachur, and died there in 1806. Lieut. William Grant was, I believe, of the Rothiemurchus family. Allan Campbell, the writer of the above, lived to be a General Officer; Graham of Duchray and his brother, John, and William Grant, to be Field Officers. No mention is here made of John Campbell of Melfort, who was Allan Campbell's brother-in-law; George Campbell, of Gage's Regt., seems to have been a son of John of Barcaldine: his regiment was a battalion formed out of the Light Companies of several regiments.

NO. LXXV.

LETTER from James Moray of Abercairny to John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "4 Jany. 1759, Letter Abercairnie."

Sir,—Lady Fannie and the young Folks join me in returning our good wishes to you & ffamily for many returns of a good New Year to you all, which you may belive we do with the greater relish that you have affoarded us so good news from our ffriends in America, with a thousand compliments to you for it, and as we presume your accounts are from your son we sincerely hope he is well. To add to your intelligence I have a letter from a ffriend of mine at London that I can rely upon which says "General Forbes has reduced Fort Dugun, the first certain intelligence of this came to Mr Pitt this morning (27th Decr.) when I happen'd to be in his house transacting some business with Mr Wood his Secretary who shew'd me the letter from Mr Dobbs Governour of North Carolina, there is no particulars because he presumes Mr Pitt had had a regular account from G. Forbes, but in all probability the packquet he has sent to the Government must have been taken at sea," and so ends my paragraph, enough for me to take a

Digitized by Google

bumper upon and hope for the certain accounts with further success to our Countrie and ffriends, and I alwise am, Sir, your obedient and most humble servant, J. MORAY.

Abercairny, 4th Jany. 1759.

As you are so good as generally enquire about my son, I heard from him from Sevile and extremely well, and expect he was at Christmas at Gibraltar.

NOTE.—Lady Fannie was Lady Frances Montgomerie, daughter of the Earl of Eglintoun. Her sister, Lady Christian, had been Abercairny's wife, and her brother had raised and was in command of Montgomerie's Highlanders, in which Barcaldine's eldest son, Alexander, was now Major. Fort Dugun means, I presume, Fort Du Quesne, which, after a desperate conflict, in which the above-named regiment suffered heavy loss, was evacuated on 24th November, and thereupon occupied by General Forbes, who was in command of the expedition undertaken against it. Its name was changed to Pittsburg.

NO. LXXVI.

LETTER from Capt. Allan Campbell, 42nd Highlanders, to his brother, John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., "to the care of the Postmaster of Crief, Perthshire," docqueted "New York 20th [mistake for 6th] Jany. 1759. Letter Allan Campbell."

New York, 6th January 1759.

Dr. Brother,—I writt you the 11th July in a great hurry after our retreat from Ticonderoga to let you know of mine and George's welfair, after that unlucky afair, where severall of our friends and a great many worthy Fellows suffer'd. Our Regt. lost more than any other Corps at the attack of the Lines. We have had killed and wounded since the beginning of the Campaign 520 (officers included) of which about 300 were left dead on the field or have since dyed of their wounds, and of 37 officers that were present with the Regt. that day 11 only came off unhurt, of which number I was lucky enough to be one.

You would certainly hear before now of poor Major Campbell Inveraw's death, he liv'd about a fourtnight after he receiv'd his wound, the Doctors thought it necessary that his arm should be cut off, and he dyed soon after the operation at Fort Edward, all the rest of our wounded officers are quite recover'd except his son, Sandy, Jock Campbell Glendaruel, and Archie Shirreff, but they are out of all danger, only their cure will be tedious.

Digitized by Google

Poor George had a narrow escape the day we landed at the French end of the Lake, having had a scratch along the face with a musquet Ball. He was in a smart little action that happen'd in the woods a mounth afterwards between a detachment of 500 of our army under the command of Major Rogers and much the same number of Indians French and Canadians, where the latter were repulsed with the loss of 100 men, and I assure you his behaviour at that affair was much aplauded by his Broyr. officers on their return to the Army.

He 's now second oldest Lieut. in General Gage's Regt. of light arm'd infantry, for which he's oblidged to the late Major Campbell, Inveraw; and as they talk at present of agmenting that corps, he'll have a good chance of getting Higher up, and in any event he 's better off by being so High in that Regt. as they are now an Establish'd Corps, than if he had staid in ours, where he could be but a young Lieut. His Coll. has a great regard for him, and very Deservedly for he's a lad of good morals, a good spirit, and very fit for his Business. He has acted as Adjutant to that Regt. since July last, by which he has nothing yet but Troble, there being no Adjutant allow'd, and that his Collonel means it for him: if he's lucky enough to get that, I think he's very well provided for for the time he has served.

I have advanc'd him Twenty Guineas for which he gave me a Bill on you. I hope you'll not Disaprove of my conduct for doing it, nor blame him for running so much short, when I explain to you the cause of it: its trew he came over very well Riged out, but his changing Corps put him under a necessity of Buying new Regimentals, as these Differ in Colours from the rest of the Army, being Brown, besides his expense must be greater upon his first comming in among Strangers, and he had the misfortune of being sent a recruiting last winter, which really is a misfortune to an officer in this Country unless he is very carfull and happens to be successfull, and I belive George lost by it. This I ashure you is truth, and when you consider that it was owing to these accidents, that he could not possibly guard against, I am hopfull you'l easily forgive him. I was likewise oblidg'd to advance our Unkle Corries' son, Colin, Twenty two Pounds eighteen shillings and tenpence or he must have gone naked, having lost all his things at Fort William Henry. I have sent both Bills to Brother Robert. George and Colin are sent this winter a Recruiting to Pensilvania.

I had a letter dated the 30 Novr. from my nephew, the Major, from where Fort du Quesne stood, he was then very well. I expect dayly to hear from him, he's had as troublesome and

Digitized by Google

Fatigueing Campaign of it, as ever any Body had, our Army has been above a Month in Winter Quarters befor thers got to Fort du Quesne, which the French burnt upon ther near aproach, and an immense long march they have to get back to Philadelphia, wher ther Regt. is to be Quarter'd this winter, and where I intend to go and see him, when I hear of ther arrival, its about 100 miles from this place that our Regt. is now quarter'd in.

We long much for a Packquet here having no news from Europe for some months, I take the opportunity of writing you now by the Kennington Man of War that carries home General Abercrombie.

I was heartily griev'd at hearing of the Death of our sister Melfort and Daughter, it was quite unexpected to me, but its a Debt we must all pay sooner or later, therefore should not Repine. I am vastly concern'd for Melfort, how [who] has the charge of a numerous young family and few of them provided for, his son who was well when I heard from the Major knows nothing of his mother or sister's death. I am afraid poor Donald Campbell, the Bailie of Muckairn's son, is lost in comming from Halifax to this place, the ship he was aboard of has not been heard of for a long while past, and the Best that can have befaln him is his being taken by the French, or drove to the West Indies, but its generally thought the vessel is lost.

I was vastly pleas'd to hear of my niece's marriage with Mr Campbell of Danna, who seems to be a very agreeable man by the small aquentance I had of him. Please make offer of my compliments to them Both. Ther is no News here at Present. All our Friends in this Country are Well. Remember my best wishes to my Sister and the rest of your Family whom may God Almighty bless and I ever am, Dr. Brother, your affec. and Lov. Broyr.,

ALLAN CAMPBELL.

NOTE.—George Campbell had probably been appointed Ensign in the 42nd in 1756, and promoted Lieut. in Gage's Regt. about end of 1757.

Fort William Henry was captured after a short siege in 1757 by the Marquis de Montcalm and a strong force with a large train of artillery. The British garrison, including some Indian levies, under Colonel Monro, on their batteries being silenced, were compelled to surrender on honourable conditions. But as they marched out, without any ammunition, the Indians of Montcalm's force fell upon them, plundered the baggage of the few British, and slew or took prisoners many of the Indian portion of the garrison, the French making no effort to prevent this.

Digitized by Google

Margaret, daughter of John of Barcaldine, married John Campbell of Danna.

NO. LXXVII.

LETTER from Major Alexr. Campbell to his father, John Campbell of Barcaldine, addressed "Barcaldine," and docqueted "Fort Edward Camp, 19 June, 1759. Coll. Alexr. Campbell's Letter."

Fort Edward Camp, June 19th 1759.

My Dr. Sir,—Yours of the 10th February I had this day the joy of receiving. Believe me, my dear Sir, I never was happier nor easier in my mind than I am after Reading it to hear you, my mother, and all the family are in good health is the only thing I wished to hear before I went into the field. I writ you from Philadelphia that our Regiment was to serve under General Amherst and make no doubt the conqueror of Loisburg will give a good account of Ticonderoga. Our General is beloved by his soldiers, Honoured and esteem'd by his officers, Carful of mens Lives and healths, in short he is the man I would choose to serve under of any I know in the service. Our Regiment are healthy and in High spirits as are the whole army, and I hope we soon will stricke a stroke that will bring credite and Glory to our General and Army, and satisfaction to our country and friends.

Allan and George are both now in my tent, and both in good health, you may depend that one of us will write by every opportunity, so that you may depend on hearing often of our fate. Allan says he has writt you three letters to which he has had no answer. What influence I may have on Jack after the campaign I shall make use of, but till then it would be useless to speak to him on the subject, both he and I think as you do, and have a scheme in view, that if it succeeds, will make what you propose easier put in execution. I should love the conection you propose with my Collonel very much, and if I survive this campaign, it may take place.

[What follows next refers to family matters and his brother David.]

I shall be obliged to give Balenaby's son more money this year, he spends his money in good Company, and as he got no education before he left the Country, keeping amongst the People I live with is the only method I can think of to supply that deficiency: he is a very pretty lad but would be lost if I did not take that method; his father may grudge the money but I do it for the

Digitized by Google

best, and would expect he would do the same by my son: Thirty Pounds a year will enable the boy to live in good Company, and I am certain, 'tis better for him to gett so much less from his father att the long, and be fitt to keep Gentlemen's Company than to go home as he would do scarce a companion for a Ploughman, for when I took him into my Charge, he really could hardly read or write: he is much obliged to Capt. Roderick M'Kenzie, in whose Company he has always been, for which his father ought to thank the Captain. Commissary Campbell's son is a very fine lad and might have been a Captain if we durst have ventur'd to have purchased for him.

I had it in my power lately to make Strachur, I believe, a firm friend to me and all my concerns: it may be use to us some day. I assure you I have my hands full to do to keep our friends right, they do nothing without my advice. Sir Allan M'Lean is doing very well, and is very much esteem'd. If I survive the campaign I shall be more full on this subject. When the Knight gets a little Drink he swears that he scarce knows the difference in his affections betwixt a Breadalbane Campbell and a M'Lean. I hope if we live to go home to have no discredite in my Tutory of him.

Poor Glen: I would love if I could but off that more after we come into Quarters. George shall want for nothing that I can give him and I hope will as to support of cash be out of my Reverence soon: his demands are very moderate, he is belov'd and esteem'd by every body and has made acquaintance to himself and friends, that may be of use to him and me: the joy I had in finding him in that situation was greater than I can express. I am glad to hear of Patie's doing well, he never writs me.

I had a letter tother day from Duncan from St Andrews: from your description of Dalfour I am certain I should not know it, I am sure it is this day a pretty place.

As I believe this war won't last long I believe my mother may be getting my Room in order, for some way or other I am resolved to go home att the Peace for a little time, if I can possibly obtain leave. I am rejoiced to hear Lord Breadalbane is in good health and likewise his son. I beg my compliments to your worthy neighbour Sir Duncan who I hope is well as Dugald says nothing to the contrary, from whom I received a letter this day of two months later date than yours.

I beg to be remember'd to Achalader and Glenure, Carwhin, to whom I wish joy of his wife and daughter, I hope a son will follow. You say nothing of Peggy's having a child. Archy Glendaruel I believe will purchase a Company in the Royal Highlanders, and Strachur the majority of late Forbeses.

Digitized by Google

Please tell the Poor People's friends that I brought with me from the Country that they are all well. I never was in better health in my life, nor in higher spirits.

Collonel Montgomery desirs his kind compliments to you: I love him daily more and more: the Paragraph that regards Inveraw's family gives me great joy; George show'd me his letter. I have left all my papers in the hands of Archie Sheriff, whose last years wounds incapacitate him to take the field this year: If I return I shall send home some cash, If not it is disposed of in a way that I am sure you'l not disaprove of, which is needless to explain att present.

I believe I writ you that I am the eldest Major in the Army under General Amherst, if I live and have any luck I may chance to gett a step before the end of the Campaign. I am told the General's Intentions are to prefer People according to seniority without fad or favour if their own behaviour don't Barr it. I expect Mungo daily. The Royal Highlanders have not yet come from the West Indies, but are expected: I fear I have tired you with this long letter, but I hope you'l excuse me for I think I am chatting with you. My duty to my Mother, best wishes to all with you, and belive me ever to be, My Dr. Sir, Your most affectionate and Dutiful Son, ALEXR. CAMPBELL.

Little Colin is very well, behavs well and is still my servant: my old man James is a Grenadier and given up Drink, Duncan Bane, Duncan Piper, Donald Keele, John Garve, 'tother Duncan are all well.

NOTES.—Louisberg was taken in latter part of July, 1758: Admiral Boscawen commanded the Fleet, General Amherst the Army: of the 3 Brigadiers Wolfe landed first, on 8th June, with some picked troops: Whitmore and Lawrence were to threaten other landing points, and Amherst landed soon afterwards, and captured the place.

In the following spring (1759), a strong force of 10 Battalions, besides Grenadiers and Rangers, left Louisberg for Halifax: and about the same time Amherst moved his force for the reduction of Ticonderoga. It consisted of the Royals, 17th, 27th, 1st and 2nd Battns. Royal Highlanders, 55th, Montgomerie's Highlanders, 9 Battalions of Provincials, a Battn. of Light Infantry, a body of Rangers and Indians, and a detachment of Artillery. The main body encamped shortly after this letter was written on Lake George, near Ticonderoga, which the enemy evacuated after a short resistance, and fell back on Crown Point.

Digitized by Google

Of the officers mentioned in this letter, Allan Campbell, Capt., 42nd, was an uncle of the writer: George was probably a younger brother, in Gage's Battn. of Lt. Infy.: Belenaby's son was probably a Lieut. in Montgomerie's Highrs.: Capt. Roderick Mackenzie, apparently his Capt. in same Regt.: Capt. Campbell, Strachur, was in the 42nd; Sir Allan M'Lean, a Capt. in Montgomerie's Highrs.; "Poor Glen" is probably Archibald Glenlyon, who seems to have been first perhaps in Loudoun's Highrs., and then a Lieut. in Fraser's Highlanders: when serving with the latter regiment he was wounded at the defence of Quebec, under Gen. the Hon. James Murray, in April, 1760: Archibald Glendaruel was apparently in the 42nd, and a Capt. Colin, son of Glendaruel, in Fraser's Highlanders, was killed in 1779.

The Patie mentioned as not writing was probably a brother of the writer of this letter (see Letter No. lxxxi.): and Mungo, probably his half-brother, who was afterwards Lt.-Col., 52nd, and killed at Fort Montgomerie.

NO. LXXVIII.

LETTER from Evan Murray to John Campbell, Esq. of Barcaldine, addressed "to be forwarded from Lix to Achmore," and docqueted "Edn. 24 July 1759, Letter Evan Murray."

Sir,—Being inform'd that the Earle of Breadalbine proposes to raise a Malitia in Breadalbine in order to oppose that Treacherous sett the ffrench, and I, being the only one surviving of my family that can be in the least usefull to his Lordship in that respect, I thought myself obligated to offer my service to his Lordship in testimony of my fidelity to the family and left to his Lordship to inform about my Character from you and Achalader, that after his Lordship wou'd consult with you both what rank his Lordship wou'd give, that I wou'd acquiesce to. Meantime I dare not take upon me to say how fare I could influence the rest of my friends to join, further than use my little interest with them. I signified to Achalader in my letter of this date (tho' not to my Lord) that anything under a Company considering my family could not afford me bread and I likewise hinted to him, that I thought Robt. M'Alpine, and Jas. Drummond's son in Ardtrostan wou'd be proper Lieutts., and if agreeable to you and him to recommend my eldest son John (who is a fine boy and a pretty good scholar) Ensign. Capt. Duncan Campbell delivered my letter to the Earle and told me that his Lordship seem'd to be well pleased at my offer, and told him that he would consider upon it,

Digitized by Google

and as you and Achalader are the only two I depend most upon I hope you'll give your favourable assistance to me in this request, and in return of which, shall study to merite the continuance of both your friendship and that I'll be gratfull for it, which at present is all I can doe. As I dare say you are much tired with this long narration I conclude with my wife's complts. and mine to you, your Lady, and the oyr. good members of your family, and I always am, Sir, your most obedt. humble servt.,

EVAN MURRAY.

Edinr., July 24th 1759.

NOTE.—Evan Murray, the writer of the above letter, was really Evan Macgregor, and succeeded his brother Robert, who was Chief of that proscribed clan in 1745-46, on the death of the latter in 1758. Evan held a commission in the 41st Regt., and served with distinction in Germany. His son, John, mentioned above, went to India, and became a General in the H.E.I. Coy.'s service, and Auditor-General of Bengal. On coming home as John Murray of Lanrick, and representative of the Macgregors of Glencarnoch, he was recognised by the Macgregors, when the penal Acts against them were rescinded in 1784, as Chief of their clan: created a Baronet as Sir John Murray of Lanrick in 1795, and resumed the name of Macgregor by royal licence in 1822: he is now represented by Sir Malcolm Magregor, Bart of Edinchip.

Capt. Duncan Campbell, of the City Guard, is mentioned in a letter from James Mor Drummond or Macgregor, No. lviii., as a channel through whom money could be sent to him in France in 1753.

NO. LXXIX.

LETTER from Major Alexr. Campbell to his father, John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., addressed "to the care of the Post-master of Inveraray," and docqueted "Ticonderogo 25th [for 27th] July 1759—Col. Alex. Campbell's letter."

Ticonderogo July 27th 1759.

My Dr. Sir,—Last night just as our Batterys were ready to open the French sett fire to and abandoned the Fort, what gratitude is due from his country to our General I leave every true Britton to judge, who has by his conduct reduced the strongest [fort] the French have in Canada at the expense of not above a dozen lives, his army loves and I may say adors him, and are almost sure of success in everything he orders them to undertake.

George, Mungo, Allan, Jack Melfort, Donald Balinabie are all well, none of us were touched, tho' I never saw nor heard of a

Digitized by Google

heavier fire than we had on us for four days and nights: we have only lost two men of our Regt. killed and eight wounded, in the latter number is Perter [Qy. Peter] Campbell, Barbra grandson, but he'll do very well. Our men behaved exceedingly well: I would have done myself the Honour of writing Lord Breadalbane but got notice of the express going for England too late to be able to write: the only loss we have sustain'd is the death of Collonel Townsend who on the 25th was unfortunately killed with a Cannon Ball. My duty to Mama, and best wishes to all with [you], I hope soon to be able to acquaint you of our further success and ever am, my Dr. Sir, your most Dutifull Son,

ALEXR. CAMPBELL.

NO. LXXX.

LETTER from Major Alexr. Campbell to his father, John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "Camp at Crown Point 6 Augt. 1759, Coll. Alexr. Campbell's letter."

Camp at Crown Point, Augt. 6th, 1759.

My Dr. Sir,—I writ you on the 27th of July of our taking Ticonderoga on ye 26th. The French fly everwhere before our Victorious General. Last night we took possn. of this famed Place without the loss of a man: and General Amherst had the pleasure of hearing that a detachment of the Army that he had sent under the command of General Prideaux had taken Niagara, Beat a strong Body of the enemy that were sent to Relieve the place, took about Six hundred men and Twenty officers prisoners, amongst which last was de Lanerie that commanded last year at Fort du Quesne. My Brother, Uncle, Cousines and all Friends in this Army are all well. My duty to Mama and best wishes to all with you in which Allan, Mungo, George, Jack and Donald join, and ever am, my Dr. Sir, your most affectionate and Dutiful Son,

ALEXR. CAMPBELL.

NO. LXXXI.

LETTER, Mr Robert Campbell (a merchant at Stirling) to his brother, John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "Edr. 31 Augt. 1759. Letter Mr Robert Campbell."

Edinbr. 31 August 1759.

Dr. Br.,—I wrote you one letter this night already to which refer. It did not occur to me to desire you to write me pr. Bearer (in case you incline it) to the care of Mr John Campbell, Cashier

Digitized by Google

to the Royall Bank. If the Bearer returns by Stirling desire him to Call at my house, and give me your letter in case he finds me there, if not let him give it to Mr Campbell, and let me know at same time if I can be usefull to you here in any respect. I forgot to tell you that Bighouse and Mrs Baillie is to referr to you entyrely anny Disputes that may arise betwixt them & Glenure about the Children or otherwise, but I insisted that Mr George M'Kay & you should determine every dispute betwixt them, as I thought it Decenter that a ffriend of each side should judge in these matters than you alone.

Now for the love of God see to smooth Duncan to be at least civill to these People that we may if possible live in a state of friendshipe with a Conection that is not only Creditable but would Incline to be usefull to us.

If you will undertake to get Glenure managed, I will for the Clan M'Kay, to whom I know he bears no good will: I cannot see there can be the least cause of dispute betwixt them but the Education of the Children: the Mother and the children are here and finer girls I never in my life beheld, they are very lively, Sweet Tempered, well behaved and very handsome; my heart warmed to them, for the Eldest & youngest is very like their Father, I am sure so will yours, whatever time you see them.

They will if spared be a Credit to us all. Bighouse is the fondest Grandfather I ever saw, and hardly mentions poor Colin without tears, in which I am sure he is sincere. Mrs Ballie should have the direction of there Education & be allowed the Interest of there money (which is now £500 Str. each) pr. annum in full for Bed, Board, Cloths, &c., which I am sure in this place will hardly do, but she is willing to accept, and sure I am she is the properest person to look after them, nor ought Duncan, in my humble opionion, to Dispute this matter with her, as I daresay he will not. Glenure should rather do oblidgeing things to his Brother's widow and his offspring, it will have a better look in the eyes of the world, and he ought to consider that he himself is but Tender, & should his ffamily want his Protection (as God forbid that should happen) It will give those to whose care they naturally fall the greater Pleasure to take proper care of them & his Widdow, that he show a proper Tenderness to those Committed to his care.

I will mention all these things to my Brother first time I see him, but I hope you'l likewise do it that Disputes may have an end.

I have some reason to Believe that the Troops now intended to be raised will be sent to Germany. Will not Kilpont make a

Digitized by Google

proper Captn.? he is a man of sense & spirritt, Distressed and oppressed with a small Estate and a great ffamily. Will it not be worthy of the Breadalbane ffamily to give him a lift?

Mungo Campbell's son next heir to Monzie is a prettie fellow & in the Dutch Service, in case you are pinched for proper officers can you think of him? Capt. Duncan Campbell of the City Guard has a prettie ffellow, an officer of the Dutch Service. I know your son Pattie would give the world for to get properly into the Army, will you think of him for a Company, thir officers will have half pay.

I know nothing but the Defference due to you as a Parent keeps Pattie at home, he'll not be so happy, should you give him the half of your ffortune, as by getting a Company in the Service: and as he has sense to judge for himself, whether is it not better to give a Child his Choice, and what his Heart is bent upon, as crush him in life by chusing for him, he is the only unhappy son you have, & it proceeds from his tacit consent to your will, he knows you don't like the Service for him, & though his very soul is fixed that way, he obeys or rather submitts to please you: never fforce a Child's will in his Choice of occupation, for if I had Ten Sons and that all made Choice of one Trade I would indulge them for it is impossible they can succeed otherwise. I have told you ffairly what I am sure Pater would if he durst, & as I love you & your family as well as its Possible for one Brother to like another, I think you ought not to cross your Child when his choice is creditable. I know you'l say you have sons enough in the Army already, but that is not a just way of reasoning. Pattie is Bred to no business & you cannot give him as much of your ffortune as make him live like a gentleman, and do justice to the rest of your Children, & though you could, why Load yourself or lessen the proportion of the rest when you can settle him otherwise & to his Heart's liking, beside though you may be partiall enough to think that Patie is calculate for Country business, yet I assure you he is not, for its impossible a man can succeed in anny Calling he does not like, nor would he continue an Hour at it, but to Please you.

I have perhaps said too much to you on this head, but it is out of love to your ffamily, I can assure you I never was with Pattie on the subject, but I told him he might do very well at home, but there's no forcing a man's Inclination. You may think & ought to think seriously of what I have mention'd to you, for a Child's Happiness depends on it, & as I know it is the Business of your mind to do the best for your ffamily. Was he my son I would fix

Digitized by Google

him a Captain in these Levies & think I had done my Duty in so doing. I am in hopes you'l forgive this ffreedom if the subject don't Please you.—My Dr. Br. yours sincerely,

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

I wish you may read this letter.

NOTES.—"Mrs Ballie"—I infer from the above letter that "Mrs Ballie" was the mother of the children, and that Glenure's widow had married Mr William Baillie of Rosehall, probably as his second wife. The whole tenor of what Mr Robert Campbell writes is that the mother should have the upbringing of the children.

Mr Baillie of Rosehall, who "had charge of the Master of Ross' affairs," was active in aiding Duncan Forbes of Culloden in urging the gentlemen of Ross-shire to refrain from joining in the rising of 1745. His eldest son, Gen. Sir Ewen Baillie, Bart., was an officer in the Hon. East Ind. Coy.'s service, which he entered as a cadet in 1766, and served in the 23rd N.I.: he died a full General in 1820: his second son was Charles Baillie, some time in the 101st Foot, Northern Legion: he was a Lt.-Col. in 1794, and a Col. in the Army in 1800. I take it that these were full brothers.

But I find a Hugh Mackay Baillie (otherwise Mackay Hugh Baillie) a Major, late 94th Foot (Scots Brigade), in 1794, also a Lt.-Col. in the Army of 1794; a Col. in 1798, and a Maj.-Gen. of same year: further, that in 1794 he was appointed Col. of the Reay Fencibles, when it was raised in the Reay Country; and further, that he was designed Hugh Mackay Baillie of Rosehall, and that the Lt.-Col. was George Mackay of Bighouse. (See Browne's Hist. of the Highds., Clans, and Regts.).

I think it improbable that Rosehall belonged to Hugh Mackay Baillie in 1794, as two elder sons of Mr William Baillie were then living, and that he ought to have been styled as "of the Rosehall family." In the same way, Lieut.-Col. George Mackay "of Bighouse" was so in right of his wife, Louisa Campbell, Glenure's daughter, who succeeded her grandfather, the Hon. Hugh Mackay, in 1770. Her mother, Janet Mackay, whom I presume to have become Mrs Baillie of Rosehall, must, I take it, have predeceased her father. Compare Letters lxxxvii. and lxxxviii.

Lt.-Col. George Mackay, above mentioned, was of Islandhanda; he married Louisa Campbell in 1768, and at his death, in 1798, was Lt.-Col. in the Reay Fencibles.

Digitized by Google

According to the view here expressed, the Colonel and Lieut.-Colonel of that regiment in 1794 were both near relatives of the Lord Reay of that date, who was incapacitated for military service.

Kilpont, or Kinpunt—The reference is perhaps to John Campbell of Ardeonaig and Lochend, who married Alice, heiress of Kilpunt, and was a Captain in Campbell's Highlanders (the 88th), raised in 1759. I am unable to discover whether John Campbell, Barcaldine, followed his brother's excellent advice about his son's profession, but there was a Patrick Campbell in the same regiment as Ardeonaig, mentioned as wounded in 1761, and again as a Captain in 1762.

NO. LXXXII.

LETTER from Lt.-Col. Alexander Campbell to his father, John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "New York, 30 April 1761. Coll. Alexr. Campbell's letter."

New York, April 30th 1761.

My Dear Sir,—I writ you from Halifax that I had Received orders to embarke with 700 men, which I did accordingly, and on my arrival here the General told me that he had on the 22nd of March appointed me Lt.-Collonel to Burtons Regt., and gave me my Commission. The Regt. is in South Carolina, whether I am to join it I know not. It was formed from Independent Companies. Coll. Montgomerie's Regt. were not suffr'd to Land and sail'd this day with General Whitmore's and Collonel Vaughan's Regt. under the command of Lord Rollo, where they are going we know not; 'tis conjectured to Gaurdeloup, some say against Mobile, in the Missipi; others to take possession of the neutral Islands. It is likewise said that Five Thousand men are to embark from New York in Septr., in that event I fancy our Regt. will go. All your friends in Montgomery's are well, as is Mungo. I have not heard of George nor Allan for some time. When you write me please direct to the care of Abraham Mortier, Esq., Paymaster General, New York. I shall write you again when I know my destination: my most affectionate duty to my mother, and best wishes to all with you, and ever am, my Dear Sir, your most affectionate and Dutiful Son, ALEXR. CAMPBELL.

NOTE.—Col. Burton's Regt. was probably the 48th, which Col. Burton commanded when it served under Wolfe, and was in reserve at the capture of Quebec.

Digitized by Google

NO. LXXXIII.

LETTER from Charles Areskine, Lord Justice Clerk, to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., docqueted "Edinr. 29th August 1761. Letter Mr Charles Arskine."

Edinr., 29th Augt. 1761.

D. Sr.—Your friends with whom you attended the dancing bout are gone off to attend the Coronation. The preliminaries are all adjusted, and signed by all partys concerned—except the friend at Sugnall, who is anxious to have the treaty become effectual, and for whose signature the Conjunction was delay'd and to be concluded at London.

I have no news to trouble you with at present, only the Earl of Sutherland and the Countess set [off] yesterday post for this place and taken her sister along wth. them.

No doubt you have heard of your new governours, and of their proceedings—wch. is more than I yet know, not having as yet qualify'd, however I shall be in time Enough before the Committee's proceedings are approv'd.

I have no reason to suspect—yet watch and pray is an old and good Counsell: you know the hand and I'll say no more than that I am faithfully yours C. A.

[Enclosure]. A memorandum is this day dropt into my hands, and not from an idler. A Gentleman who passed under the name of Cairn came about three weeks ago to visit Mr Cameron of Locheil—two or three days thereafter Locheil had a meeting with some of his clan at Banavie in Lochaber, and then set out for Edinburgh.

It is said Cairny attended the late D. of Perth as his Doctor or Surgeon.

I add that if my memory serve me right I had formerly an information that there was a priest of that name who lived in L. John Drummond's family.

The present state of the frensh makes me Jealoose at this Conjunctur and therefore enquire where you think proper for intelligence [where you think profer (sic in original] but without giving any alarm, and writte me as soon as you think proper, and if any little expence is necessary, let me know, and it shall be made forthcoming.

NOTES.—The friend at Sugnall was evidently Lord Bread-albane, whose 2nd wife was the daughter and heiress or co-heiress

Digitized by Google

of John Pershall, and grand-daughter of Sir Thomas Pershall of Great Sugnall, in the county of Stafford: this John pre-deceased his father, Sir Thomas.

The Committee referred to is probably the one for managing the Forfeited Estates.

NO. LXXXIV.

LETTER from Mr Colin Campbell to his father, John Campbell of Barcaldine, addressed to him at Crieff, and docqueted "Edinr. 14 Decr. 1762. Letter Mr Colin Campbell."

My Dr. Sir,—I have nothing new to write you from this Town but that there has been a very extraordinary examination with shut doors in the Parliament house these two days past of Sir John Stewart with regard to Legitimacy of his son Mr Douglas. What has past in the course of this Examination has not yet transpired but it affords a world of conjecture. Mr Archibald S. the writer gave in a Petition to the President yesterday setting forth that Sir John S. was in mediatione fugae upon which he gave his oath of calumny, upon which there was a macer immediately sent to secure S. J., and they have been cross questioning him these two days.

I had an invitation this day from Baron Maul desireing I would dine with him on Sunday, which you may be sure I will embrace as he has upon severall occasions made favourable mention of me. I am likewise invited to spend the Christmas vacation in Fife at Sir Philip Anstruthers, which with approbation I intend to do, as I think it is materiall for one in my way to make the Circle of my acquaintance as numerous as possible, when done neither at the expence of time or money. I have Bespoke your Resting Chair which will go by the Carrier the next time he comes to Town.

I am happy to hear that Niel is on the mending hand he had much need: we have no letters from the Havanah by the last ships, pray have you had any.

My duty to Mama and I am my Dr. Sir, your most Dutifull son, COLIN CAMPBELL.

Edinr. 14 Decr. 1762.

NOTE.—This letter contains reference to the great "Douglas Cause," which was decided by the House of Lords in 1771 in favour of Mr Archibald Stewart, son of Sir John Stewart of Grantully by Lady Jean Douglas, sister of the Duke of Douglas.

Digitized by Google

Mr Archibald S. took the name of Douglas, and claimed the title of Earl of Angus through his mother; he was served heir to his uncle, the Duke, in the Douglas estates in 1761. The Duke of Hamilton, who also claimed the Earldom of Angus, sought to reduce Mr Archibald's service, but the House of Lords upheld it. The right to the Earldom of Angus was never decided, but Archibald Douglas was created Baron Douglas, an English Barony, in 1790, having established his legitimacy and right to the Douglas estates.

NO. LXXXV.

LETTER from Baron Maule to John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "Edinr. 12 Feby. 1763. Letter Baron Maule."

Edinr. 12 Feby. 1763.

Dear Sir,—I was favoured some time ago wt. your obldiging Letter of ye 21st Janry. and would have written to you sooner but has been very distressed wt. a cholick & purging, which has confined me for a week past, I am now better & hope to go abroad as usual against next week.

I was surprised at what you wrote me of your never having got your commission of factory. I mentioned it so soon as I got your letter, & it was merely a neglect of ye clerks. I understand all these Commissions were signed last Monday, when it was agreed that they should be sent to ye factors, so soon as their bail bonds were returned. I was then confined to ye house, but knew there was to be no opposition to ye thing & that it would be done of course.

I was luckie in getting home in ye nick of time before the roads about you grew impassable: I believe Sir Robert and Lady Menzies are still at Dunkeld. The Duke of Atholl wrote me last week that they had not then left him.

Our storm is just beginning, and it looks as if it would have some conntinuance. It's immensely cold, notwithstanding ye fall of snow, so I hope we shall have more snow & yt. it will continue till we have fine spring weather.

I mentioned to ye board the purchase of ye house at Crieff, & Ld. Minto recommended it likewise, so orders have been given to deal wt. the proprietor about purchasing it.

I am glad you got ye copy of Ld. Breadalbanes patent, you will see that the Limitation is as I told you.

Digitized by Google

I hope you have got quite free of ye gout, & that this shall find all your family well.

I am wt. great truth and esteem, Dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant, Jo. Maule.

NO. LXXXVI.

To the Rt. Hon. Welbore Ellis, Secretary at War. Memorial of the Nobility, Gentry, Freeholders and others in the Northern and Highland Counties of Scotland, Sheweth

That in January 1759 it having been thought expedient to raise under the command of Colonels Montgomery and Fraser two Highland Battalions (then Nos. 62nd & 63rd of the Army) for immediate service, your Memorialists so effectually concurred in this measure of Government that in about two months after the Regiments were not only compleated and reviewed, but also embarked for America, where they have been ever since on constant service, and with the like expedition four additional Companys to each of these two Regiments were soon after raised and went on service.

That in the course of the present war, these parts have been further drained of men by the whole following additional Levys, viz., the Second Battalion to the 42nd, the 87th, 88th, 89th, & 100th Regiments, and by several Highland and Independent Companys drafted into other Regiments: and thro' the uncommon activity of last war, and the honorable share the Highlanders had every where in it, their numbers are reduced to almost the Tenth man of those who originally left the Country.

That your Memorialists have thereby been put to great distress for want of hands to labour the ground, all the young men being there on service and only the very old and children left: whilst the war lasted your Memorialists thought it their Duty to give up their own private Conveniency for the good of the Publick, and for that purpose they chearfully concurred in making the several Levys order'd, But now that the war is over, and that their people have had the honour to contribute a share (and not an inconsiderable one) in the success of it, and as Montgomery & Fraser's Regiments (now changed from their original numbers 62nd and 63rd to 77th and 78th) are to be reduced, your Memorialists humbly hope that His Majesty will have the goodness to order the remains of these Gallant men to be sent home to repeople the Country, and Breed a Race of Soldiers who may emulate the actions of their Fathers in another war. And as the

Digitized by Google

Country really wants them, and as the service of these poor men seems to merit this mark of publick attention, which His Majesty has already been graciously pleased to show to the 87th and 88th Regiments now returned from Germany.

> Your Memorialists pray you to represent the case of their parts of the Country and of Colonels Montgomery and Fraser's Regiments to His Majesty, that His Majesty may be graciously pleased to order these Regiments to be sent home and Disbanded in Scotland.

NOTES.—The above bears no date, but Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders, the 87th and 88th, on their return from Germany landed at Tilbury Fort, and were marched, the former to Perth, the latter to Linlithgow, and reduced in July, 1763. A considerable number of both officers and men in Montgomerie's and Fraser's Regiments, the 77th and 78th, chose to settle in America, each receiving a grant of land; the remainder were sent home and discharged in Scotland. Many of these settlers re-enlisted in the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, embodied in 1775 and numbered the 84th, consisting of two battalions, for service in Canada.

In Major Alex. Campbell's commission, which I have before me, dated 7th Jany., 1757, and signed "W. Pitt," he is appointed "Major to the 1st Highland Battalion of Foot to be forthwith raised for our Service, and Commanded by our Trusty and well beloved Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Archibald Montgomery, and like wise to be Captain of a Company in our said Battalion."

The 89th Highland Regiment, raised in 1759, and embodied at Gordon Castle, was mainly raised on the Duke of Gordon's estates in Aberdeen, Banff, and Inverness shires: after serving in the East Indies, it was reduced in 1765. The 100th Regt. here referred to was raised by Major Colin Campbell of Kilberrie, and embodied at Stirling in 1761, ordered to Martinique, and remained there till 1763, when it was ordered to Scotland and reduced.

NO. LXXXVII.

LETTER from Lieut.-Col. Alexr. Campbell to his father, John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "Bath, 27th Octe. 1770. Letter Coll. Alexr. Campbell."

Bath, Oct. 27th 1770.

My Dear Sir,—I hope this will find you in good health and my mother as well as can be expected.

My wife is in good health, and the waters continue to do me great service. I intend drinking them next fourteen days from

Digitized by Google

this: I never expect a cure but if I can get ease from time to time, it is a great blessing. This place is now very throng, people come here to pass a few days before the meeting of Parliament.

I writ you in my last that Bighouse was going fast: he died the 26th at one o'clock in the morning. I don't know what Disposition he has made of his affairs, but I believe Lucy getts the Estate of Bighouse, and her Sister Five Hundred Pounds, Mr Baile's eldest son Two Thousand, and each of his younger ones Five Hundred Pounds: this the Collonell's favorite man tells me, but thinks their will be tight work att the law amongst them before they settle their matters. Being the only person that [had] any conection with Coll. M'Kay I have been civil as I could to him whilst he was alive, and have taken care of his Body, his wife wants to send it to Scotland. I have put it up in a Leaden coffin, will lodge it this evening in a vault, let his Brothers then do as they chuse. I have six letters more to write, two of which must be pretty long. Love and Duty to my Mother, Love to Nancy, Love and Blessings to the Bairns, and ever am, my Dear Sir, your most affte. and Dutiful son, ALEXR. CAMPBELL.

It being the custom here to change the Lodgings you have lost a friend in we move this evening to a more Pleasant part of the Town, tho' not so near the waters, but I shall walk on Plain Stones. Mr Heron left this day, I am sorry he is a most agreeable man, and her Flights divert me much. If she had staid a little he might have chanced to have gott [?] mad, for she caught a Horrid cough.

How I long for home, and my companion more than I do: we shall have a cold journey, but we will guard against it: we hope to hear from you on Munday. Adieu. Your most affte. Son,

A. C.

NOTE.—Bighouse's wife was Isabella Mackenzie, his 2nd wife: see note at end of next following letter.

As to the disposition of his estate, see note at end of Letter lxxxi., and compare Letter lxxxviii., as to various Baillies getting shares of it.

NO. LXXXVIII.

LETTER from Lieut.-Col. Alexr. Campbell to his father, John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "Bath, 3 Nov. 1770. Letter Coll. Alexr. Campbell."

Bath, Novr. 3 1770.

My Dear Sir,—It gave us great joy to learn by a letter 'tother day from Davie, dated at Barcaldine the 19th of Octr. that he

Digitized by Google

found you so well, I am sorry his accounts of my mother are not so pleasing. I hope we shall soon be home and help to keep up her spirits. I won't complain, but I long much for a letter from yourself tho' I would rather forfeit that pleasure than distress you by writing, which I know is painful and hard upon you. We have had very changable weather here for a week past which disconcerts us much, I mean the Invalids for it is allways dry walking here on the Parade when it does not rain. I hope to leave this by the 17th and London by the 1st of Decr.

The noise of war is not so great as it was some weeks ago: various are the opinions and great are the sums that will [be] lost, whichever turn affairs take: we have many of the great Folks here just now, laying in some store of health for the fatigues of the winter, a great show of Fine girls but very few men. I fancy this will be a poor Harvest for the Ladies. We have mett with great civilities from many people here; my old Irish acquaintances have particularly distinguished themselves here, their company is very agreeable, for they are very moderate: we both declared against Cards from the first, except Commerce or Lottery Tickets, which I believe has saved our pockets a little, as I scarce mett with any person whose Luck at play is worse than mine, indeed my Play is very bad. I feel daily benefite from the waters: . . . . . .

Poor Coll. Mackay's last sickness and his Death disconcerted me a good deal, as their was no other person that had the least knowledge of him here, or nearer than Edinr. I took all the care of him while alive, that could be taken, and have put his affairs here in order. Mrs Mackay wants his body to be sent north, how far his friends would like this I know not. I have therefore put it in a Leaden Coffin, and lodged it in a vault in one of the Churches till General Mackay comes, whom I hourly expect. Capt. George comes to a pelled egg, and I believe Ellanhanda getts the Eastate of Bighouse, Mr Bailie's eldest son Two Thousand Pounds, Colin and Mr Bailie's younger Children Five Hundred Pounds each: they will have good plucking amongst them. I fear the widow will not come in for the share she ought considering the sacrifice she made, and the care she took of him. Colin is a very fine girle and would have been much noticed here If she had passed the winter at Bath. She is very like her Father in Looks and Temper. Hart has been a good friend to her, and still continues so.

Davie mention'd Jeannie and Mattie to me, but said nothing of Patie or Jessie. I am sorry Flint does not think fitt to inocu-

Digitized by Google

late them now, I doubt the young Ladies are something like the Bride of Buckhaven. This is a very heavy day, mist down to the Foot of the Hills, and so thick on the Town, that we can scarce see the next house: we are lodged within ten yards of the publick Rooms and just betwixt two Churches: the larger Parade just under our windows, where all the Company waltz three times a day.

Superbe is with us every other day and takes great notice of Nellie in the public places, he is always in the best of Company and a most agreeable Chatt. Mrs Mackay still continues under my protection: I fancy I shall have made a M'Kenzie conection by my civilities to her. I was very intimate with her brother, who was a Capt. in Montgomery's Regt.: he was killed at the retaking St Johns. Nell keeps in good health, but begins to Dwine for home, which is now beginning to be strongly my case. She joins me in Love and Duty to you, my mother, and in love to Nancy and the Bairns and ever am, my Dr. Sir, your most afft. & Dutiful son, ALEXR. CAMPBELL.

I forgot to tell you that we breakfasted on Thursday with Princess [?] Deskoff that planed the Revolution in Russia, that put the new Empress on the throne, and sent her Husband to the other world. She is a good looking woman, but rather maskuline, she generally goes about in men's cloaths. I hope the little incidents we have mett with will amuse you and my mother during the remainder of the cold weather after we come home. I hope my mother will have a fat goose for us att Christianmass and that God may soon send us a happy meeting prays, my dear Sir, your A. C.

Please send the enclosed to the Major, I have once more asked him to come to us att Christian Mass. A. C.

NOTES.—Of the persons mentioned in the above letter, "Davie" was the writer's brother: "Mrs Mackay" was Bighouse's widow, his 2nd wife, Isabella, daughter of Alexr. Mackenzie of Lentran, to whom he had been married on 14th April, 1770: his first wife, Elizabeth Mackay, heiress of Bighouse, had died at Bighouse little more than a year before, on 13th March, 1769.

"Capt. George," probably the Hon. George Mackay of Skibo, half brother of the Bighouse just deceased, and full brother of General the Hon. Alexr. Mackay: the expression "a pelled egg" seems equivalent to nothing. "Ellanhanda" (or Eilean-Handa)

Digitized by Google

was George Mackay, who married in 1768 Louisa Campbell, Glenure's daughter, and granddaughter of the deceased Hon. Hugh Mackay, who left Bighouse to her (see Letter No. xc.). The issue of this marriage was 9 sons and 12 daughters (see Introduction to these papers).

"Colin, a very fine girle," was Glenure's youngest daughter, who married James Baillie of Ealing Grove.

Col. Alexr. Campbell married, in 1765, Helen, daughter of George Sinclair of Ulbster, and sister of Sir John: their children were Patrick, Janet, Matilda, and Jean, referred to in this letter: Jean became Countess of Caithness.

Capt. Alex. Mackenzie, of Montgomery's Regt., brother of Bighouse's second wife, had been a brother-officer of Col. Alex. Campbell, and had been killed at St John's in 1761.

"Nancy," perhaps the Colonel's sister, wife of Capt. Trapaud: "The Major," probably his brother Allan, promoted Major in the 42nd in 1762.

"Pelled egg."—In Jamieson's Dictionary of the Scottish Language, I find under "Pell" "(2) useless or worthless thing, applied to things that are torn, broken, or out of repair, Shetland." The adjective "pelled" is not given, but a pelled egg evidently means a broken or useless one.

"Bride of Buckhaven."—I cannot find the meaning of this phrase.

NO. LXXXIX.

LETTER from Lieut.-Col. Alexr. Campbell to his father, John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "Bath, 17 Nov. 1770. Letter Coll. Alexr. Campbell."

Bath, Novr. 17th 1770.

My Dear Sir,—We had the joy of receiving yours of the 30th of Oct. on Thursday forenoon. I need not say how happy it made us. We were to have sett out for London as to day, but General M'Kay beged I would stay for a Day, we shall health permitting sett out early on Munday. I have had vast benefit by the waters . . . . the last fit of the gout was the easiest I ever had, I hope we shall meet in a very different state of health to what we parted in.

You'l see by the Papers how the Duke of Argyle's employments were disposed of. I hear Lord Frederick will make Thirty-five Thousand Pounds by the Executry, Lord William is not so-

Digitized by Google

much as named in the Will. It is said the Earl of Dysart is to be the Peer. I fancy it won't go well down with the Scots peers to have two English families put upon them so quickly after other: there will be no opposition so that many members have already come away. We have had terrible weather for these three weeks, constant Foggs and heavy rains, by which the Roads are terribly poached and broke. I am glad Davie is able for the Lochow lands, and still more happie as he says he will be some months yearly in the country. I hope the money will be got: if the Stocks would keep tollerably steady for a few days I daresay it would be got. I hope the woods will relieve if we can get it but for five years. You'l have seen the King's speech before this gets to hand, ane other return of the Courier from Madrid before anything final is determined. Preparations going on at all the Ports. It is reported here that Lord Finlater hastened his own end: what a prospect Mr Grant of Grant's family have. I don't think this Finlater in a good way: he was in the same house with us att Harrowgate, he does not want sense, but it is ill to draw it out of him.

I'm sorry for Mrs Campbell's death, for Colin will marry some body. I'll continue to write weekly till I come home. I am glad Danna is paid, and hope everything will be done to make him account properly for his intromissions with his stepmother's effects, he is an ungrateful Boy.

Bighouse is still unburied, I fancy his Brother will prevail to have him interred here. I shall make slow journeys and propose bringing a chaise from Edinr. to Bunaw. Nellie and I dined yesterday at a Mr Spencer's who informed us that Mungo is now Major of the 55th Regt. I am sorry to hear that my young Ladies were not fit for inoculation, I hope the spring will do as well. Mr Grenvil's death is a great national loss: what think you of Wederburn's refusing the Attorney-Generalship, it is the highest office at the Bar. It is said the King begins to act for himself in granting marks of his Favour, God grant it may be true. Wilks and the Bill of Rights are scarce talked of, Wilks by his late conduct has fairly fairly kicked his own heels up, and shown everybody that he has neither conscience nor judgment: the people of Ireland are in a sort of Blaze on account of the Prorogation of their Parliament, many Laws expir'd, their trade dampt, and no money stirring. I fear I tire you with the length of my Letters, but I do it to amuse. Love and Duty to my Mother. Love to Nancy & the Bairns and ever am, my dear Sir, your most affect. and Dutiful Son, ALEXR. CAMPBELL.

Digitized by Google

P.S.—Since finishing the above General M'Kay is come to Bath, and is to bury his brother tomorrow evening. This country is all under water, and the roads scarcely passable, this day is something fair, so I hope before Munday the waters will subside. I don't know whether Nellie is to write her mother, she is in good health and high spirits with the thoughts of setting her face homewards on Munday. I had a letter from my Brother in Law telling me that I was enrolled a Caithness Freeholder. I hope Jack will make a good figure in the world, he has it in him if he gets Fair Play in his education. Poor Jamie was the greatest sufferer by his father's death. A. C.

NOTE.—"Jack," afterwards Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, who succeeded his father in 1770, at the age of 16. "Mrs Campbell's death" presumably refers to Glenure's widow, mother of Colin, who became Mrs Bailie. (See notes to preceding letter).

NO. XC.

LETTER from Lieut.-Col. Alexr. Campbell to his father, John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "London, 8 Dec. 1770. Letter Coll. Alex. Campbell."

London, Decr. 8th 1770.

My Dear Sir,—We have had the joy of receiving two letters from Barcaldine since last Munday: the mistakes of your letters not coming to us was owing to my useless Clerk, he made a frequent scrutiny himself but somehow three letters of yours fell by, which we got since we came here.

I am happy to hear the Bairns are so obedient to their Grandmama: I fear Jeanie has more adress than her brother or sister, she, I am sure, is a fine gabbie elf: how I long to see them. It was lucky I had some excuse to tempt me to stay here, for the Roads are terrible, and the weather desperately cold. I hope to take my departure the beginning of the week after next, and will make slow journeys. The Augmentation of the Army passed the Committee yesterday and will pass the House the first meeting of it. I have not seen my chiefe these five days, but will to-morrow. I fancy the Earle of Breadalbane won't hesitate writing the Duke of Argyle, as I beged he would, if he writes in coures it should come to hand about the middle of next week. I thought it best to have the application for me come through the old Channel tho' I have the vanity that he wishes to serve me, tho' I had applied in person. I hope something will be done for Forse, he waited of

Digitized by Google

General Scott at my advice, who received him with great civility, and has backed his Memorial and likewise writ Lord Barrington a letter in his favour, he is a very good young man and behaves with great propriety. Nellie and I dined yesterday and supped with Sandy Ardchattan, the whole Rouses supped there: I wonder not he is fond of them, the most agreeable people I ever saw, old and young; it was no leet Party, we had called by chance in the forenoon, and would not be let away till eleven last night: you'l think very different of your nephew when I have ane opportunity of explaining things than you now do, for he and I had a thorough clearance yesterday, as we were alone for many hours, he is warm hearted and would do anything for the man he loves except lend him money, his wife is the most engaging creature I ever knew: he has got her son appointed a writer to Bengal, he goes out this year, and is a very fine lad.

I think my Mother write Nell that your neighbours are in Ardnamurchan, you must have had very different weather than we have had, else no creature would venture to sea: there never was such a deluge known in England. I hope Buchanan's Almanack will hold true, so that Glencrow will be passable. Our friends att Greenwich are gone to Bath, he is the cleverest oddest fellow I ever saw.

We dine today with Mr Davidson, tomorrow with Sir Alexr. Grant, Tuesday with Mr Couts the Banker, Wednesday with Lady Margaret M'Donald, and Thursday with Mrs Charles Campbell. I am told this will come time enough to Edinr. for the West post on Saturday next, tho' I delay sending it till Munday, so will do it that I may have a chance of something more to amuse you. General Scott has not yet shown his young wife nor is not to do it till after the Holydays. I have a great desire to see her, having heard so much of her. I fancy my friend General Mackay will be matrimonised the beginning of the new year.

I hear matrimony goes on apace in Scotland. It is true that Bighouse has left his Estate to Lucy, and Five Hundred Pounds to Colin, I think he has done very handsomely by them. The General, who tooth and nail opposed the marriage gives a very good account of Islandhanda, and says he will be a great Campbell.

Dec. 10th.—Peoples hopes fluctuate betwixt Peace and War, for the meantime preparations go on briskly. By letters received last Saturday of the 7th from Jamaica they have no dread of a Rupture, and had then many Spanish vessels in their Ports, and many of the Jamaica ships att the Havanna, two thirds of the

Digitized by Google

Newfoundland ships were in the Ports of Spain last month, and mett with no insult, they have taken up the Pavement of the streets at Caeles. I called yesterday att Argyle house, att General Grahams, and at Meggins house. I found only the last at home, he was most civil and asked after my mother and you in the kindest manner.

There is a great debate this day in the House of Lords. I wished to gett in to hear it, but the Crowd is so great that I durst not venture, besides I was not sure that standing six hours on my leggs would agree with them. I hope next Saturday or Munday will be the last letter I'll write from London for some time, we have frost these two days: if it lasts we shall have fine travelling, we sent of our trunk for Edinr. this day by the waggon so that it may come before we leave Edinr. We shall be obliged to halt a day att Durham, and a day at Newcastle, it will rest us, and pay a visite to some friends. Love and Duty to my mother, Love to Nancy and the Babies, and ever am, my dear Sir, your most affectionate and Dutiful son, ALEXR. CAMPBELL.

NOTES.—Lt.-Col. Alex. Campbell got the appointment of Lieut.-Governor of Fort-George, which apparently did not involve residence there, towards the end of 1771: perhaps his "application" here spoken of refers to this. His Commission as Colonel in the Army is dated 29th August 1777.

Sutherland of Forse was a relation of his wife. Sandy Ardchattan was son of Charles Campbell of Ardchattan, by Ann, full sister of John of Barcaldine: another son of Ardchattan's, Capt. Charles Campbell, of Fraser's Highlanders, was killed at Catawba in 1779.

Meggins, evidently for Megginch's.

NO.XCI.

LETTER from Lieut.-Col. Alexr. Campbell to his father, John Campbell of Barcaldine.

Perth, Novr. 8th, 1771.

My dear Sir,—[Interlined] Please read the last page first, it will excuse me for putting you to the expence of ane express.

It is impossible for me to find words to express how I was shoked by hearing of the Duke of Atholl's death. He had been ill for some days with what they call a Fever in the Brain and made ane attempt to jump out of the window, but was prevented by the Dutchess. Last Saturday morning he seemed better and

Digitized by Google

first sent a servant out of his room and then found some pretence to send the Dutchess for a few particular sort of apples, he then ran out into the Garden, and the instant he got to the Riverside, threw off his Hatt, and jumpt into it.

His body was not found till next Day, eight miles below Dunkeld. He is a great loss to his country. The now Duke was at Shaw Park and passed throw here with Lord Cathcart yesterdav morning. I am told he was a dismal sight.

I had a letter from Barbreck to-day but have not answered it: Believe me, my dear Sir, a Publick Sale is the best, and I have this day a letter from London, which Flatters me with the hopes of offers from that Quarter, so that I hope we shall get a good Price, which is the only chance we have for re-establishing our little Family, my prediliction to the particular spot is as strong as possible, but I would rather have a small Castel anywhere, than only a Part of what we now have and that too loaded with debt, to have whatever we have clear will make us happy and easy and enable us to be making additions. Duns and Interest paying is a Horrid thing. I beg, my dear Sir, you will make a Demand for the Bills I left with you, for the things of mine that were sold att the Roup, as I promised to pay Mr Sandeman for the Furniture I bought from him at this term. Mr Robertson is not yet come back from Panmure. I had a letter from Mr Beveridge last inght, he complains loudly of Grants being constant out of town, a state of suspence is very disagreeable. If the poor Duke of Athole had acted his dismal part a few weeks sooner it might have made a great change in the Political system of the County. Ulbster is not yet return'd, nor is the Sutherland Election over. I really believe he is making a Push at that County.

The high prices att the Great Newcastle Fair gives me much pleasure. Jamie Sinclair has been with us some days. He is a very fine lad as is Glenure's Jamie. I had a Letter 'tother day from my Boy James, he has sailed on his second voyage and has made friends to himself that have given him Credit for a little venture, which will help the poor fellow. Patie is doing very well and I hope will soon be up with his class, he keeps from first to third Dux, the class consists of nine Boys: he wakens regularly at the Hour, and gives closs attendance. I'll conclude this letter on Friday.

Novr. 9th.—I had this morning a Letter from the Secretary att War, offering me the Lt.-Government of Fort George, his Lordship writes me the pay is £300 a year, a good House Coals and Candle. I have accepted. I hope you'l excuse my ordering

Digitized by Google

this to be forwarded by express. Col. Beauclerk is to be removed to Pendennis, as he can't reside having a Company in the Guards. We all join in Duty and love to you, my Dear Sir, and in Love to Nancy and ever am with the Highest Respect, my Dear Sir, your most afte. and Dutiful Son, ALEXR. CAMPBELL.

NOTES.—The proposed sale of property mentioned in this letter must refer to the family estate of Barcaldine, which John Campbell sold subsequently to his half-brother, Duncan of Glenure. The "Jamie Sinclair" mentioned was the son of Sir John Sinclair of Mey, b. 1766: he married Jean, 2nd daughter of Col. Alex. Campbell, the writer of this letter, in 1784, and became 12th Earl of Caithness in 1789. "Glenure's Jamie" became a Lieut. in 42nd, and later Captain in 77th, Athole Highrs.: the Colonel's son, James, apparently in the Navy, is not mentioned in the short family history given at p. 8 above.

NO. XCII.

LETTER from Col. Alexr. Campbell to his father, John Campbell of Barcaldine, addressed to him "by Inverary," docqueted "Perth, 16 Septr. 1773. Coll. Alexr. Campbell's Letter."

Perth, Sept. 16, 1773.

My Dear Sir,—Yours of the 5th I had the pleasure of receiving on Saturday. Nellie is thank God so well recover'd as to be able to look after her household affairs again, but the weather is so cold that she has not ventured out of doors as yet, the little Isobel thrives apace, the rest are in high good health, I see them daily. I have not hade a scrape of a pen from Mr Robertson since I saw him, which makes me very uneasy, but I hope I will tomorrow before I need dispatch this. I am happy to learn you have a few Pence for me. I want them. I writ you in my last what Lowson said of Cow's affair, I likewise writ Mr Robertson of it: it would seem as I understand the Charge that he has made a demand for all the wages he ought to have had from your first employing him to the day you quit the Factory without giving you any credite for what he got by Cash or Meal; I am very anxious to hear from you after having seen my Brother. If I once had up the wood contract from him, I think I have found a Plan that would make us easy and leave us a very decent competency. I flatter myself with getting your aprobation, because it varies very little from your own scheme, and I think by it without over valuing anything we can raise £9500.

Digitized by Google

My new truss made by ane old soldier I hope will be a blessed contrivance for me, the swelling is greatly fallen, and if it keeps even as it is, I will be happy to what I have been for many months: I was on Horsback almost all day yesterday, and found myself very little the worse for it.

The crop in this country is very tolerable, and a great deal got in, which I hope will lower the price of meal, which still keeps at 1/1 per Peck, Potatoes are fallen, Butcher meat keeps up and Coals are att 27£ [sic] the Chalder, 40 stone to the Boll. It is said we shall have very hott work in the Election in this County, and all over Scotland. No less than 27 new Barons are to be made by the Athole interest, and more by Graham and Douglass, Glen makes a very respectable Figure on the List of Claims.

17th.—We had a terrible wind here last night. I daresay much grain has been scatter'd. It is now 2 o'cl., no post come in tho' his usual hour is nine in the morning. I this moment have had a letter from Mr Robertson of which the following is an extract. [What follows seems to refer to some family matters of business requiring adjustment between differene members, which he hopes his father will be able to settle, and suggests that, if he requires some one to write to his dictation, he should get Dugald, Achnaba, if in the country]. Nellie and the bairns join me in Love and Duty to my mother and you. Love to Nancy and Blessing to Patie, and ever am with the highest Respect, my Dear Sir, your most affectionate and Dutiful Son,

ALEXR. CAMPBELL.

This was the coldest morning I ever was on horsback on this day of the year. I beg, my Dear Sir, you'l send me what Pence you have got for me, I do want them.

NO. XCIII.

LETTER from Lieut.-Col. Alexr. Campbell to his father, John Campbell of Barcaldine.

Perth, Dec. 21st 1773.

My Dear Sir,—Yours of the 3rd & 13th I have had the pleasure of by Duncan Dow: everything came safe, and the Large Bundle contain'd a Guinea note more than you mention'd. I have got a Draught on Edinr. for £120, the remaining £31 1s 1d I must send to Glasgow to get changed before it is sent to Edinr., the Draught Mr Robertson will have to-morrow morning, it came most opportunely to pay Mr Millar's Interest, due at Whitsunday, he is the

Digitized by Google

Civilist Dun I have had to do with, and your neighbour the least so. [He reverts to the subject of some family matters of business, and to his brother, David, in connection therewith, and also to the Ayr Bank: and, further on, returns to these subjects, and to the news that the sum of £200,000 had been subscrbed as a Loan to the Company, with a prospect of individuals suffering little, and prays God this may be true]. I hope you have sent to Inverary, where two long letters lay that I writ and sent off Friday was fourtnight and last Friday, by them you will see that I neglected nothing that you ordered me to do. I hope the scheme that I proposed about the Criefe affair, if it can be brought about, will be agreeable to you, and that my letter to Barbreck mett with your approbation. I beg you will order the Rock of Culcairn to be survey'd and built as cheaply and as soon as possible. I sent you a copy of Mr Robertson's letter on that subject: the terms mentioned in Mr Sheriff's letter I think most unreasonable, their mine may give up tomorrow, and may last for a hundred years.

I writ him that I had forwarded his letter to you, and waited for your orders before I gave him a positive answer; you see he has left orders to look at the appearance in [?] Beiray. I wish John M'Nicole saw it, I am told he has great judgment in these matters, and his Company I should think the most eligible to be concerned with.

I have been very severly handled by my gravelly complaint for some time past, I can safely swear that I have not slept for half ane hour att a time for 28 nights past, but thank God the Gout keeps off. I hope the Candles and Boiler are what you order'd, I have sent two Pounds of rough and one of small Rapee, which I hope will be to your taste. My dear Sir, believe me, no People love a country life more than we do, nor enjoy it more, nor can be sensible of the many conveniences that attend it, but we must conform to our situation and make ourselves as happy as we can in it.

[Here the writer returns to the matter of the Submission, and to accounts, and to the "Air Bank"].

Duncan Dow tells me you have had a vast crop of Potatoes on Dalecloish: it will make a fine field of oats next harvest. I hear a Droll theft was committed in our Bedroom, if it is the Bible his Grandmama gave Patie, I doubt we shall have a bad account of the things left in our Desks and Drawers, 'tis certain a matrass could not be disposed of without more than one Person being concerned. Nellie has sent you the Perth Magazine, it will

Digitized by Google

amuse you and be a vast treasure to Doctor Sandie, when he comes to see you. [He makes further reference to correspondence with his brother David: the conclusion of the letter does not seem to have been preserved].

NO. XCIV.

LETTER from Lieut.-Col. Alexr. Campbell to his father, John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "Perth, 28 Jany. 1774. Coll. Alexr. Campbell's letter."

Perth, Jany. 28, 1774.

My Dr. Sir,—The enclosed I had by last post, added to the note refer'd to in the letter you have a claim for a further Credite of about £1700. [What follows refers to his brother David's going abroad]. The enclosed Letters and Billet came in a long Letter this day to me from Mr Lawson, I shall say that I have every iron in the fire to gett the money he calls for, I have not yet had success. I am, thank God, much better than I was on Tuesday, and my feet quite sound. Nellie and the children are in good health, and join me in Love and Duty to my mother and you. Love to Nancy and Blessings to my Dr. Boy, and ever am with the greatest respect, my Dr. Sir, your most affectionate and Dutiful Son,

ALEXR. CAMPBELL.

NO. XCV.

LETTER from Patrick Campbell to his cousin, Lieut.-Col. Alexr. Campbell, addressed to him as "Ltt. Govr. of Fort George at his lodgings in Perth," and docqueted "Edr., 28 April 1775. Letter Patk. Campbell of Ardchattan."

Dear Coll.,—I was exceeding sorry to hear from Dr Hay last week that you still complain much. I hope you are better.

Wednesday se'ennight I crossed the ferry and hired horses to ride to Perth to have a chatt with you and Mrs Campbell before you left Perth. That day I stay'd with Mr Chalmers at Dunfermline Abbey, but next day found my stomach so ill that I was obliged to return home tho' with regret. I have been these three weeks complaining of a disorder in my stomach, which I suppose is either gouty or nervous, and I ride every day from 15 to 25 miles on horseback.

As my little Lawrence is under inoculation I stay at Mr Butters these four or five days, and for the first two days was rather worse, but now I thank God am something easier again.

Digitized by Google

The child is doing well, and has not above 2 doz. spotts. Two days ago my poor Tommy had a bad fall from a high wall, which had near cost him his life, but this day he is better, and hope he will escape. You see I am very particular that you may be induced to give me a very full acct. of your ffamily.

[The remainder of the letter refers to a project that the Colonel's brother, David, should go to America with his family and start in business there, and urges that pecuniary assistance should be afforded to enable this to be carried out]. I beg my best wishes to Mrs C. and my little Cousines and am sincerely, my Dr. Col., yours most afftely., PATK. CAMPBELL.

NO. XCVI.

LETTER from Patrick Campbell to his uncle, John Campbell of Barcaldine, so addressed, and docqueted "Edr., 29 Aprile 1775. Letter Patk. Campbell of Ardchattan."

[This letter is to very nearly the same effect as the preceding one: it refers to David (who had been a writer in Edinburgh) having qualified himself to practice in America as an agent and surveyor, by acquiring a knowledge of English forms of law and land measuring: he appeals for further contributions of money from Barcaldine, and mentions several other members of the family to whom he had applied for the means of paying passage money and starting in business in New York. He represents the case as urgent. After giving the same account of his own children as he had done to his cousin, he concludes]—"My wife and the others are well. I beg my best wishes to Nanny & am always with sincere affection, my dear Sir, your dutifull & affte. nephew,

"PATK. CAMPBELL.

"Edinr., 29th Aprile 1775."

NOTES.—Patrick Campbell was probably a brother of Capt. Charles Campbell (son of Ardchattan), of Fraser's Highrs., or the 71st, which was raised in 1775: this Capt. C. fell in action at Catawba in 1779 or 1780.

There are no later letters from or to any of the Barcaldine family in the packet entrusted to me.

John of Barcaldine did not long survive his troubles: he died two years later, on 12th April, 1777: and his son, the Colonel, died 22nd April, 1779, at Bath. He was buried in Bath Abbey, "in George Gordon's grund by the font," April 24, 1779: this

Digitized by Google

George Gordon was the 13th laird of Gight, who died on 9th January preceding, and was the grandfather of Lord Byron.—(Information from Mr J. M. Bulloch).

David Campbell, designed "of Belmont," was admitted aW.S. 1st December, 1755: apprentice to Alexr. Robertson. Second son of John Campbell of Barcaldine, Argyllshire: married, March, 1756, Jean, daughter of Archibald Campbell, Edinburgh. Resigned his Commission 14th March, 1775.—(Hist. of W.S. Society).

NO. XCVII.

COPY LETTER from Mrs Mackay, daughter of the Rev. David Mackay, minister of Reay, to Miss [sic] Innes, Dowager of Sandside, preserved among the Bighouse Papers, and marked "The Mermaid seen on the Coast of Caithness," sent to the Countess of Caithness (daughter of Col. Alexr. Campbell).

Reay Manse, May 25th, 1809.

Madam,—To establish the truth of what has hitherto been considered Improbable and Fabulous must be at all times a difficult task, and I have not the vanity to think that my testimony alone would be sufficient for this purpose; but when to this is added that of four others, I hope it will have some effect in removing the doubts of those who suppose that the wonderful appearance I reported having seen in the sea on the 12th of January was not a Mermaid, but some other uncommon, though less remarkable inhabitant of the deep.

As I would willingly contribute to remove the doubts of the sceptical, I beg leave to state to you the following accounts after premising that my cousin, whose name is affixed with mine, was one of the four witnesses who beheld with me this uncommon spectacle. While she and I were walking by the sea shore on the 12th January about noon, our attention was attracted by seeing three people who were on a rock at some distance, showing signs of terror and astonishment at something they saw in the water. On approaching them we distinguished that the object of their wonder was a face resembling the human countenance, which appeared floating on the waves: at that time nothing but the face was visible: it may not be improper to observe, before I proceed further, that the face, throat and arms are all I can attempt to describe: all our endeavours to discover the appearance and position of the body being unavailing.

Digitized by Google

The sea at that time ran very high, and as the waves advanced the Mermaid gently sank under them and afterwards re-appeared. The face seemed plump and round, the eyes and nose were small, the former were of a light grey colour, and the mouth was large, and from the shape of the jawbone, which seemed straight, the face looked short: as to the inside of the mouth I can say nothing, not having attended to it, though sometimes open. The forehead, nose, and chin were white. The head was exceedingly round, the hair thick and long of a green oily cast, and appeared troublesome to it, the waves generally throwing it down over the face: it seemed to feel the annoyance, and as the waves retreated, with both its hands frequently threw back the hair, and rubbed its throat, as if to remove any soiling it might have received from it. The throat was slender, smooth and white: we did not think of observing whether it had elbows, but from the manner in which it used its arms I must conclude that it had. The arms were very long and slender, as were the hands and fingers, the latter were not webbed. The arms, one of them at least, was frequently extended over its head as if to frighten a bird that hovered over it, and seemed to distress it much: when that had no effect, it sometimes turned quite round several times successively.

At a little distance we observed a seal. It sometimes laid its right hand under its cheek, and in this position floated for some time. We saw nothing like hair or scales on any part of it, indeed the smoothness of the skin particularly caught our attention. The time it was discernible to us was about an hour. The sun was shining clearly at the time. It was distant from us a few yards only. These are the observations made by us during the appearance of the strange phenomenon.

If they afford you any satisfaction I shall be particularly happy: I have stated nothing but what I clearly recollect: as my cousin and I had frequently previous to this period combated an assertion, which is very common among the lower class here, that mermaids had been frequently seen on this coast, our evidence cannot be thought biassed by any former prejudice in favour of the existence of this wonderful creature.

To contribute in any degree to your pleasure or amusement will add to the happiness of, Madam, yours greatly obliged,

ELIX MACKAY,
C. MACKENZIE.

To the Right Honble. the Countess of Caithness,
From William Forsyth.

Digitized by Google

NO. XCVIII.

A PAPER, headed "The Mermaid seen on the Coast of Caithness. Letter from Mr Wm. Munro, schoolmaster, Thurso, to Dr Torrence, regarding a Mermaid seen by him some years ago."

Thurso, 9th June, 1809.

Dear Sir,—Your queries respecting the Mermaid are before me: from the general scepticism which prevails among the learned and intelligent about the existence of such a phenomenon, had not your character and real desire for investigation been too well known to me for supposing that you wished to have a fertile imagination indulged by a subject of merriment, I would have been disposed to have concluded that in this instance you aimed at being ranked among the laughing philosophers at my expense.

Sensible, however, that this is not the case, and taking it for granted that you are sincere, I shall endeavour to answer your queries, though there is little probability that any testimony which I can give respecting the mermaid will operate towards convincing those who have not hitherto been convinced by the repeated testimonies adduced in support of the existence of such an appearance.

About twelve years ago, when I was Parochial schoolmaster at Reay, in the course of my walking on the shore of Sandside Bay, being a fine warm day in summer I was induced to extend my walk towards Sandside Bay, when my attention was arrested by the appearance of a figure resembling an unclothed female, sitting upon a rock extended into the sea, and apparently in the action of combing its hair, which flowed around its shoulders, and of a light brown colour. The resemblance which the figure bore to its prototype in all its visible parts was so striking that had not the rock on which it was sitting been dangerous for bathing I would have been constrained to have regarded it as really an human form, and to an eye unaccustomed to the situation it must have undoubtedly appeared as such.

The head was covered with hair of the colour above mentioned and shaded on the crown, the forehead round, the face plump, the cheeks ruddy, the eyes blue, the mouth and lips of a natural form resembling those of a man, the teeth I could not discover as the mouth was shut: the breasts and abdomen, the arms and fingers of the size of a full grown body of the human species, the fingers, from the action in which the hands were employed, did not

Digitized by Google

appear to be webbed, but as to this I am not positive. It remained on the rock three or four minutes after I observed it, and was exercised during that period in combing its hair which was long and thick, and of which it appeared proud, and then dropped into the sea, which was level with the abdomen, from whence it did not appear to me. I had a distinct view of its features, being at no great distance on an eminence above the rock on which it was sitting and the sun brightly shining. Immediately before its getting into its natural element it seemed to have observed me, as the eyes were turned towards the eminence on which I stood. It may be necessary to remark that previous to the period I beheld this object I had heard it frequently reported by several persons, and some of thme of them persons whose veracity I never heard disputed, that they had seen such a phenomenon as I have described, though then like many others I was not disposed to credit their testimony on this subject. I can say of a truth that it was only by seeing the phenomenon I was perfectly convinced of its existence.

If the above narrative can in any degree be subservient towards establishing the existence of a phenomenon hitherto almost incredible to naturalists or to remove the scepticism of others, who are ready to dispute everything which they cannot fully comprehend, you are welcome to it from, Dear Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant, WM. MUNRO.

"To the Right Honble. the Countess of Caithness,
from the Honble. James Sinclair."

14th DECEMBER, 1899.

At the meeting on this date the following were elected ordinary members of the Society, viz., Mr George Munro, Lonroidge, Alness, and Rev. Mr Maclean, Carnoch. Thereafter Rev. R. L. Ritchie read a contribution entitled "Some Unpublished Gaelic Songs," the compositions of Angus Lamont, at one time a well-known bard in Mull and the adjacent isles. The paper is as follows:—

ANGUS LAMONT.

Angus Lamont was born in the island of Ulva, immortalised by Campbell, about the year 1770. He came of a long line of stalwart Highlanders, a branch of the Lamonts of Cowal, one of

Digitized by Google

the oldest clans in the Highlands of Scotland. During the dark days of warfare and spoliation, which devastated the eastern shores of Argyleshire about the middle of the seventeenth century, when the fair country of Cowal ran red with blood, and the Lamonts lost the greater part of their lands, many members of the clan were compelled to leave their native shores, and to seek homes and shelter in other parts of the country. Among them a small colony of Lamonts, assisted, it is said, by a daughter of the chief, set sail in a small skiff for the Western Isles, and, after enduring many privations, finally found a welcome among the warm-hearted MacQuarries, in the island of Ulva. From this stock sprung the subject of our sketch. In early life, being a handsome young man, of scholarly tastes and poetic longings, Mr Lamont became impressed with the romantic and beautiful surroundings and associations which unite to render Iona a pearl among the isles, and he determined to cast his lot among its God-fearing and industrious inhabitants.

Iona is peculiarly fitted to be the home of a poet; indeed the wonder is that it has not given birth to many poets. There is poetry in its crumbling ruins, in its graves of kings, of chiefs, and abbots; in its sacred mounds and knolls; its superstition-haunted glades and valleys. The spirit of song comes wafted on the wings of the wind; it suns itself upon the silver strand; and dances amidst the waves upon the everlasting rocks.

Angus Lamont first established himself as a teacher, but having won the heart of Mary Macdonald, a young lady as conspicuously distinguished for her sound sense and industrious habits as her lover was for his attractive personality, he resolved to take a croft, build himself a house, marry, and devote himself, like Robert Burns, to the raising of crops, and the cultivation of literature and the muses. Unlike that gifted but unhappy bard, he lived a simple and happy life, being the slave of neither his passions nor his appetites, and died at a good old age, honoured by all.

Deeply imbued with a love of Celtic research, Mr Lamont entered heart and soul into the study of Celtic tradition and historical data, bearing more particularly upon the interesting and romantic island of Iona and its scholastic and saintly associations. At a time when the Western Isles were as yet far removed in sentiment and association from the great Lowland centres, with their halls of learning, when the Highlander clung to the simple ways of his forefathers and to his native tongue, Mr Lamont, unaided by the teachings of professors, or by access to

Digitized by Google

great libraries, acquired a knowledge of Celtic history and tradition which was as extensive as it was remarkable. Great men whose names were household words were not above asking him to solve some knotty problem, nor were noble authors ashamed to consult this untravelled Highlander, who tilled the land, and "cultivated literature on a little oatmeal." With such qualifications for leadership, it was not surprising that Mr Lamont was an acknowledged authority upon all matters which interested his friends and neighbours. He was lawyer, doctor, surveyor, "guide, philosopher, and friend." Did a brother crofter desire to make his will; was he inclined to go to law—for your Highlander, now denied the pleasure of settling disputes with his skean-dhu, dearly loves a law-plea—was his cow afflicted with some mysterious disease; had his daughter received an offer of marriage; was there a dispute as to the number of cubits in Noah's ark; Mr Lamont, and he alone, could arrange matters to everyone's satisfaction—

> "And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew,
> That one small head could carry all he knew."

When public interest became awakened to the wonders of Staffa and Iona, and the Messrs Hutchison began to run a line of steamers to carry tourists to and from the famous isles, Mr Lamont was appointed custodian of the ruins of Iona, a position which he was eminently qualified to fill. As a raconteur Mr Lamont had few equals. His fund of anecdote was inexhaustible, and nothing delighted him more than to gather around him a coterie of appreciative listeners, and regale them with stories of men and manners as related to him by his forebears, or coming within the lines of his own experience, with legends, snatches of verse, and proverbs connected with saints and heroes, or with well known people belonging to his day and generation. Many an old Ionian loves to recall the voice and attitude with which Mr Lamont would begin or emphasise an interesting monologue—"Well, what have you of it?"

It is deeply to be regretted that no portrait exists of Mr Lamont. Even in his latter years he was tall, portly, and straight as a soldier. He had a noble head, and a strikingly handsome face. To this day old and middle-aged men and women speak of Mr Lamont as "the grand old man" of Iona. Had he studied at one of the Universities, there cannot be a doubt that he would have attained to high honours in any profession he chose to adopt. He died in 1856, and his mortal remains lie mouldering in Reilig Oran.

Digitized by Google

CO-CHRUINNEACHADH DHUAN,

Le Aonghas MacLaomainn, tuathanach ann an I Chalum-Chille.

Air an trusadh leis ann Urr. R. MacLaomainn Ritchie, Sgir Chraoidh, Cataobh.

Oran do 'n Chladach Fheamuin.

Ath-ha-a-lam, Ath-ha-a-lam,
Ath-ha-a-lam o Ceann Anndraidh,
B' e sid an t-àite comhalach,
'N uair thig an ròd 's a' Gheamhradh;
Bithidh bodaich agus crogain aca,
Crios mu 'n còta teann orra,
Ma théid thu 'shireadh faoighe orra,
Gheibh thu dòrn 's a' cheann bhuath.

Thoir fios gu Niall Mac Laomuinn bhuam
Nach 'eil mo ghaol 's an am air,
Ged 'bhiodh pailteas feamuin aige,
'S geamanta na 'ceann e;
'S ann their e neo-aoigheil rium—
A shlaodair' fuirich thall uam,
Cha d' thugainn mìr de m' mhàthair dhuit,
Ged bhiodh a bàs na 'gealltachd.

Mo ghaol air Dòmhull Dòmhnullach,
Gur duine còir gach am e,
'S ann bheir e cuireadh sòlasach
Do 'n fhear tha 'n dìth le ganntachd;
Tha feamuin anns na ròidibh,
'S thig gu leoir oirnn fo Bhealtuinn,
'S gu 'n d' thoir mi iomadh lòd dhith
Do 'n ghille chòir mo chleamhuinn.

Bha Iain Dubh Mac Airteir ann,
Bu taitneach leam a chainnt-san,—
Gu bheil againn pailteas dhith,
'S gun airceas thugaibh leibh i;
Cha 'n 'eil 'so ach càirdean,
Bithibh dian mu 'n tig an oidhche,
'S air beulthaobh Aonghuis Làmoin,
'Ur diùltadh ni tha oillteil.

Digitized by Google

Beannachd is buaidh làraich leibh,
Nach fhaca cas 's an àm oirnn,
A leasaich am buntàta dhomh,
Gu 'n fhàilluing a Ceann-Anndraidh;
Tha e 'nis gu sàbhailt'
A' fàs le blàths an t-Samhruidh,
'S mur toir sinn tuilleadh pàidheadh dhuibh
Gu bràth gu'm bi sinn taingeil.

A certain vagueness exists in sea-ware rights. The vagaries of weather send this gift of Neptune to unexpected places, where the next tide may recall its offering. "First come, first served," is an unwritten law among neighbours, and our bard, I fear, had the admitted weakness of the sons of song—an unreadiness. Here we find his more active companions have not let him lose through his lethargy.

ORAN DO ROB MAC LACHUINN, GOBHAIN, I-CHALUIM-CHILLE.

Bho 'n tharladh dhòmh-sa bhi m' ònar,
Gun duine m' chòir 'ni rium sùgradh,
Teannaidh mi ri focal òrain,
Do 'n fhear is còire tha 's an dùthaich;
Rob Mac Lachuinn, gobha tuatha,
'S fheàrr a chualas o chionn ùine,
Tha iad ainneamh do luchd fuatha,
'S lionmhor iad 'tha 'luaidh do chliù ort.

C'àite 'bheil e 'n taobh so 'n iarmhailt
Gobhain iaruinn a thug bàrr ort?
'S iomadh fear tha riut an iadach,
'Chionn nach robh iad riamh mar thà thu;
Ged a leughamid gach riaghailt,
'Thainig riamh oirnn bho linn Adhaimh,
Cha d' rinn Tùbal-Càin a theagasg
Neach a fhreagradh dhuit 'an ceàrdaich.

Bu mhaith e 'dh' adhart na cruadhach,
'S ga bualadh gu obair fhìnealt,
Dheanadh tu biodag is targaid,
'S claidheamh 'chinn airgid a liobhadh;
Gunnachan snaip ann an òrdubh
Gu còmhraig ri luchd ar mi-ruin,
Cha robh do leithid 's an domhan
Bho linn cheàrdan Lòn MhicLiomhinn.

Digitized by Google

Tha Bholunteers na dùthcha
A' toirt cliù ort anns an rioghachd,
Le dearbhadh nach fhéudar àicheadh,
Dh' fhàg thu iad gu làmhach gniomhach;
A h-uile fear a bha gun arm dhiubh;
Rinn thu gun chearb an coimh-lionadh,
Gunnach, dagach, claidheamhach, sgiathach,
Béignideach, crios-iallach, riomhach.

'S sinne dh' fheudadh sin a ràitinn,
Bho 'n a thàinig thu do dh-I oirnn,
Na h-eich nach deanadh an cliathadh,
Threabhadh iad fiaghair da rinneid;
Le innleachdean do chuid iaruinn,
'S le riaghailtean do dheadh ghniomha,
Min is bainne mar ri 'chéile,
Crodh an t-sléibh air féur a' cinntinn.

Na 'm b' fhear ealant' mi air òrain,
Gu seòl a chur air do chliù-sa,
'S gu 'm faighinn fàbhar na ceòlraidh,
Ri 'n can luchd eòlais na 'Muses';
Dh' innsinn a mach cuid de d' bhéusan,
'N am éirigh maduinn dhriùchdbhan,
Coin air lobhainn shiubhal shléibhtean,
'Sealg an fhéidh le do chuis shùgraidh.

'S iomadh feartan a tha ad' bheachd-sa
Nach 'eil coitcheann anns an dùthaich,
Tha thu tapaidh 'an ceann bàta,
'N uair a thachras thu ri dùibh laoch;
'S urramach air chùl nan stuadh thu,
'N uair 'bhitheas nuallan aig muir dhù-ghlas,
Striochd thu leo stéidh a' chreidimh,
'S tu ro eagnuidh ann ad dhùbhlan.

Chuala mise sgéul ma 's fior i,
Sgriobhadh a tha feadh na dùthcha,
Gu 'bheil thu fàgail na tir so,
'S nach fan thu 'n I, mar tha dùil ac;
'N latha sin a ni thu gluasad,
'S iomadh bualadh bhas is tùrsa,
Bhitheas aig doaine bochd is tuathcheann,
Ag ionndrainn bhuatha fear do t-shuimsa.

Digitized by Google

Ach tha sinn fhathast ag àrach
Barail chàirdeil do dheadh rùin dhuinn,
Gu 'n solair thu dhuinn na t-àite,
Gobhainn gun fhàilluing gun lùban;
'S gheabh sinn fhathasd mar is aill leinn,
Aran làitheil mar 's dù dhuinn,
Ma bhios do Mhac oighre a t-àite
Na Pàruig cha 'n e bu diùbha.

Gabhaidh sinne nis ar cead dhiot,
Air a' chreig a tha fo 'n cheàrdaich,
Snidhe gu tric air ar sùilean,
'N uair a théid fo shiùil am bàta;
A h-uile fear 's a cheann fo ascail,
Mu 'n a' mhacan rinn ar fàgail,
'S na mnathan ag éigheach shuas ruit,—
Mo luaigh nach ro chruaidh mu 'n chàin oirnn.

CUMHA DO LEANABH MIC A DH' EUG AIR AN UGHDAIR.
(See also Turner's Collection—1813).

Gur a mis' a tha fo mhulad,
A' caoidh an lurain,
Tha mi uimeadh ro bhrònach,
Bho na chaidh thu 's an tulaich,
Am bheil tuilleadh dhe d' sheòrsa,
Gur e sgéula mo dhunach
Nach do dh' fhuirich thu 'Dhòmhuill.

'S gur h-oil' leam a thachair,
Gun do ghlacadh cho òg thu,
Leis an teachdaire dhàna
Gun chàirdeas do m' dhòruinn;
Thug a broilleach do mhàthair
Thu, a ghràidh, gun chead còmhraidh,
Oir 's mis' th' air mo chràdh-lot
O'n la 'chàireadh fo 'n fhòid thu.

Orm-sa rug an fhras ghàbhaidh
'Nuair a chàireadh air bòrd thu,
Ann ad' bhradan geal làmh rium,
Gun chàil ann ad' chòradh;
Gur h-i Nollaig mo ghreadaidh
A leig mi le dòruinn,
O 'n la chuir iad thu sìnte,
Anns a' chill fo na bòrdan.

Digitized by Google

Bha mo chion air an leanabh
Dh' fhas gu ceanalta modhar,
Riut a thogadh mo chridhe,
Thu bhi 'tighinn a m' chòmhail;
'S tric a rinn mi riut mireag,
Gu h-iollagach ceòlar,
Leam a luaidh gum bu mhilis
Bhith gu minig ga d' phògadh.

'S gum bi sud an t-sùil àluinn,
Bh' aig mo phràpanach bòidheach,
Béul bu mheachaire gàire,
Pòg mar fhàile' na 'n ròsan;
Bho d' shàiltean gu d' mhullach
Bu leat urram na h-ògraidh,
'S na 'm faigheadh tu saoghal,
Bu tu gaol nam ban òga.

Bu tu m' abhul is m' ùbhlan,
Bu tu m' ùr ròs 's a' ghàradh,
Bu tu mo chaineal 's mo shiùcar,
Mo chruit chiùil 's m' aobhar gàire;
Bu tu m' aighear 's mo shùgradh,
'S bu tu m' ùr ghibht a chràidh mi.
Bho 'n la chuir mi s an ùir thu,
Tha mi brùite fo m' àirnean.

'S gur tric a' tighinn 'a m' aire,
A liughad car a bha d' làmhan,
Do lùth-chleasan beadrach,
Ri cleasachd is àbhachd;
'N uair a dheanainn do ghlacadh
Ga d' altrum o d' mhàthair,
Bhiodh mo chridhe làn aiteas,
'S bhitheadh macnus mu m' ghràdh-sa.

'S cha 'n e t' òlachd na t' uailse,
A ghluais thun nan dàn mi,
Na sòlas bhi 'g innseadh
Do dhilsean 's do chàirdean;
Ach a bhoillseachadh m' inntinn
Mur chuimhneachan bàis ort,
Los gu 'm faïcinn a rùin-ghil,
Do ghnùis mar an sgàthan.

Digitized by Google

Ach c'uime tha mi cho gòrach
'S a bhi brònach ga t' àireadh
O n 's e 'n Ti is fearr còir ort
Thug dhuit òrdugh ar fàgail;
'Dhionns' na h-ùrach da 'm buin thu,
'S an duslach o 'n d' thàinig,
'S an t-anam gu rioghachd
Na Ti a thug fàs dha.

'S ged tha mise 'n so 'làthair,
Ann an sgàile na feòla,
Agus thusa gu sàbhailt,
Co' ri Abram 's na chòisridh;
Tha mo dhùil anns an t-Slàn'ear
Gu 'n tàr e sinn còmhla,
Chum cliù 'thoirt do 'n Ard-Righ,
Ann am Pàras na glòire.

'S tha mi nis' an tìm sgur diot
O 'n a chuir mi thu comh' ri
Do pheathraichean àluinn
'S do bhràthair bha bòidheach;
Ach na 'm faighinn m' ailleas
Bho ghràsan na trocair,
B' e mo mhiann bhi riut sìnte
'N uair a chrìonadh am fòid mi.

ORAN DO NIALL MOIREASDAN,

Air dha dol do 'n na h-Innsean-an-Iar.

Bheir mi hu na i hu o,
Bheir mi hu na ho gheallaidh;
Bheir mi ho na ho éile,
'S tu m' fhéudail de dh' fhearaibh.

Gur a muladach tha mi,
Cha 'n 'eil mànran air m' aire;
Bho na dh' fhalbh uainn an t-àrmunn,
Anns a' bhàl dheanadh m' fharraid.

Latha Nollaig a màireach,
A' cur na bàrach le camain;
Cha sheas mi 's a' chòmhail
'S gun an t-òigfhear aig baile.

Digitized by Google

Niall Moireasdan àluinn,
Fear na 'm blàth-shuilean meallach;
Chaidh air thuras na chéutabh
Do Iamáica air aineol.

'N uair a chaidh thu air bòrd,
Air luing mhòr nan tri chrannaibh;
'S ioma maighdeann bha brònach,
'S a deòir 'ruith gu talamh.

Bha mise mi fein dhiu,
Cha 'n 'eil féum bhi ga fhalach;
'S tric a luaidh rinn sinn sùgradh
'S cha b' fhiù leat ach ceanal.

Bha thu foghainteach, làidir,
Bha thu àbhachdach, smioral;
Ann an éideadh a' Ghàidheil,
Air an t' sràid bu tu 'meangan.

Cridhe soillear mar dhaoimean,
Anns a' chom bu mhòr ceanal;
Gruaidh bu mheachaire, caoimhneil,
Sùil an t-saighdear fo d' mhala.

'S ann a thug thu do dhualchuis,
Bho chruadal na leanas,
Sliochd nan armunn a h-Eirinn,
Leis an éireadh fir Ghallu.

'N uair a bhualadh iad Bangan
Anns a' champ an am tarruing;
Gu 'm biodh ruaig air na naimhdean,
Le aineart nan lannaibh.

Ann an còmhrag nan nàmhaid,
'N uair bhiodh càch 'dol am falach,
'S iad a ghleidheadh buaidh-làraich,
'S bratach àrd ri 'n cuid chrannaibh.

Gaol peathar, gaol mathar,
Gaol brathar, gaol leannain;
Gu 'n robh beannachd le dùrachd
Ga d' ghiùlan gu cala.

Digitized by Google

Tha mi 'n dòchas ro làidir
Nach fàillnich an gealladh,
'Thug thu dhomh-s' ann an cathair,
Neill bhàin air a' charraig.

'S tha mise mar b' àbhaist
Ann an gràdh dhuit cho daingeann;
'S gus an till thu bhàrr sàile,
So mo làmh dhuit nach caraich.

RANN DO SHEANN EACH BAN.

Ge fada dàil thig an cuireadh
Air gach cruthadh o 'n bhàs
Thoir leam gum faic mi, mas a ceart mi,
Sealladh gointe air an Each Bhàn;
Culaidh a' bhidich 's an aodaich
Ged nach caoireach tha mi g' ràdh,
Ach gearran fada foinnidh gléusta,
A choist fheum ri Nial Mac Aoigh;
Do bhrigh nam briathran tha mi g' ràidhinn,
'S a réir na fàisneachd tha m' chom,
Cha 'n fhaic e gu brath an Fheill Màrtain,
Aig mar a dh' fhàs e cho lòm.
Dh' fhalbh an fheòil is nochd na cnàmhan
Chaill e shealladh 's dh' fhàs e dall,
Aisnean uile faodar àireamh
'S 'chlisnich air sgaoileadh o 'dhruim,
Ach bho 'n 's geàrr o 'n chaidh o stà e
'S nach 'eil fàth a bhi ga bhròn,
Bheirinn dhuit comhairle chàirdeil
'Choimhearsnaich ghràdhaidh gun bhòsd—
Ruig an fhaidhir 's lion an "geaga,"
'S labhair do gach gille stop,
'S ged nach faighnichd iad do thurus
Gheibh thu ciorram aig a' bhorc.

RANN DO CHURRACHD INNSINNEACH A FHUAIR BRATHAIR AN UGHDAIR BHO CONNDUILE AON DE GHINNEAL A' PHIOBAIRE AINMEIL CONNDUILE MAC FHRAING.

Fàillt is furan air a' churrachd,
Fhuair mi 'n diugh o m' bhrathair,
C'àite a' bheil e anns a' chruinneadh
Na bheir urram blàiths air?

Digitized by Google

'S robh* chumaidh suas gu mhullach (*rogha'?)
'S uarnag dhubh na bhàrr dhiom
Air comhdach leathraich a Moraca,
'S cinnte ri srol na bhàrr dha;
Ach chlisg mo chridhe 'n uair a chunnaic
Mi a dhath mar thearr-mhap;
Shaoil mi nach deanain car tuilleadh
'S iad bhi tuireadh bàis dhomh.
Ach 'n uair a dhuisg mi as a' bhruadar,
Shluais mi e le m' làmhan,
'S dh' aithnich mi nach robh dad uamhais
Ann an gruaig an àrmuinn;
Ceann an fhir nach d' fhàs na Chriosduidh
Innseaneach an fhàsaich,
Chaidh a ruagadh le Connduile
'S leig e fhein mo 'mhàsan,
Ghlac' an curaidh e neo lapach,
Sgealp e dheth a' phàlaid
'S chuir e 'n curaidh dh' iconnsuidh charaid
'S gu'm a fallain slàn da.

MARBH RANN DO NIALL MAC EACHUINN 'IC PHAIL.

Gur ann toiseach an t-Samhraidh
Thainig amhra na 'r carabh,
Thainig litrichean sgriòbhte
O 'n chiad mhios de 'n Earrach;
Gun deachaidh do chréuchdadh
An Dunéideann nan Gallaibh,
'S nach robh duais a bhi slàn ort
Neill 'ic Phàil nis nach maireann.

Moch maduinn Didòmhnaich
Fhuair thu òrdugh ar fàgail
Leis an teachdaire chinnteach,
Nach do dhiobair sliochd Adhaimh;
Chaidh an t' anam gu rioghachd
An Ti a thug fàs dha,
'S chaidh do choluinn na sìneadh
Ann an I mar a b àill leat.

Oirnn a thainig an diùbhail
Fhrois an fhlùr thar a' ghàraidh,
Thainig fras oirnn gun fhios dhuinn
Thug an iteach a b' fheàrr dhinn;

Digitized by Google

Chaill sinn cruinneachd do chinneadh,
Cho fhad 's urrainn mi sheanachas,
'S e do chur ann an ciste
Dh' fhàg gun mhisneachd 's an am sinn.

Bu tu 'm fear mor bu mhath cumadh
Cha robh uireasbhuidh dealbh ort,
Bha thu slinneanach leathann,
Bha thu d' cheatharnach calma;
Bha thu deas, foinnidh, fearail,
Bha thu sgeanail air cabhsair,
'S fhad 's a bha thu 'n Dunéideann
Bha na céudan an geall ort.

Beul a labhradh an t-siochaint
Gu siobhalta, suairce,
Sùil bu chaoimhneile sealladh,
Fo 'n mhala gun ghruaimean;
Bhiodh tu tric air na bòrdaibh
Ann an còmhra dhaoin uaisle,
'S bhiodh gach aon mar a b' urrainn
A toirt urram do d' ghluasad.

Bu tu sgoilear a leughadh
Ann am Béurla 's an Gailig,
Ann am foghlum na rioghachd
Co 'n tir a thug geall ort;
Làmh a chluicheadh na fidhle
Thoirt dhoibh ruidhle 's an dannsa.
'S ann an oifig an sgriobhaidh
A Righ bu chinnteach air peann e.

Na 'm b' e coire mhic duine
'Chuireadh guin anns an àrmunn,
'S iomadh tréunadair curaidh
'Dh' éireadh ullamh a' d' fhàbhar;
Eadar Sléibhte nam bradan
Agus Claigin Mhic-Airein;
Tiridhe a' Mhurain,
Agus Uidhist nan ard-bheann.

Digitized by Google

AOIR DO RADAIN A THAINIG DO DH-I CHALUIM CHILLE, ANN AN SOITHEACH A CHAIDH AIR TIR AIR TAOBH 'N IAR AN EILEAN.

Suidheam 's glacam Biobull,
'S gu 'n ìobair mi suas m' ùirnigh fheasgair,
'S mi 'faicinn cunnart na tìr so
Aig lionmhoreachd a' phor sgreataidh;
Radain ghlasa, lachdunn thàrr-dhubh,
Chas-fhionn, ghrisionn, mhìllteach, sheatach;
Ag itheadh 's a' sgrios cuid nan criosduidhean,
'S a sior chur sios doibh le 'm peircuill;
Créutairean a chruitheachd Nàduir
Air mhodh àraidh gràineil, sgreataidh.
Sprochd-shùileach, smuilc-shroineach dàthte,
Sios o phallaid gu 'n dà iosgaid;
Toirceach, cùlach, plùtach, spàgach,
Crotach, fàrsaidh 'dh' ionnsuidh 'n leth-chinn.
'S deimhin leam gur ann a Sodom
'Bha céud thòiseach a' phòir chrosda.
Cha robh iad beò an am na dìle,
Cha mho 'dh' inntrig iad 's an àirce;
Cha d' thugadh Noah dhoibh dideann,
Bha cinnt' aige nach bu phòr ceart iad.
Ach 's àlach iad a ghin o Iùdas,
Do bhrigh cùnntas an droch theisdeas,
'Thainig le comhairle Shàtain,
Chum meirle an eilean bhig so.
Cha d' fhàg iad ann ìm na càise,
Eòrna, buntàta, na seagal,
Gu urad nan cearc air na spàran
Gun 'bhi ga 'n tàladh le 'n cabadh;
Cha 'n 'eil sabhal na tigh-còmhnuidh
Na àite còmhail air machair,
'S nach cluinn mi fichead ri bìogail,
Le ciocras aig méud an ocrais;
An trà co luath 's a thig an oidhche
Sìnidh iad air gibeadh-ghabadh,
'S ged nach fhaigh iad ach na siomain
Bi'dh iad le 'm fiaclan ga 'n robladh.
Tha cuig céud déug le 'n cuid àlach,
'N trà s' ann an I na cléire,
De radain dhubha 's olc nàistinn,
'Thainig air sàile air chéilidh.

Digitized by Google

Triusaibh, 's fàgaibh am baile,
'S na fanaibh tamull na dhéigh so;
Rinn sibh gu leòr òirnn a cheana,
De cheannairc 's de bhreith-air-éiginn;
Fàgaibh 'ur caistealan geamhruidh;
Bhur tighean samhraidh uile tréigibh.
Thainig an t-am; so dhuibh bàrlinn;
Tionailibh gun dàil ri 'chéile.
Na biodh gin air chall de 'n phàirtidh
'Rinneadh àireamh leis a' chléireach,
'S ullaichibh airson a' mhàrsadh
A màireach mu 'n dean sinn éirigh;
Na biodh frùchag na fròg dhiomhair,
'Bha gu dìdeann aig an fheachd ud,
Nach téid a ghlanadh 's a' sgrìobadh
Le cis-iocadh de na cataibh; (cait)
A chéud ghin 'bheirinn as an tréud ud
Uile gu léir a bhi aca;
Ga 'n ruagadh 's a' cur an ratréut orr',
'S biodh tein'-éibhinn air na cnocan,
'S ranna nuadha aig an Eaglais.
Gabhaibh 'ur cead dhinn gun airsneul;
'S thugaibh leibh speilgeanan eòrna,
'Chumail lòn ribh air an astar.
Stadaibh ann an eilean Aonradh,
Fanaibh oidhche 's leigibh fras dhibh,
'S faighibh an sin sligean chrùbain,
'Ghiùlaineas a dh' ionnsuidh a' Bhac sibh;
'S ìobairtean do Neptune a' chuain sibh,
'S gu la luain na tillibh dhachaidh.

The author and his neighbour, who had become a Baptist, had joint rights in a skiff. In his zeal to be in time for service, this enthusiastic dissenter left this property—in which our Bard had such interest—so hastily moored that, when the service was over, the craft was no longer sea-worthy. So our Bard mourns:—

ORAN MU 'N BHATA.

'S coma leam fhìn do chompanas bàta;
Bha thusa ga 'bristeadh 's mise ga càradh;
'S coma leam fhìn do chompanas bàta.

Digitized by Google

I air tràigh agus 'slip' oirre,
Na 'sineadh air Sitinn;
A béul mòr air a bhristeadh,
'S a clisnean cràiteach.
'S coma, etc.

I gun stiùir 's gun taoman,
Gun ràmh na gun aodach;
A crannsach air sgaoileadh,
As éugmhais nan tàirnean.
'S coma, etc.

'N uair a theid thu do 'n t-Searmoin,
A dh' éisdeachd Mhic Fhearghuis,
Bi'dh is' ann an Dearg-Phort,
Air laimhrig gun chàbal.
'S coma, etc.

Fhad 's a bh' agam làn choir oirr',
'S i fo shùil Dhòmhuill-'ic-Dhòmhuill,
Cha 'n fhagadh e guilmean
Bho 'fara-dhruim gu a h-àpruinn.
'S coma, etc.

A Ghilleasbuig 'ic Dhòmhuill—
'Ic Iain, 'ic Shòghain,—
Ged 's maith leam thu còmhl' rium
Cha chòrd sinn mu 'n bhàta.
'S coma, etc.

'S fàilt ort a Shlipeag
Bho 'n thainig thu 'n 't-shlignich;
Bho 'n bhrist e do chlisneach,
Cha chàirinn gu bràth thu.
'S coma, etc.

His partner in the ownership of the skiff had quite as ready a turn for verse as our author. His reply was impromptu and final:—

AM FREAGRADH.

'S coma leam fhìn luchd cithean is cànrain,
Ged nach ann sgìth de 'r comunn a thà mi;
'S coma leam fhìn luchd cithean is cànrain.

Digitized by Google

Och! éudail a dh' fhearaibh,
Bu bhéumnach 'ur teanga,
'N uair a theann sibh air gearan
Air fear nach robh 'làthair.
'S coma, etc.

'N uair a thainig mi 'n bhaile
Mu 'n deachaidh mi dhachaidh,
Chuala mi caithream
Aig balaich na sràid air.
'S coma, etc.

'S fios aig a' bhaile
Na 'n deanadh iad aithris,
Nach fliuchadh sibh cas
A thoirt aire do 'n bhàta.
'S coma, etc.

Ach 's tàlann fo thalamh,
Gun bhuannachd gun mhalairt,
'Bhi 'teannadh ri rannan
Do ghlagraich bhàta.
'S coma, etc.

The author's herd, in a futile effort to shorten his journey home with some sheep, thought that by rushing his flock they would safely clear a 'crevasse.' The silly sheep ran readily down the line, but, when at the edge of the ravine, hesitated and were lost.

DUGHALL MAC COLLA.

Fonn—"Taobh Loch Odha."

Coma leam do chiòbaireachd
Chaorach, a Dhughaill-'ic-Colla;
Coma leam do chiòbaireachd
Chaorach, a Dhughaill-'ic-Colla.

Cuiridh tu iad leis na creagan,
'S bi'dh an ceathramhan air grodadh;
Bheir thu dhachaidh air do mhuin iad,
'S bi'dh closaich aig na coinaibh.
Coma, etc.

'S ged a bhithinn-sa cho beairteach
Ri fear fearuinn le 'chuid mhonaidh,
Dheanadh tusa, 'Dhùghaill,
Le d' stiùireadh mo chur a dholaidh.
Coma, etc.

Digitized by Google

Na 'm faigheadh mo Ruairidh-s'
An duais a bha aige 'n toiseach,
Dhireadh e na cruachain
Suas ri fang Chloinne Ghoiridh.
Coma, etc.

'S cha 'n iarradh e de thuarasdal
Ach cuarain 'us paidhir mhogain;
'S mise bhiodh 's a' bhuannachd
Seach buachailleachd Dhughaill-'ic-Colla.
Coma, etc.

Theid fios gu Domhull Bàn,
'S bàrd e 's cha bhi e toilicht';
Cuiridh sinne Dughall
A null far an robh e roimhe.
Coma, etc.

RANNAN DO MHART TAGHTA A BH' AIG A' BHARD.

Is e galar na dunach a mharbh thu,
'S e galar na dunach a thainig air luraig,
'S cha dean mi car tuilleadh ma 's falbh dhuit.
De 'phàigheas am màl dhomh,
Mar dean thu bonn stà dhomh,
An Còirneal an drasd' 's e gun airgiod?
'N am coinneachadh na tuatha
Theid mise air fuadach
'S gu 'n tig am fear-fuadain do m' ear'-ghalt.
'S e mo cheisd a' bhraoch bhiorach,
Cas a shiubhal an fhirich,
A' chuileag 'bhith 'criomadh do chalpa;
Do dhos thair' do ghualainn,
A' falbh feadh na buaile;
A' measg a' chruidh ghual-fhionn 's tu 'b fheàrr dhiu.
'S o 'n fhuair mi sgéul tràth ort,
Thu bhi mach thair na tràthadh,
Gun neach a bhi làmh riut,
A dheanadh do shàbhladh,
Ach claidheamh gach nàmhaid a d' mheanchain;
Na 'm biodh Ruairidh le 'shlogan,
'S le dheagh phaidhir mhogain—
An cuaille mòr bàta,
Air gualainn a' ghaisgich,

Digitized by Google

Cha bhiodh tu cho fada gun seanchas;
'S iomadh ìm agus bainne
Agus uilleadh maith bhearrach,
Biolair' 's canach 's cainichean,
A chaidh roimh d' stamag
A leigheas do ghalair;
Cha b' e siol gun cheannach do chrannchur.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL DINNER.

The twenty-eighth annual dinner of the Society was held in the Palace Hotel, on Thursday, 24th January, 1900, with Lord Lovat, Chief of the Society, in the chair. His Lordship was supported by Sheriff Scott-Moncrieff, Sir Arthur Campbell-Orde, Mr John Macpherson, yr. of Ballindalloch; Rev. Father Chisholm, Cannich; Rev. Mr Macdonald, Kiltarlity; Mr Wm. Mackay, solicitor; and Father Macqueen. Messrs Duncan Campbell, "Northern Chronicle," and Thomas A. Mackay, British Linen Bank, were croupiers; and the company included—Rev. Mr Sinton, Dores; Rev. Mr Macdonald, Killearnan; Mr Andrew Macdonald, sheriff-clerk of Inverness-shire; Rev. Father Macdonald, Aberdeen; Mr A. Lee Innes, Milnfield, Inverness; Mr Graham, solicitor; Mr A. J. Macritchie, solicitor; Mr Watson, rector, Royal Academy; Mr Alex. Machardy, chief-constable of Inverness-shire; Mr Sutor, Commercial Bank, Inverness; Mr J. A. Gossip, Knowsley; Mr James Logan, Planefield; Mr Fr. W. Whitehead, music master; Mr D. Ross, solicitor; Mr William Macdonald, contractor; Mr J. Maclennan, wine merchant; Mr Duncan Mackintosh, secretary; Mr J. Macdonald, chief-constable of Inverness; Mr J. Macdonald, merchant; Mr Smith, solicitor; Mr Gibson, solicitor; Mr D. M. Cameron, commission agent; Captain A. K. Findlater; Mr Fraser, merchant, Tomnahurich Street; Mr Fraser, merchant, Haugh; Mr Smith, Dochfour Drive; Mr Foster, solicitor, Elgin; Mr Boyd, solicitor, Inverness; Mr A. Mackintosh, H.M. Customs; Mr Mackenzie, solicitor; Mr Paul Campbell, M. Delavault, Mr H. Fraser, Mr Macdonald, assistant secretary; Mr James Macbean, of Messrs Ferguson & Macbean, Union Street; Mr D. Nairne, Mr James Macdonald, Mr L. A. Boyne, and others.

After dinner, the secretary (Mr Duncan Mackintosh) stated that apologies for unavoidable absence had been received from a

Digitized by Google

large number of members, and the letters read included the following:—

"Conan House, Conon Bridge, Ross-shire,
19th January, 1900.

"Dear Sir,—I have reached an age at which I have ceased to attend public dinners, or I should have been tempted to join that of the Gaelic Society, at which Lord Lovat is to preside, for it is a great gratification to me to see the son of an old friend taking his place so well in the social life of this part of the country.

"I take the opportunity to ask whether the Society would care to have for any of their meetings the transcript of part of a MS. at the British Museum, which I lately had made?

"In the introduction to his 'Economical History of the Hebrides,' published in 1808, Dr Walker mentions that in 1764 he was commissioned by the Commissioners on the Annexed Estates (and again in 1771) to report on the state of the Highlands; that he reported in 1772, his report being in a large folio volume; that for some time it was in the possession of the Commissioners, and was then sent to London, where it disappeared, and he could never find any trace of it.

"Such a volume, which from internal evidence there is little doubt is the volume in question, forms MS. No. 105 of 'The King's MSS." in the British Museum. It deals with most, if not all, the islands in the Hebrides. The first 30 pages apply to Lewis and Harris. These I had copied. If the Gaelic Society should care to have the MS. to read at any of its meetings, I shall be happy to send it to you. It is rather an interesting record of the state of the population in these islands in 1765 by a cool-headed observer of facts, with no theories to state or maintain.—I am, yours faithfully, "KENNETH S. MACKENZIE."

"Sans-Souci, Marlborough Road,
Bournemouth, 22nd January, 1900.

"Dear Sir,—Distance prevents my being present at the 28th dinner of the Gaelic Society of Inverness on 25th. The Society may consider itself fortunate in having as Chairman a young Chief of the front rank, and taking a leading part in matters deeply affecting the Highlands and the Highland people. I trust the Society will rally round him, and support him with the enthusiasm and zeal which present critical circumstances demand.—Yours faithfully, "C. FRASER-MACKINTOSH."

"4 Temple Gardens, E.C., Jany. 17, 1900.

"Dear Sir,—I much regret that my engagements in London make it impossible for me to be present at the dinner of the

Digitized by Google

Gaelic Society of Inverness, on the 25th inst. Would you express my regret that I am unable to be present to support Lord Lovat in the chair?—Yours faithfully, "ROBERT B. FINLAY."

The loyal and patriotic toasts were, as befitted present circumstances, received with special enthusiasm, the health of Her Majesty the Queen being pledged to the accompaniment of the National Anthem on the pipes.

The Secretary here read the annual report of the Council on the year's working, its terms being as follows:—"In submitting their twenty-eighth annual report, the Council have pleasure in stating that the past year has been a very successful one for the Society. Several excellent papers have been contributed to the 'Transactions,' and the annual assembly was a great success. A number of valuable papers are promised for the present session, as will be seen from the syllabus already in the hands of members. During the year 28 new members joined the Society, and the total membership now on the roll is 441. The income of the Society for the year, including a balance of £59 17s 3d carried forward from last account, was £200 3s 4d, and the total expenditure £170 1s 7d, leaving a balance in favour of the Society of £30 11s 9d. During the year Volume XXI. of the Society's 'Transactions' was issued to the members, and was well received by the Press. Vol. XXII. is in the hands of the printers, and will soon be issued. There is a considerable number of back volumes of the 'Transactions' on hand, which the Council is willing to sell, and new members would do well to supply themselves with copies, as some of the volumes are scarce and valuable. The Council take this opportunity of acknowledging receipt to-day of a handsome copy of 'Skelton's Royal House of Stuart' for the library, from an old and valued member of the Society, Mr John Mackay, Hereford, as a New-Year's gift to the Society. The membership continues to keep up, but it is nevertheless desirable that all who wish the welfare of the Society should induce such of their friends as are not already members to join."

Lord Lovat, amid much enthusiasm, gave the toast of the evening, "Success to the Gaelic Society of Inverness." He said the report showed that the Society seemed to be in as flourishing a condition as it had ever been in the past; and, under the careful and energetic management of Mr Mackintosh, he was sure it would long continue in that condition. The published "Transactions" of the Society were received with great interest by a large section of the population in the North of Scotland. The issue of these

Digitized by Google

"Transactions" had brought forward a new member, in the person of Sir Arthur Campbell-Orde, who ought to have been one of them long ago. Sir Arthur had read the "Transactions" with great interest, and was about to enroll himself amongst their members. Lord Lovat said he was afraid he was not qualified to say much about the past year of the Society, as he had been away in Africa for the greater part of the year; but from what he saw in the agenda of what was to come, he thought they who were going to South Africa would miss much that was of interest. One of the lectures struck him as being of peculiar interest. It was "Further Notes on the Trial of James of the Glens." There were few subjects which had been opened to more discussion than this trial, about which many authorities like Mr Lang and Mr Stevenson had written some of the finest English. It was the business of the Chairman of that dinner also to preside at the July meeting. He was glad to see that Mr Mackintosh had the favourable opinion that the war would end so quickly. Personally, he should be very happy to be back to preside in July, but he could not say that he took so sanguine a view as to the early finish of the war. Some of his friends had said that they hoped to hear something of the corps now being raised. He had been working all day and most of the day before, and had been in London and Edinburgh before then, travelling two nights, and he hoped they would pardon him if he did not enter at any length at present on the subject. All he would say was, that things were going on very satisfactorily with them, and that they were going to Beauly on Tuesday. The commission to mobilise was only received on Wednesday; and in order that the men might be trained as quickly as possible, they hoped to form one company on Tuesday, and the remainder would be brought out as soon as they were able to raise the necessary bedding and other stores for the large number of men. They had so many members of the Society doing duty in Africa that all their thoughts were out there. It was a fortunate augury for them that on the day of their dinner they had received news of success in South Africa; and of their territorial regiment, the 79th, being about to go to the front. There were few finer regiments, and he was sure that, when it got to South Africa, it would render a good account of itself. Many of the officers were members of their Society, and they would no doubt do their best to keep up the reputation of the battalion in South Africa and other parts of the world.

The toast was pledged with much enthusiasm.

Digitized by Google

Mr W. J. Watson proposed the toast of "Tir nam beann nan gleann 's nan gaisgeach"—the land of the hills and glens and warrior men. He said he felt unable to express the enthusiasm with which every patriotic Highlandman thought of the land of his birth, with all its varied associations, with its mountains, its moors, and its glens, with its streams and lochs, with its history of the past, with its aspirations for the future, with its ancient language, and with its people, who were our people. It was a country the spell of which had been felt ever since the Celtic race came here; since the fair and unhappy Deirdre uttered her lay of lamentation on leaving Alba, which had sheltered her and the warrior sons of Usnach. It was a spell that still inspired poet and painter; it was a spell that was felt pre-eminently by Celts, who never fail to respond to the feelings roused by nature, wild and untamed. That desire to commune with nature was peculiar to the Celt, and was found in his poetry more than anything else; it was a feeling that came somewhat late into the literature of the Teutonic race. It was that feeling of nearness with nature that made Celtic literature so fresh, vivid, and charming. The history of the Celtic race was, from some points of view, a sad one: that that great and proud and mighty people, whose name was once the terror of the legions of Rome, had found their last refuge in these hills of ours. But although the Gaels in Scotland have had their reverses, and although they were unfortunately connected, as a rule, with the losing side, nevertheless they had this to place to their credit, that they never returned from the fight with dishonour; they may have met death, but never disgrace. They always proved themselves terrible to their enemies, and kind and gentle to their friends and kinsfolk. He asked them to think of the Gael in foreign parts all over the world; to think in particular of those countrymen, of whom they were justly proud, who were now fighting their country's battles in South Africa. He asked them to think of the Highland Brigade, of the Seaforth Highlanders, and of the Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders, and of all other Highlanders who were at the front at the present time doing stern duty willingly and unflinchingly. If he might say so, he would like them to think also, and in particular, of their distinguished fellow-countryman, General Hector Macdonald, who had now taken command of the Highland Brigade.

Rev. Archibald Macdonald, who responded to the toast, said:—I consider it a high honour to be called upon to respond to this patriotic toast, which sums up in an epigram what is best and noblest in our native land. The toast reminds us that we are

Digitized by Google

sons of the mountain and the glen, of a land which is not only a meet nurse for a poetic child, but also the mother of heroes. It is said with truth that of all races that inhabit the globe there are no such lovers of their country as the inhabitants of mountainous lands, such as Switzerland and Scotland, and sure it is that none have ever made so valiant a struggle for their independence. Nations are largely the creatures of their environment, and there is undoubtedly something in the rugged grandeur of the hills and glens of Scotland which has been reflected in the forceful character, the chivalrous daring, of her sons. It was the strain of Scottish blood that ran in his veins which caused Lord Byron, Englishman though he was, to respond to the picturesque sublimity of what he calls the Caledonian Alps in the lines so well known yet always worth repeating—

"Away ye gay landscapes, ye gardens of roses,
In you let the minions of luxury rove,
Restore me the rocks where the snowflake reposes,
If still they are sacred to freedom and love;
Yet, Caledonia, beloved are thy mountains,
Round thy white summits though elements war,
Though cataracts foam 'stead of smooth-flowing fountains,
I sigh for the valleys of dark Lochnagar."

When we think of these grand scenes in which our country is so rich, the lofty peaks that carry the soul into the infinite azure, and the more reposeful straths and glens through which many a stream meanders to seek the mighty sea, can we wonder that the sons of Scotia—the sons of the Gael—should love their country with a passionate affection more intense than that which burns in the tamer and less romantic lands. The Scottish Highlander may wander far in quest of fortune and of fame, he may visit scenes in which the skies are brighter and the land more fertile and more fair, yet in his day-dreams and in visions of the night his heart comes back to his dear native land—the lonely glen which once contained his universe, and the village clachan nestling among the mountains, where the forefathers of the hamlet sleep. Thus does the late Sheriff Nicholson, a friend of bygone years, beautifully touch this patriotic chord in the lyre of human feeling, and makes it vibrate with sweetest music—

"My heart is yearning to thee, O Skye!
Dearest of islands;
There first the sunshine gladdened my eye,
On the sea sparkling;
There doth the dust of my dear ones lie
In the old graveyard.

Digitized by Google

"Bright are the golden fields to me,
Here in the Lowlands;
Sweet sings the mavis in the thorn tree,
Snowy with fragrance;
But, Oh, for a breath of the great North sea
Girdling the mountains."

The hills and glens of Scotland have been the cradle of a race unconquered in historic times. Even old Rome, the Empress of the world, whose eagles floated over many a conquered province, was unable to bring under her sway the brave sons of Caledonia. The history of the Highlands has been a tempestuous history during that long secular transition in which the mingled tribal and feudal systems passed into the social order of to-day. But it has been an heroic history. The rugged environment of those mountain ramparts made the Gael hard to tame, helped him long to contend with the advancing forces of modern civilisation. These conditions of storm and stress, the fierce struggle for existence, the antagonism to a new order, by which he was finally to be vanquished—these formed the raw material out of which was formed the Scottish Highlander of to-day. His efforts on behalf of the ill-starred House of Stewart, often sublime in their imprudence, were not without their recompense. The crowning act of folly in 1745 redeemed the 18th century from commonplace, strengthened the spirit of loyalty and devotion, and added chapters of surpassing charm to the minstrelsy of Highland and of Lowland Scotland. We, looking from the vantage ground of accomplished facts, know that these efforts were, politically, misdirected and on the losing side. We know that the heroic Alastair Mac Colla, Montrose's great lieutenant, whose two-handed sword flashed like Excalibur at Inverlochy, and made the mightiest Campbell bite the dust—we know that he was as impotent in resisting the march of events as was Sydney Smith's Mrs Partington in sweeping back the Atlantic waves. Yet we know still more that the resistance, though unsuccessful, was part of the process by which the valour and heroism of our race was disciplined and destined to contribute its share to the world-wide glory of the British Empire. Need I recount the roll of fame that our Highland regiments have emblazoned on their banners? On the bloody shore of Corunna, from Torres Vedras to the Pyrenees, at Alma, Lucknow, and by the banks of the ancient Nile, men of our race and land have won undying fame. The age of heroes has not passed away. Our brave Highland soldiers are in the thick of as stiff a fight as ever confronted the arms of Britain, and we

Digitized by Google

know that the honour of our country is undimmed, its glory untarnished, in their hands. I feel that we of the North, believing as we do in the righteousness of our cause in South Africa, owe a deep debt of gratitude to our noble Chairman for his chivalrous self-sacrificing and patriotic action in this crisis of our Imperial history. We know that his action springs from a sense of duty, and, despite the snarling of the ill-conditioned, who must act after their kind, we wish Lord Lovat and his men God-speed; may victory rest upon their banners, and may they have a safe return to their native land—"Tir nam beann 's nan gleann 's nan gaisgeach." The termination of the feudal system snapped the legal bonds which bound chief and clan together, and many Highland chiefs, burdened as their estates were by repeated forfeitures, yielded to the temptation of introducing what was regarded as the remunerative system of sheep farming, and the cream of our Highland population passed in successive waves to the virgin soil of the new world. The circumstances attendant upon those great movements have often and justly been condemned; but there is ever a law of compensation in the march of human events. Those expatriated Gaels and their descendants have borne no grudge to the fatherland; we know how great a part they have played in establishing the British Empire in the great Dominion of Canada, and we should be greatly surprised if, in the personnel of the contingents by which the flower of the Canadian youth are serving the Empire in its time of need, there are not to be found many whose sires in bygone times quitted the hills and glens of Scotland. In peace and in war the Scottish Highlander has contributed his full share to the greatness of Great Britain. Sir Colin Campbell saved our Indian Empire when the British power in Hindostan was trembling in the balance. Sir John Macdonald, by his political genius and sagacity, organised into one Dominion the political life of that great principality which is so bright a jewel in the Britsh Crown. Thus do we, the sons of the Gael, rejoice in the greatness of our common country, and we proudly say, "Civis Romanus sum." Yet we do not want to lose our individuality, to part with our racial characteristics, in presence of the impressive culture of the Sassenach. We admire John Bull very much indeed as a strong, substantial, brave, and high-minded fellow, whose purse is long and whose credit is good. But we do not want to be precisely modelled on his lines—we ought not to have his hall-mark on every jot and tittle of our nationality. The highest unity is not one of monotonous sameness, but one in which there are distinctions embracing a variety of types. This truth

Digitized by Google

applies to the Imperial unity; it is one containing many types of race and culture. We hear a good deal of patriotic nonsense talked about the unity, the solidarity, of the Anglo-Saxon race. Talk if you like of the unity of the English-speaking races under the Union Jack of Britain and the Stars and Stripes of the great American Republic, and in that I am thoroughly at one with you. But when in England and Scotland alone you have had in historic times a mingling of about half-a-dozen races, to talk of the Anglo-Saxon race as if it were all in all is to spout ignorance under the cover of patriotism. The 'raison d'etre' of this Society is to maintain the individuality of our race as to its language, its literature, and its music; its programme is in this respect educational. A word in passing on the history of education in the Highlands may not be out of place, while pointing out its prime defect. It is interesting to note how the educational movement commenced at the top of the social scale and filtered down to the lowest stratum. In 1609 the famous statutes of I Columkill were adopted by the Privy Council of Scotland, under the direction of Thomas Knox, Bishop of the Isles. In these it was enacted that the oldest son of every Highland landowner must be sent for his education to a grammar school, under penalty of forfeiture. Thus it has been that for more than 250 years the chiefs and barons of the Isles, the men who fought during the campaigns of Montrose, under Dundee, at Sheriffmuir, and Culloden, whom Dr Samuel Johnson and other bigotted Saxons would have regarded as unlettered barbarians, were all educated men, some of them with University attainments. Next to the chiefs in the social system were the tacksmen, who were usually of the same family. These began to have a thirst for education, and in the Western Isles during the 18th century we find them hitting upon a useful expedient. Students of divinity were employed during the vacation to itinerate among a group of families that were remote from public schools, with the consequence that the tacksmen of that age invariably received an excellent classical education. Finally the Church, through its charity schools, as those of the S.P.C.K. were called in those days, strove to bring education, to some extent at any rate, to the masses of the Highland people. There was one thing, however, that was strictly forbidden—and the evil tradition has floated down the centuries—the teaching of the Irish tongue —it being regarded as the cause of Highland ignorance and indolence. Gaelic schools were started here and there, but the effort was not sufficiently comprehensive to work the good that was intended. We admit gratefully the good that has been accom-

Digitized by Google

plished by the Education Act of 1872 in equipping the masses of our countrymen for fighting the battle of life, and we own that certain concessions have been wrung from Government as to making Gaelic a specific subject under the Code; yet the educational scandal still remains that hundreds of our Gaelic-speaking Highlanders are leaving the public schools without the ability to read their mother tongue. From a utilitarian standpoint, it is well, doubtless, that men be fitted for life's trade and commerce; but there is an ideal culture, a building up of the intellectual life and character, which can best be done by means of the mother tongue. This is one of the questions in which even an Imperial Unionist sometimes feels the desirableness of some measure of Home Rule. And yet one sometimes fears that among those chiefly concerned there is not so much enthusiasm as there should be for the culture and preservation of their beautiful and poetic language. Our Highland people for many years displayed great force and energy in obtaining security of tenure for their lands. Should they not strive to obtain security for their language, so that the choice treasures of its literature may not become a sealed book to the educated youth of the Highlands? Men shall not live by crofts alone. It is the language that embodies the soul of a people, and when the Gaelic dies the race will be absorbed by and assimilated to our big neighbour across the Border, who has already stamped so much of his own character upon the manners and customs of our Scottish nationality—not always to their betterment. It is a hard problem to bring the light of conviction to a benighted Department bound hand and foot in the swaddling clothes of red tape; and the position of Gaelic in the educational life of our people is one to cause much searching of heart to our patriotic educational experts. The music of "Tir nam beann," an important instrument of social culture, has of recent years received a wonderful impetus through that excellent organisation, the "Mòd." The treasures of Gaelic melody are a rich, an inexhaustible, store, and in respect of its native melodies, the Highland race is second to none. Though the MacCrimmons and the MacArthurs are no longer with us, the cultivation of the pipe is carried to great perfection, and "The harp that once through Tara's halls its soul of music shed" is no longer mute, but has been restored to its ancient place in the music of the Gael. In the field of native Highland music there is still a large area for earnest and devoted work; and in this connection it would be most ungrateful to forget the monumental work that has been done by Dr Keith Norman Macdonald, of Edinburgh, whose efforts in rescuing from oblivion

Digitized by Google

so much of our Highland music is truly monumental, both in quality and extent. All Highlanders, whether bi-lingual or not, should do what in them lies to promote the linguistic, literary, and musical culture of the Highland people on racial and hereditary lines, so that "Tir nam beann nan gleann 's nan gaisgeach" may still continue a fruitful member of the great confederacy of races that make up the Empire of our Queen.

Mr Duncan Campbell, in the absence of Provost Macbean, who was indisposed, gave the toast of Kindred Societies and Non-resident Members. It was fortunate, he said, they met that night and not the previous night, because the tension of public feeling, and the anxiety throughout the country—an anxiety which recalled the darkest days of the Indian Mutiny—had been somewhat relieved by the latest news from Natal. It was to be hoped that the heavy black clouds were now parting, and that the hard shell of Boer aggression had been effectually pierced. The one great and satisfactory factor in the situation was that our reverses had united closer all parts of the Empire, and that the loyal subjects of the Queen in all parts of the globe were rallying to fight shoulder to shoulder for Queen and country. With regard to Lord Lovat's corps, he felt angry with his noble clansman, the Marquis of Breadalbane, but he had no doubt the troops would be successfully organised, and render good service in the Highland Brigade. He had been asked to couple the first part of the toast with the name of Sheriff Scott-Moncrieff—a gentleman who, during the short time he had been in Inverness, had taken a very influential position as a useful member of the community. The Sheriff had two faults, however—he had not learned Gaelic, and he was not the man to say on an occasion like that—

> "Freedom and whisky gang together,
> Tak' off your dram."

In the matter of Gaelic, his lordship's deficiency was amply compensated for in Rev. Mr Sinton, who was to respond for non-resident members, and would speak in the name of 250 non-resident members scattered throughout all parts of Her Majesty's dominions —or rather throughout the world, for many of them were resident in the United States and in almost every country under the sun. They constituted the financial backbone of the Society, and also contributed to the Society's "Transactions" quite as much, and equally as good, material as the resident members. Mr Campbell referred to the unreported discussions that took place at the Society's meetings, which were, he said, in many respects valuable,

Digitized by Google

particularly in knocking out of some people the clannish narrow-minded nonsense that possessed them, and making them realise that they were members of the great British Empire.

Sheriff Scott-Moncrieff said he was afraid he would have to plead guilty to what Mr Campbell had attributed to him; and he was glad to find that his faults were not so formidable as he thought might possibly have been alleged. He certainly had not a single word of the Gaelic language, for he was a Lowlander; but, as had been said, his old friend, Mr Sinton, would amply make amends for that defect. As to kindred Societies, they would agree with him in saying that they did a great deal of useful work throughout the country; and in this connection he made special reference to the Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club, adding that Lord Lovat had promised to contribute a paper to the Society on his late travels in Africa.

Rev. Mr Sinton said he felt proud to be placed alongside of such a noble body of non-resident members as were connected with the Society. The non-resident members had always taken a lively interest in the Society's proceedings, and he was sure they would all be proud to learn of the success of the annual dinner under the able chairmanship of Lord Lovat. With regard to Lord Lovat's Scouts, a little story occurred to him. When his illustrious predecessor, Colonel Fraser, raised a regiment of between 1500 and 1600 men for service in America, an old Highlander took the Colonel's hand and said: "Colonel Fraser, so long as you live Lord Simon will never be dead"; and to their noble Chairman he would apply that ancient saying on this very happy and interesting occasion, for in him they had a representative of the Simon Fraser of seven score years ago. And so they would say to him, as they wished him God-speed in his duties as a soldier: "So long as you live, your predecessor, Colonel Fraser, will not be dead."

Mr William Mackay, solicitor, said they had passed a very pleasant evening, but an end must come to the most pleasant of meetings, and that this time had about arrived was evident from the toast he had the honour of giving, which was the health of their noble Chairman. In Lord Lovat's presence it would not be seemly on his part to say anything which might in the slightest degree savour of flattery; and indeed it was not necessary for him to say very much with regard to his lordship, for his good qualities and the causes of his popularity had already been referred to by previous speakers, and also in several of the letters which had been read at an earlier stage of the proceedings. But he would say this, and he was satisfied it was sober truth, that of all the

Digitized by Google

chiefs now left to them in the Highlands there was no one who was more representative of the chiefs of olden times than Simon, Lord Lovat. In everything that interested or concerned his country he took a part; he lived amongst his people, and interested himself in their language and occupations and recreations. He interested himself also in all matters that affected their welfare; nor did he shirk those heavier and sterner duties which fell to him in common with others as a member of this great Empire. Reference had been made repeatedly that evening to the Highland corps Lord Lovat, with the assistance of Sir Arthur Campbell-Orde, whom he was happy to see with them, and other Highland proprietors, was at present organising; in which connection he would confess that, like his friend, Mr Campbell, he could not help feeling somewhat impatient with some of the criticisms that had been passed upon that movement. But there was this, however, to be said on the other side, that the very fact of the project being criticised adversely proved that there was something in it. A proposal which was not worth criticism might not be worth anything at all. He ventured to say that in the Highlands and Islands the people were absolutely satisfied that if Lord Lovat's corps reached South Africa before the war was ended—and he was afraid it would—it would prove a useful adjunct to the army, and would cover itself with honour. To such of them as were versed in the history of the Highlands, there was something in this movement which recalled many an old-time episode, especially in the history of the Clan Fraser. That clan had at all times been a martial one. Its history was one of which the clan had very good reason to be proud; and he might say that personally he claimed a share in that pride, because, although his father was a Mackay, and his wife was a Mackay, his mother was a Fraser. He was not going to enter into the history of Clan Fraser in the past, for were he to begin with the heroic deeds of the great Sir Simon Fraser, who fought 600 years ago with Wallace and the very flower of Scottish chivalry for the independence of their country, and to bring the story down to more recent events, he was afraid it would be after midnight before the stirring narrative could reasonably be ended. He would, however, refer to two or three events in the history of the clan which this patriotic proposal vividly recalled. He had been delighted to hear from Lord Lovat that the new corps was to muster at Castle Dounie. If Beaufort Green could only speak it could tell many a tale of similar musters. In 1544, for instance, there was a great muster of Clan Fraser upon that very green, on the occasion of an expedition, not to South Africa, but to a much

Digitized by Google

more dangerous place—Lochaber—and he was sorry to say that the bands of the Macdonalds who met them there were about as difficult to get over as the hordes of Boers who obstructed our progress in South Africa. A hundred years later there was another muster at Beaufort Castle—a muster which, curiously enough, would have been unknown to history but for mention of it being made in the records of the Presbytery of Inverness. In 1650 the Lord Lovat of the day raised a Fraser regiment to join the Scottish expedition against the Ironsides of Cromwell. The Rev. Donald Fraser, minister of Kilmorack, was appointed chaplain of the regiment, and the Presbytery of Inverness appointed a fast-day to be observed, on which all ministers within the bounds were ordained to pray in certain terms, which were as applicable to the present crisis as they were 250 years ago. These terms were:

"That the Lord would mercifully lead out our army; cover their heads in the day of battle; teach their hands to war and their fingers to fight; and make them have good success, that the enemy may fly and fall before them."

Unfortunately the Scottish army was defeated at Worcester, and many Frasers were killed, and many more sent to the American plantations. A hundred years later still and there was the great muster of 1745 on the same historic green for the cause of Prince Charlie. In that gathering were 40 men from Glen-Urquhart, including his (the speaker's) great-grandfather, who was subsequently seized and transported to Barbadoes. In the Forty-five the Frasers fought splendidly, as was their wont. His friend, the Rev. Mr Macdonald, seemed to feel inclined in his speech to apologise for the action of the Jacobites at that time; but he (Mr Mackay) would say this for himself, that had he lived in the time of his great-grandfather he believed he would have been upon the same side—(a voice, "We would all have been there"). Yes, he supposed they would. Twelve years later, in 1757, there was, from an Imperial point of view, perhaps the most important muster that ever took place on Beaufort Green—the raising of the Fraser Regiment by Colonel Fraser, son of the famous Lord Simon. That regiment was raised by Colonel Fraser in a few days, notwithstanding the fact that at that time he could not say he owned an inch of land, the Lovat estates being in the hands of the Government—a striking circumstance, which proved that although the Lovats had for a time lost their lands there was no loss of the affection and devotion of their people. Within a few days this landless officer raised something like 1500 or 1600 men, who

Digitized by Google

went abroad and helped to conquer Canada. The war which was then being carried on in that country was of the same character as that at present being waged in South Africa—we were then fighting the French, who owned Canada, as we were now fighting the Dutch, who owned the Transvaal. With the assistance of the Frasers, the British troops conquered Canada; and at this moment there was not a more loyal portion of the Empire than the French Canadians—which was a sufficient answer to those who told them that the result of the present war would be that racial feeling would be raised which would never subside. His own conviction was that if Britain conquered the Transvaal—as she certainly would—in the course of a single decade, and not in a hundred years, the people of South Africa would settle down under the protection of the Empire, to live in prosperity and mutual peace and goodwill. With regard to Lord Lovat and his corps, he could only express the feeling that had already been so well expressed by other speakers—their earnest desire that his lordship and those associated with him would succeed in every phase of their patriotic movement. He was perfectly certain that when they heard of the deeds of the Highland Scouts in South Africa they would have reason to feel proud of their countrymen. Mr Macdonald had referred to music. As a proof that their bards were not yet extinct, he would, in conclusion, read a couple of stanzas composed upon Lord Lovat and his corps in that very room, and which had just been handed to him :—

So i slàinte 'n duin' uasail,
'S cha shuarach e fhéin—
Tighearna Dhùnaidh da 'n dualchais
'Bhi cruadalach tréun;
'S tha sinn uile gu ro dheònach
'Bhi 'g òl air a' chéil,
Do Mhac-Shimi mòr na h-Airde,
Deagh shlàinte hò-ré.
Deagh shlàinte hò-ré,
Deagh shlàinte hò-ré,
Do Mhac-Shimi mòr na h-Airde,
Deagh shlàinte hò-ré.

'S thug e 'ghaisgeachd a nuas
A bha fuaighte ri 'sheòrs',
'S toigh le iosal 'us uasal
A ghluasad 's a dhòigh;
'S an uair a bhios e thall 's a shluagh leis
A' sluaisneadh nam Bòers,

Digitized by Google

Bithidh ar n-uirnigh gach uair leo—
Deagh bhuaidh leis na seòid;
Deagh bhuaidh leis na seòid,
Deagh bhuaidh leis na seòid,
Bithidh ar n-uirnigh gach uair leo,
Deagh bhuaidh leis na seòid.

He asked the company to drink the health of Lord Lovat, coupled with the wish that he and his associates might return from South Africa safe and sound, and covered with honour and glory—(cheers and Highland honours).

Lord Lovat, in replying to the toast, mentioned as a curious coincidence that one of his ancestors, some two hundred years ago, raised one of the first companies for the very battalion to which the Highland Scouts were to be attached—the Black Watch. He quite agreed with what Mr Mackay had said with regard to Canada, and the prospect there was of a peaceful settling down of races in the Transvaal. Many officers and other members of the Fraser Regiment went to Canada with the intention of settling there after the war; and they did settle in the country, and made their fortunes many of them before returning home. The Fraser Colony now numbered 17,000, and he thought they had done as much as anything else to promote the prosperity of Canada. Not a few of the young fellows who were going with him to South Africa had also the intention of seeking a home there, and their presence would help in a small way to increase the solidarity of the British Empire there by augmenting the number of loyal subjects of the Queen.

Mr John Macpherson-Grant proposed the health of Sir Arthur Campbell-Orde, who had rendered valuable services in raising the Highland corps.

Sir Arthur Campbell-Orde, who was received with cheers, said he had been taken completely by surprise in having his health so cordially pledged. He thanked Lord Lovat, Mr Macpherson-Grant, and others for the kind references they had made to the small services he had rendered in connection with the raising of the Highland Scouts. One reason why he had interested himself in the matter was that he wished to go to South Africa himself, and he wanted to go along with as many men as possible from the Highlands and Islands. The first step he took was to find out whether there were any suitable men left in the Long Island after the Militia and Reservists had been called out. There had been a heavy drain upon the manhood of the Long Island to meet the

Digitized by Google

demands of the Government—300 Militiamen, 70 belonging to the Naval Reserve, and 20 Regular soldiers had taken up arms for Queen and country. Practically there was nobody left; only five or six men who would, he was afraid, not pass the doctor. His second step was to go to Glasgow, whither many of the best and most energetic of the Long Island population went to push their fortunes, and there he found dozens of Highlanders willing to throw up good appointments and join the corps. Some of those men had been in the Militia, and others in the Volunteers, and all were fit in every way to serve their country at the front. He was convinced that most of the men obtained in Glasgow would prove themselves as efficient, if not more efficient than men hailing from other parts of the county. Certainly they would do their best, being keen and willing to tender their services.

Several other toasts were proposed, after which one of the most successful meetings ever held under the auspices of the Society was brought to a close.

During the evening several gentlemen present enlivened the proceedings by songs, etc. Pipe-Major Ronald Mackenzie, the Society's piper, also added much to the evening's enjoyment by selections on the bagpipe during the dinner and between toasts.

1st FEBRUARY, 1900.

At the meeting on this date the Secretary read a paper contributed by C. Fraser-Mackintosh, Esq. of Drummond, LL.D., and entitled "The Boycotting of Killiehuntly." The paper is as follows:—

BOYCOTT OF MACPHERSON OF KILLIHUNTLY, 1764-65.

The Macphersons of Killihuntly, though never heritors, held for a considerable period a good position in Badenoch, under the Gordons. Killihuntly lies by the side of the river Tromie; and, in my early recollections, the then occupant, Malcolm Macpherson, was prominent in the district. The line of the old possessors terminated about 150 years ago, in the person of James Macpherson, and with the unfortunate, almost unparalleled, persecutions of this individual, in the form of ill-usage and boycotting, the present paper chiefly deals.

Digitized by Google

After the departure to France of Donald Cameron of Lochiel, and his death not long after, the handling of the French monies, which had arrived too late to be of advantage to Prince Charlie and his followers when in arms, fell to the Macphersons, possibly by the express orders of Lochiel in favour of his cousin. At all events, little of the large sum was afterwards restored to the Prince, though often in dire need, and people even to this day consider that a part of the money is somewhere buried in Lochaber or Badenoch.

Those who were entrusted with the money, or had discovered its whereabouts, found themselves rather at a loss how to dispose safely of such large sums among people who had neither home nor protection. Yet matters were so arranged that very little fell into Hanoverian hands, keen scented though their agents and spies were. One of the leading Macphersons who escaped seizure or trial was Mr Donald Macpherson, last of the old family who for so long occupied Breackachie, and lived there. Evan Macpherson of Cluny was so strictly watched that personally he could do nothing, nor even show his face openly, or convey a letter safe with difficulty. His brother, Major John Macpherson, however, was at large, and apparently unsuspected. For several years after the battle of Culloden, what they did, as it was dangerous to keep much in one or two hands, was to lend out the money in moderate sums to such as they thought trustworthy. Hence the money was distributed among their friends, or such neighbours whom it was prudent to keep silent and faithful. At the time, and so long as Cluny lived, it may be assumed that it was intended to restore the money whenever demanded by the Prince or wanted for the cause.

Among those to whom money was lent was James Macpherson of Killihuntly, a man of good family and considered fully responsible, who received £800 sterling. This occurred in the year 17—. No interest was asked, but as it became subject of rumour that Killihuntly suffered severely in consequence of the loss of a heavy lawsuit, and was failing in his circumstances, the money was demanded. There is nothing to shew clearly whether at the outset the £800 was advanced as a loan, or a gift to secure his silence on matters which the lenders did not desire divulged. Be this as it may, repayment was demanded after a silence of some years, and Killihuntly, whose circumstances had, as above stated, grown undoubtedly greatly involved, made up his mind to resist on the ground that it was a gift; but the lenders insisting, he was cornered into taking the mean step of laying an Information with

Digitized by Google

the Government, as represented by the Forfeited Estates Commissioners, that it was French Jacobite money and liable to forfeiture, he trusting the Government would deal leniently with him.

I now give Killihuntly's own account of what occurred a few days after his return from Edinburgh, where he had gone by request of Government to make final affidavits, to form the ground for making his discoveries effectual. Among others to whom the Macphersons lent money was Lord Lovat's eldest son, then penniless, but with certain prospects, who received £500 on his own bond, and that of William Fraser of Balnain, W.S., afterwards paid up. Copy of his bond will be given hereafter, but as the main object of this paper concerns Killihuntly, his matters will be first dealt with.

Killihuntly's disclosures soon reached Badenoch, and his treatment by the clan, now given in his own words, from a paper headed " An Account of the malicious insults, and attempts lately made in the Braes of Badenoch, and further intended against James Macpherson, Elder of Killihuntly." The paper narrates that

" Some few days after I, the said James Macpherson, had informed the Barons of Exchequer of the £800 sterling for which I granted Bond to Major John M'pherson, and of the £500 sterling for which Bond was granted payable to Donald M'pherson of Breackachy, I was told by William Fraser Writer to the Signet junior, doer or agent for the family of Cluny and for their factors or managers, that after having inform'd the Barons as above I durst never venture to go to Badenoch (my native country) yet I not imagining that my complying with the law of the kingdom and with my duty to his Majesty in discovering what I had from so good authority as the Major himself, would have so much exasperated any as to make an attempt upon my person, and otherwise to exert their malice to destroy me; and business having led me to Badenach, I went thither with my spouse in August last; and as besides the attachment of most of the other gentlemen of that country, I stood related to every one of the principal gentlemen of the name of M'pherson, the name most numerous throughout all of it, and that the heads of these principal families stood bound by essential ties of gratitude to my father and me, so little apprehensive was I of meeting with any bad usage in that neighbourhood, that having business with my brother in law Mr M'pherson of Kinloch, I upon the 6th of September current sett out for his house of Gaskmore upon a sloe, old horse, without so

Digitized by Google

much as a servant with me. The place of Breckachy being in my road I visited my sister Mr M'pherson of Crubins relict, who is also mother to Donald M'pherson of Breckachy.

"The said Breckachy (the chief manager for the Cluny family in conjunction with Andrew M'pherson of Bencher) having been at the time in his own house, and having been immediately informed of my being at his mothers, I had not conversed above an hour with my sister and niece, Linvulg's relict, when Christian M'pherson Breckachy's spouse, the attainted Cluny's sister, and Isabell M'pherson another sister of Cluny's who dwells with Breckachy, and is relict of William Mackintosh of Aberarder were detatched to the said house where I was. How soon they came there, they first in great rage and passion called out in great hurrie the only servant was in the house, and soon thereafter call'd out in the like hurrie and passion my sister and her daughter and my niece.

"I having been thus left without one soul with me in the house, step'd out soon after them that I might learne the cause of their running out from me in such a hurrie.

"How soon I steped out from the door, and before I could have spoken to any of them, Breckachy's spouse and the said Isabell M'pherson her said sister called out loud obraiding me with most scurrilous language and the most abusive names they could invent; and hurried away along with them Breckachy's mother my sister and her said daughter to Breckachy's house, within the door of which Breckachy's servants after mentioned were placed to watch my passing by Breckachy's house in my way to my intended quarters at Gaskmore, in order execute the wicked plott laid against me, which a precognition, it is thought, would bring clearly out.

"The following persons who were pressingly ordered to proceed to the execution of the plott, in conjunction with their associates, were Breckachy's servants viz.: John M'Grigor alias Macpherson sone to Alexander M'Grigor present miller in his Majesties lands of Cluny, Christian M'pherson, Mary M'pherson, Mary M'Donald, and —— M'pherson, daughter to Alexander M'pherson, sone to the deceased Malcolm M'pherson of Breckachy.

"How soon the servants above named and their associates observed me pass by Breckachy's house, they pursued me continually throing at me stones, staffs and long poles, obraiding me with the like bad names and scurrilous language as had been given me before, and sounding loud rattles, and bread-girdles which they thought to be the best things they could use to affront me, as they could find no drum.

Digitized by Google

"They frequently cried out that I had vast impudence to travel through Breckachy's ground or Clunies; tho' be the bye, these lands or any other I then passed through did no otherwise belong to the gentlemen who have them, than as tenants.

"I was difficulted in making my way by the badness of the road and the sloeness of the horse whom I could not cause ride with speed, tho' I lashed him so severely that I broke my whipp upon him.

"My escape was also much impeded by the garths and dead hedges the King's tenants of Gaskiulon had upon the road; the doors of which were shutt with heavie unwieldy doors and great trees. I call'd loud to them repeated times to open these doors, imagining they'd do so, the bad usage I mett with being on account of my having been in my duty to his Majesty from whom they had their lands, yet these who pursued me having cryed to them that I was the person attacked who had given the King that information by quhich the family of Cluny and Breckachy were divested of a great deal of money, they ordered upon their perile, not to open any of the doors of their houses or garths, or to give me the least relief; adding that if they would not concurr against me, they'd draw upon themselves the resentment of these families and of all their friends.

"They dreading more the resentment of those who had the absolute command of that neighbourhood than anything they might chance to meet with from his Majesties friends or servants who some of them said possibly would never mind it, they so far from opening a door of any of their houses or garths arranged that their wives and servants were sent to assist in the repeated wicked attempts made upon me.

"I was thus put under a necessity tho' in the utmost danger from my persecutors to light from my horse, and tye him to the adjacent garth, and remove the said heavie trees, no easie task to an old infirm man.

"These hindrances gave them an opportunity of coming pretty near to me, and of levelling their stones and other artillery at me with more exactness than formerly, with some of which they struck me so severely laim'd and discoloured one of my legs, that after I came to Kinloch's house, rais'd them out of their beds, had got fire light and other necessaries, it was jud'd unavoidable to send immediately at that unseasonable time of night for a man who had some skill of opening a vein, tho' he lived at a considerable distance. His compassion and prospect of reward induced him with all speed to come to my relief; and the bleeding did in

Digitized by Google

time allay the pain, the swelling and other bad consequences which would otherwise have distressed me greatly.

"I having gone next Sabath to hear sermon at Islandsdow, the place of worship of that parish, before the congregation dispersed I was, on the same account, attacqued by several women vizt., Marjory M'pherson, spouse to James Leslie tenant in Strathmasy, and . . . . and was by them abraided with much scurrilous language and names as above, crying out that striking or cutting off my head would not be punishment enough; after that were done my body should be expos'd to be used with utmost contempt.

"I having in the evening returned to Kinloch house, that Sabath night the designe must needs be put in execution; and the most proper persons to conveen a party for that purpose were judg'd to be the same who ordered out the farmer viz.: Clunie's said two sisters, as their orders would readily be obeyed by all the possessors of the King's lands in that neighbourhood as well as by others, because of their near connection with the men of influence in their county and whom the information touched, but as Breckachy's spouse was one of the raisers of the second party as well as of the first, it was thought improper that any of Breckachy's servants should be seen with the second partie. Those who were pitched upon for this Sunday night party consisted mostly of the possessors of the King's property lands of Cattilag and Gaskinloan; and to induce the actors to proceed with more courage and keenness, the said two gentlewomen who conveen'd them, and gave them orders, entertained them with good strong whiskie in a publick house, keep'd on the King's lands of Cattilag by Alexander M'pherson who enjoys a Chelsea pension. His wife was one of the keenest persons of the Sunday's party as well as of the former.

"The first order this party is said to have got was that when I and all Kinloch's family would be gone to bed and probably sleeping, they'd set fire to the house; but as the party could not be induced to proceed upon this order, the said gentlewomen gave second orders, to execute which the party, after nightfall of the said Sabath, march'd to Kinloch's house. The second orders are said to be to this purpose, viz.: to have me dragged out of the house by strength of hand, and thereupon to execute what they were directed by the said gentlewomen to do which is not yet told out.

"When the party came up to the house some of them entered into the room next the outer door, where several of Kinloch's

Digitized by Google

servants and children were at the time. I was in another room with Kinloch and his spouse and we heard a noise and disturbance in the house,—whereupon they went to the said outer room to learn the occasion of it, I at the same time having bolted the door of the said room where I was.

"Kinloch having soon understood that the party had come on a bad designe against me immediately sent some of the cleverest persons were at hand to acquaint every man and women of his neighbourhood who regarded the life or welfare of him, his wife or me, so to haste directly to his house without losing a moment to save us from a mobb, which had come there to destroy us; whereupon such a number of well disposed persons immediately conveened as made it impracticable for the party (or at least for such of them as were the most malicious) to execut their designe.

"Some of the party yet appeared to be resolut, and the said Isobell M'pherson the said Chelsea man's spouse who seemed to head the party, told with an angry countenance that they'd never remove till they'd execut their orders against me; but some of the party discovering backwardness, and perceiving that their designe was rendered impracticable at the time, and Kinloch having ordered the house to be clear'd from the party they were turned out, and thereafter dispersed.

"It was afterwards concerted that the very next day a party would be conveened so numerous and strong that they could not be resisted: and accordingly all the women of Cluny, Coil, Breckachy, Cattilaig, Gaskinlein, etc., all those in the haill neighbourhood on both sides of the River of Apay were strictly ordered at Kinloch's house upon Mundays evening, whereby they, with great strength of hand, would fully accomplish all that was intended.

"Kinloch and I having got privat intelligence of this perceived that I could no longer stay in that corner of the country at the time, nor indeed at any other time till they be made sensible of the follie and danger as well as the wickedness of such attempts; therefore Kinloch and I did immediately ride off from the Braes of the country by a privat way, whereby I hitherto escaped.

"It will be said that the husbands and masters of those women had no concern in the matter, but can it be believed that the first attempt having made a very great noise through all the Braes of the country, could have so long escaped the hearing of their husbands and masters. Had they not been pleas'd with the conduct of the women, and had checqued or reprimanded them or shown their dislike of the first attempt, would the women in that case at the distance of several dayes thereafter conveen again, and proceed to the execution of the same wickedness as before?

Digitized by Google

"Since writing the above I am credibly inform'd that in the Sunday's party there were several men in women's cloaths.

"The following persons were of the Sunday's party:—The said Isobell M'pherson spouse to the Chelsea man who was also of the first party, Mary M'pherson spouse to William M'pherson tenant in Cattilag, Isobell M'pherson spouse to John M'Donald tenant in Cattilag, Isobell M'pherson spouse to Paul Taylor in Cattilag, Ann M'pherson spouse to John M'pherson tenant in Lagg-Cattilag, Mary M'pherson, spouse to William M'pherson tenant there, at whose house I cryed to open the doors, —— M'Grigor alias M'pherson spouse to John M'pherson tenant in Gaskinlain, Christian M'pherson weadow there, —— M'Grigor spouse to Iver Davison, —— Kennedy spouse to John Clark tenant in Gaskinlain.

"Nota.—The utmost endeavours have been used with the people of this country even with a number of my nearest relatives and with such of them as were under the strongest ties of gratitude to me, to induce them to use me with the utmost contempt, to give me no entertainment or lodging or access to their houses when I'd call upon them; that if they would not complye therewith they'd be ruined, borrowed actions would be taken against them, and every other practicable step; that their houses would be burned in the night. A proper precognition would show that threatenings of this kind have been made by severals in the nearest relation and connection with Breckachy and with the Cluny family, even by some of their gentry who hold their lands of his Majesty.

(Signed) "J. M'PHERSON."

An enquiry upon oath was ordered, which began at Mile House upon the 7th January, 1765, in presence of Robert Menzies, His Majesty's Baron Bailie upon the annexed estate of Cluny, and others, when compeared as first witness poor Malcolm Macpherson (Gorrach) of Phoness, followed by his equally foolish son, Donald Macpherson, younger of Phoness, one of whose wives was Killihuntly's daughter. As she disowned her own father, it was little wonder her husband and father-in-law did so. It will be afterwards seen that Phoness the younger and his wife received certain monies from the Forfeited Estates Commissioners, but whether it was for certain private claims against the Cluny estate, or was an insignificant gratuity for Killihuntly's disclosures, does not seem clear.

Digitized by Google

Papers Connected with Killyhuntly.

1. Precognitions, &c.

"At Mylehouse, the 7th day of January Seventeen hundred and sixtie five years.

"Precognition taken in virtue of ane order from the Right Honorable His Majesties Barrons of Exchequer anent a ryot said to have been committed upon James M'pherson of Killyhuntly. In presence of Robert Menzies, His Majesties Barron Baillie on the annexed estate of Cluny, etc.

"Eo die—Compeared Malcolm M'pherson of Phones, who being solemnly sworn examined and interrogat depones that he the deponent spoke to Kyllihuntly's daughter and told her Kyllihuntly had done injustice to the family of Cluny in so far that he refused to assign to the family of Cluny a Wadset he had upon the lands of Loch laggan or pay them the money they had sent him conform to his obligation, and that upon this account he thought Kyllihuntly did not deserve the countenance of any Christian. Depones further that he the deponent believed that Kyllihuntly and his father were alwise good friends to the family of Cluny this only as is excepted. And this is truth as far as he knows or remembers as he shall answer to God. (Signed)

"Mal. M'pherson.
"Rob. Menzies, B."

"Eodem die—Compeared Donald M'pherson younger of Phones who being solemnly sworn examined and interrogat Depones that at first when Kyllihuntly came to the country from Edinburgh in harvest last the deponent had not heard of some discoveries Kyllihuntly had made with respect to money belonging to the family of Cluny and Kyllihuntly having asked a lodge in his house in a room where Captain Alexander M'pherson's spouse had lodged formerly and that then the deponent made no objection, but being afterwards informed of great many further particulars with respect to the discoverie of the monie and the loss it would be to the family of Cluny, and finding by the generall touch of the countrie that he would have the ill will of his whole clan providing Kyllihuntly continued in his house, he therefor not only inclined but desyred that Kyllihuntly should leave his house, and told Kyllihuntly that it was upon this very account he should leave it. Depones further that two or three days after Kyllihuntly's arrival at his house, the deponent's father the preceding witness who had purposely left the house upon Kyllihuntly's

Digitized by Google

account, called for the deponent and told him it was dangerous for him to continue Kyllihuntly in his house as he would thereby not only incur the ill will of his whole clan, but also that their resentment would goe so far as immediately prosecute him for the debts he owed them, and also to buy up other debts against him. And depones, that his father told him Benchar in particular had said so; and therefore advised him for preventing this distress to send Kyllihuntly immediately out of his house. Upon his representing this to Kyllihuntly, that Kyllihuntly peaceably left the house accordingly. Depones that he alwise heard that Kyllihuntly and his father were looked upon to be amongst the best friends the family of Cluny had, and therefore was the more surprised at Kyllihuntly's late conduct. Being interrogat why in harvest last when Kyllihuntly and Inverhall went to the deponent's house in order to settle accounts the ballance of which being considerably against the deponent, the deponent neither entertained them according to their former friendship nor offered them meat or drink,—And being further interrogat why the deponent's spouse absented herself from her house when Lady Kyllihuntly and Kyllihuntly's daughter went to make her a visit, depones that agreeable to his father's advice he rather incurred Kyllihuntly's displeasure than dissoblidge his whole clan by countenancing and entertaining Kyllihuntly or any of his family, and that the premises so far as deponed by him are true as he shall answer to God.
(Signed) "Donald M'pherson.
"Rot. Menzies, B."

In strong contrast with the mean behaviour of the two Phoness Macphersons, was that of a poor woman, relict of a tailor in Glentromie, who, having been kindly treated by Killihuntly, not only absolutely declined to enter into the cabal against him, vigorously engineered by women much above her in station, but stated she would rather defend than in any way injure Killihuntly, illustrating that fidelity and attachment which so honourably characterized the humble Highlanders toward superiors.

"Compeared Christian Cattarnach relict to the deceased Duncan Clark sometime taylor in Invertromie, who being solemnly sworn, interrogat and examined Depones that about three or four weeks agoe she happened to be at Ruthven, and when leaving the town, one Katharin Gordon in Ruthven spouse to John M'Intyre late in Gordonhill, came to her and told her that Anna M'Pherson spouse to John M'Pherson of Inverhall wanted the deponent to speak to her, and that she accordingly went, and upon meeting

Digitized by Google

with the said Anna M'Pherson, she told her that she was a strong woman or woman of courage and that she would have immediately ane opportunity of showing it. That she would have immediat use for shewing it by carrying a large baton with her to frighten James M'Pherson of Kyllihuntly, which the deponent refused to doe as she was for a long time tennents wife to Kyllihuntly, who had used her well, upon which the said Anna M'Pherson told her she would lose the favour of the familys of Cluny, Benchar, and Breackachy, in case she would refuse to goe. In the meantime of this conversation, Margaret M'Pherson spouse to Hugh M'Pherson of Ouvie came up to them, and the said Anna having told Margaret M'Pherson that she the deponent refused to goe, Margaret asked her the reason, to which the deponent answered that she would not goe to strick Kyllihuntly, who had been a good master to her, and that she would rather defend than any way injure him, that immediately after this she saw the said Anna M'Pherson hold a conversation with the above named Katheren Gordon and Anna M'Pherson spouse to James Grant in Ruthven, but did not know the import, and this is truth, as she shall answer to God, and declares she cannot write.

(Signed) "Rot. Menzies, B."

In marked contrast with the above honourable statement of a woman in humble rank, follows the vixenish one of Mrs Margaret M'Pherson, spouse to Hugh M'Pherson of Ovie, and mother-in-law of John Macpherson of Inverhall.

"Compeared Margaret M'Pherson spouse to Hugh M'Pherson of Ovie, and being solemnly sworn examined and interrogat, depones that about three weeks or a month agoe she happened to come to Ruthven with intention to buy some lint from John Keith factorer at Ruthven when she met with Anna M'Pherson her daughter and spouse to John M'Pherson of Inverhall who told her there was ane intention to conveen with some women in order to frighten Kyllihuntly, and make him leave the country of Badenoch where he was very obnoxious for discoveries he made of the family of Cluny, that having observed her said daughter and Christian Cattanach in conversation walking the street of Ruthven, she came up to them, when her daughter told her that the said Christian Catternach refused to goe to frighten Kyllihuntly; that she does not doubt but she might have said some illnatured words upon the subject, but now remembers not what they were, depones that she herself never had nor knows of any others who had intention to hurt Kyllihuntly's person, and further depones that when

Digitized by Google

Kyllihuntly came last from Edinburgh she blamed her son in law John M'pherson of Inverhall for comeing along with him, or having had any hand in bringing him to the countrie, and uttered some ill natured words and imprecations upon the subject and occasion; being interrogat how she came to the knowledge of the information said to have been given by Kyllihuntly and that it would be hurtfull to the family of Cluny meaning Lady Cluny and her son and daughter, Depones that she was particularly told so by her husband but heard it afterwards chattered in the country, and found her husband at the time ill pleased at Kyllihuntly for what he had done, and the premises so far as she depones are true as she shall answer to God. (Signed) "Margrat M'pherson.
"Rot. Menzies, B."

This lady's deposition is fitly followed by that of the minister of the parish of Laggan, an importation from Ross-shire, whose reputation in Laggan was not an enviable one.

"Compeared the Reverend Mr Andrew Galley, minister of the Gospel at Laggan, and being sworn examined and interrogat ut antea, Depones that upon the day Mr M'pherson of Killihuntly was said to be insulted at the preaching house of Islandow, he the deponent did upon that being a Sabbath day preach in Killtern in Ross-shire, that upon his return to his own parish he overheard Mrs M'pherson of Kinloch, sister of Kyllihuntly, narrate to Mr William Gordon, minister of Alvie, who had gone to the parish of Laggan to preach for the deponent who was not at home, at, he thought, the usage Kyllihuntly met with on the preceding Sabbath, and that the deponent remembers, that the above Mrs M'pherson of Kinloch said, that Marjory M'pherson, spouse to James Lesly in Strathmashy, threatened Kyllihuntly in these words that she did not know what she was doing, that she was not beating Kyllihuntlys back syde with his head. Depones that as far as he heard the reason of Kyllihuntlys being looked down upon by his names sakes was his giveing in ane information to his Majesties Barrons of Exequer with regaird to a certain sum of money lent to him by Major M'pherson, which sum of money the said Kyllihuntly had as said is conscience enough to receive from the said Major, but that when payment was demanded, he Kyllihuntly did as is reported maliciously and unprovokingly, inform His Majestys Barrons of Exequer, that said money belonged to Evan M'pherson of Cluny lately attainted, and the premises so far as is deponed by me are true as I shall answer to God. (Signed)
"Andw. Gallie.
"Rot. Menzies, B."

Digitized by Google

Helen M'pherson in Breackachie, daughter of the deceased John M'pherson of Crubenmore, was not present at the attack on Kyllihuntly near the house of Breackachie, but was told of it, and that as Breackachie was himself absent, it must have been instigated by the Mrs of Breackachie, or Lady Aberarder, sisters of Cluny.

In the second open attack upon Killihuntly, in September, 1764, at the place of Gaskmore, there is a list given of eight other women besides the deponent.

"Compeared Issobell M'pherson spouse to Alexander M'pherson in Catleg, married woman, who being solemnly sworn examined and interrogat, Depones that in the month of September last she went in company with eight more women, viz.: Christian M'Cay in Cattileg, Issobell M'pherson spouse to John M'donald in Caitleg, Anna M'pherson spouse to John M'pherson in Lag Caitleg, Issobell M'pherson spouse to Paul M'pherson in Caitleg, Mary M'pherson spouse to William M'pherson in Lag Caitleg, Janet M'Gregor in Tyenrich, Christian Kennedy spouse to Clark in Midletown of Gaskinlone, and Issobell M'Gregor spouse to Evandar or Evir Davidson in Edinburgh, that they went to the house of Donald M'pherson of Kinloch in Gaskmore where Kyllihuntly lodged at the time in order to have frightened or flaiyed him out of the parish of Laggan, and five of them having gone into the house they inquired for him in order to accomplish their design, but were told by the landlord that they would not find him without breacking a wall of stone and lime or a lock, that the landlord desyred them to leave the place to which she the deponent answered they would not till they would get what they came for. Whereupon they all returned home without further disturbance. Being further interrogat who advised them to goe on the said design, Depones that they had it in their heads first themselves, and upon consulting with the Lady Aberarder and Mrs of Breackachie they advised them to goe on, but to use him like a gentleman and not hurt his person, and that the reason for putting him out of the parish was that he might not be further fashious to any person in it. And being further asked who were the persons that he was troublesome to, Depones that it was the widow and fatherless, naming Lady Cluny and her children. And being further interrogat wherein Kyllihuntly injured the said Lady and her bairns, she answered that that question was best known to them who examined her, that it was too deep a question for her, and refused to make any further answer therein. And

Digitized by Google

what she depones in the premises are true as she shall answer to God, and declares she cannot write.

(Signed) "Rot. Menzies, B."

Mary M'pherson, spouse to William M'pherson in Lag Catlaig, says that Lady Aberarder, in presence of Mrs M'pherson of Breackachie, advised them, in order to get Kinloch to deliver Killihuntly to them, to threaten Kinloch that they would put fire to his house. She was with Lady Aberarder when she went to the river opposite Gaskmore and called for Kinloch, and gave him a "flyting" across the river.

Donald M'Pherson of Kinloch himself said as follows:—

"Compeared Donald M'pherson of Kinloch, brother in law to Kyllihuntly, who being solemnly sworn examined and interrogat, Depones that in harvest last he heard and was told by Kyllihuntly himself, that ane insult was offered him near the house of Mr M'pherson of Breackachie, that he the deponent heard, that Mr M'pherson of Breackachie himself went to his field about that time allongst with his brother Captain Alexander M'pherson, what the ryot was or by whome committed he cannot say, why he heard it was by Breackachys servants, but he knows this, that the effects of it were such upon Kyllihuntly that he was oblidged to lit blood of, at his house, which was after night falling; that the deponent was present at Islandow, when Marjory M'pherson, spouse to James Lessley in Strathmashie, did with a number of people or crowd about her, on a Sunday morning immediately after Divine service, give Kyllihuntly opprobrous language, that he does not remember if any person else but her said anything to Kyllihuntly, but that there was no insult offered to his person. Being interrogat if he heard what the woman said to Kyllihuntly, Depones he does not particularly remember, but has since heard that she said, it would be little matter if his head were cut off his body and struck upon his erse. Depones that Lady Aberarder, at the time Kyllihuntly was at his house, came to the water syde of Spey below deponent's house, and having called for him said, that he ought to turn away Kyllihuntly from his house, otherwise that he would incur the displeasure of her and hers, to which he answered, that he would not wish to have the grudge or ill-will of any body, as the man meaning Kyllihuntly did not mean to stay with him, and came to him without any invitation, and having convoyed the lady for near half a myle or thereabout towards the house of Breackachie, she continued on the same subject alwise on a displeased way, And having since hapened to meet with the

Digitized by Google

Ladie, she acted to him in a very shey way, and did not return him his salutes; that of a Sunday evening after night falling, several women, all of whome except one were tenants wives on the Estate of Cluny, as the deponent imagines, and that their names are as follows, viz.: Issobell M'pherson spouse to Alexander M'pherson in Catleg, Issobell M'pherson spouse to John M'Donald there, Anna M'pherson spouse to John M'pherson in Lag Catileg, Issobell M'pherson spouse to Paul M'pherson in Caitileg, Mary M'pherson spouse to William M'pherson in Lag Caitleg, Janet M'Gregor spouse to James Buy M'pherson in Tynrich, Christian Kennedy spouse to John Clark in Midletown of Gaskinlone, and Issobell M'Gregor spouse to Evander Davidson in Edinburgh, That the above named Anna M'pherson with another woman with her called out the deponent and told him they were sent by the Ladys of Breackachie in order to send away Kyllihuntly from his the deponent's house, that the said Anna M'pherson, Janet M'Gregor and Christian Kennedy formerly mentioned were vindicating themselves for giving the deponent any trouble as they were far from wishing him any harm, but that they were ordered to come, and durst not refuse, that Issobell and Mary M'pherson forenamed meaning Alexander and William M'phersons wives, came in to the deponent's house, and seemed resolved or declared a resolution not to goe away, without executing their intentions, but the deponent having called for his own tennents and tenents wives, who making a superior party, the women went away without further disturbance. That the deponent's spouse was informed by some persons in the neighbourhood, who told him there was a party to come from Cluny and Ovie with Mrs M'pherson of Ouvie at their head in order forcibly to take away Kyllihuntly from his house, but does not remember what day this was to happen, only he thinks Kyllihuntly went away upon the day he imagines this was to happen. Depones that he has been spoke to by Mr M'pherson of Breackachie, not to have any correspondence with or give countenance to Kyllihuntly as he had wronged Lady Cluny and her children. Depones that he heard the generallity of people in this country say that had Kyllihuntly hade done right, he would have assigned the debt due to him from the Estate of Cluny to Major John M'pherson in payment of this debt, due by the said Kyllihuntly to the Major. And what he has deponed in the premises are true so far as he knows as he shall answer to God. (Signed)

"Don. M'pherson.
"Rot. Menzies, B."

Digitized by Google

Janet Macgregor or Macpherson and Christian Mackay give the following evidence:—

"Compeared Janet M'Gregor spouse to James Buy M'pherson in Gaskinlone, and being solemnly sworn examined and interrogat, depones that she was called out of her house by one of her neighbours upon a false token. That then there was a discovery made to her of a design of goeing to Kenloch's house to drive away Kyllihuntly out of Kenloch's house. That she refused to goe, and objected particularly to it, as being a Sunday evening, but being told by the other wives that she was desyred by the Ladies of Breackachie, she complyed. That she was also told by her companions they had not any intention to hurt Kyllihuntly's person, And for her own part she had no ill will at him and was determined not to lay any finger or nive upon him. And what she depones in the premises are true as she shall answer to God. Declares she cannot write. (Signed) "Rot. Menzies, B."

"Compeared Christian M'Kay in Catileg, and being solemnly sworn and interrogat, Depones alike with Ann M'pherson one of the witnesses on the preceding page and concurrs with her 'in omnibus.' This is truth as she shall answer to God. Cannot write. (Signed) "Rot. Menzies, B."

A report that any one favouring Killihuntly would be a marked man failed in the case of Alexander Macpherson, in Drumgaskinlone, who depones:—

"That in harvest last after nightfall Kyllihuntly came to his door and ask'd of him to show him the foord upon the River of Spey below his house, being as he afterwards was informed the night Kyllihuntly was attacked at Breackachie, which accordingly he did. That some time thereafter he was told by Marjory M'pherson spouse to John M'pherson his brother, that Mrs M'pherson of Breackachie was highly displeased at him for serving Kyllihuntly as above, That he had often seen Mrs M'pherson thereafter but found her nowise displeased at him so far as he could discover. This is truth as he shall answer to God. Cannot write. (Signed) "Rot. Menzies, B."

"Mylehouse, 9th January 1765, by adjurnment to this dyet the examination continued—

"Eo die.—Compeared Robert M'pherson in Mylehouse, who being solemnly sworn examined and interrogat, depones that he has a subset of his present possession from Donald M'pherson of

Digitized by Google

Laggan, who has other three subtenements besides him, on his tack of part of the forfeit estate of Cluney; that Kyllihuntly now lodges in the deponent's house, but that some short time before he came to lodge at Mylehouse, the said Donald M'pherson came to the deponent, and after telling him he heard a report that Kyllihuntly was to lodge in his house, he asked if this was true, to which deponent made answer, it might be so, for if he desyred so, he could not refuse Kyllihuntly, as he lay under the strongest tyes and obligations to him; that thereupon Laggan told him, that he had come purposely to advise him against giveing Kyllihuntly lodging, and to warn him of his danger, for that he would not only thereby incur the general odium and displeasure of his whole name (Kyllihuntly and Inverhall excepted), but even his children, and his brothers would feel this resentment, and his house be in danger, That for his own part he would show his resentment so far, that if his intrest, or other peoples intrest could doe it, the deponent would be removed from his possession at Whitsunday first. The deponent then asked Laggan what could be the reason of the resentment for lodgeing Kyllihuntly, to which Laggan replied, Are you such a stranger to what he has done to the family of Cluny seeing he has given information against them as would deprive them of no less than three thousand pound, and that Kyllihuntly's being ane informer was a sufficient reason for loosing him from every obligation he could lye under to him. That Laggan proposed to the deponent (who told him he could not refuse lodgeing to Kyllihuntly) to write him a letter setting furth, that he the deponent had no power to lodge any person without said Laggan's consent, and that thereupon he himself would come and keep him out of the house. Kyllihuntly not only pays rent to the deponent, but repaired part of the house and made it partly watertight. Depones that since Kyllihuntly came to reside at the deponent's house, he has found Laggan and his spouse not so kind and warm to him in their friendship as formerly, and that some of the neighbour tenents seem to be in the same sentiments with Laggan, for that in the end of harvest last some of his cattle were poinded at the end of the stables, which never happened to him before he lodged Kyllihuntly, since he came to Mylehouse. That the deponent knows some of the neighbours about him were backward in selling to Kyllihuntly some of the necessarys of life; and his cause of knowledge is, that a man who sold peats to Kyllihuntly would not come to him with them in the day time; that a certain person lately told him, that he would need to take care of himself, at any public meetings, for that they were designed to be

Digitized by Google

at him, for his lodgeing Kyllihuntly, and that they had as much anger at the deponent as at Kyllihuntly, and that what he depones in the premises are true as he shall answer to God.

(Signed) " Robert M'pherson.
" Rot. Menzies, B."

The " Black Officer," it will be seen, played an unobtrusive part, very unusual to his general interfering ways and assertive habits:—

" Eodem die.—Compeared Lieutenant John M'pherson at Phones, who being solemnly sworn examined and interrogat, depones that in harvest last, he was told by Malcolme M'pherson of Phones, who happened to be at Benchar, that Mr Robert M'pherson brother to Benchar, told Phones that he would buy up debts against him Phones, in order to distress in case he did not against a certain day dislodge Kyllihuntly from his house; that the deponent found a generall odium against Kyllihuntly on account of the discoveries he had made to the prejudice of the Cluny family, and what he depones in the premises are true as he shall answer to God. (Signed) " John MaPherson.
" Rot. Menzies, B."

" Eodem die.—Compeared Margaret M'Donald spouse to Charles M'Hardie school master at Laggan parish, who being solemnly sworn examined and interrogat, Depones that upon a Sunday sometime in harvest last, she was at sermon at Islandow, and before Divine worship began, the deponent went in, into a publick house adjacent to the meeting house, where she heard a woman desyreing the land lady, in case Killihuntly should be chased, and come to her door, not to let him in. This woman's name is Jean M'Kenzie spouse to Lachlan M'pherson in Garvamore. That upon this the landlady caused turn out Kyllihuntly's horse out of her stable. That after sermon two women, viz.: Marjory M'pherson spouse to James Lessly in Strathmashy, and Jean M'pherson spouse to Dugald M'pherson in Kerrumule, appeared to the deponent to have a design of attackting Kyllihuntly, from which she endeavoured to dissuade them, especially as it was upon the Sabbath day: They were accordingly disswaded, but the said Jean M'pherson swore by a great oath she would be revenged of his flesh before he would cross Corriearrack, imagining Kyllihuntly to be at that time bound to goe to Glengarry. And this is truth as she shall answer to God, and can not write.

(Signed) " Rot. Menzies, B."

Digitized by Google

"Eodem die.—Compeared Mary M'pherson spouse to Donald M'pherson of Kenloch, and sister to Kyllihuntly, who being solemnly sworn examined and interrogat, Depones that of a night in harvest last about ten of the clock Kyllihuntly came to her house, and told her of the attempt that was made upon him at Breackachy and that he was thereby hurt, whereupon she sent a servant for a man in the neighbourhood, in order to let blood of Kyllihuntly, which accordingly was done, and that she observed several blew spots on Kyllihuntly's leg. And depones that she was of a Sunday said harvest, being nixt Sunday after the attack at Breackachy, with Kyllihuntly at Divine service at Islandow; that after Divine service there came up a woman, viz. Marjorie M'pherson spouse to James Leslie in Strathmashie, to Kyllihuntly and the deponent, who in ane audacious way upbraided both Kyllihuntly and the deponent, and told Kyllihuntly that his head should be cut off and beat to his back side, whereupon the deponent and Kyllihuntly took their horses and rode off; That after the deponent came home two of her daughters who walked on foct, told her it was in good time that Kyllihuntly and she went off, for that there were two other women, who are already condescend on, publickly in audience of the congregation uttered a deal of bad language against Kyllihuntly, and the deponent for being in his company. As to the attack made at Kenloch's house upon a Sabbath evening on Kyllihuntly, and the designed attack from Cluny and Ovie, the deponent concurs with Donald M'pherson of Kenloch her husband. Depones that upon the above mentioned Sunday night she the deponent went out, and haveing seen the forementioned Anna M'pherson who was formerly her servant, the deponent asked What brought her here? To which Anna replied, that she and the rest had come by orders from the ladies of Breackachie, and that they durst not refuse. The deponent then asked what their orders were? To which Anna replyed, that they were to stay till after ten o'clock at night and then put fire to the deponent's house, and this the said Anna said openly and in presence of severall women who were of the partie. That the deponent knows that Kyllihuntly and his father were alwise looked upon, till of late, the best friends the family of Cluny had; and that she knows of no disskindness done by either of the Kyllihuntlys to the family of Cluny till what is said of late nor never heard of it. And what she depones in the premises are true as she shall answer to God. (Signed) "Mary M'pherson.

"Rot. Menzies, B."

Digitized by Google

"Eodem die.—Compeared Mrs M'pherson spouse to John M'pherson of Inverhall, who being solemnly sworn examined and interrogat, Depones that she is grand niece to Kyllihuntly, and Kyllihuntly is married to her husband's sister. This question was put to her by Kyllihuntly. Depones that in August last when Kyllihuntly came to Badenoch he came to lodge at the house where she then stayed and still does. That upon account of the information Kyllihuntly was said to have given to the prejudice of the Cluny family, she did not of herself incline to lodge in the same house with him, and her uncle Mr M'pherson of Breackachie had desyred her not to doe it. And having told her mother Mrs M'pherson of Ovie that this was her the deponent's intention she answered it very well. And that upon Kyllihuntly's comeing to the house, she left the house according to her former intention. That her husband being absent when she left the house, she told him on his return home that she was determined not to goe into the house till Kyllihuntly left it, to which he replyed, that she might doe as she herself pleased, or she might be advised by her friends. Depones that notwithstanding of her former intention she stayed away but one night from her house, and then returned, and that Kyllihuntly stayed a month thereafter in her house; dureing which time she often signifyed to Lady Kyllihuntly that it would be agreeable to her they could find other lodgeings, nor can she say she had the same kindness for Kyllihuntly she formerly had. Depones that Lady Kyllihuntly told the deponent that they would leave the house as soon as they would get any other lodgeing. And being interrogat whither they behooved to leave it whether they gate other lodgings or not, Depones she does not remember it, but doubts not but it might be so; being asked if she had any conversation with Christian Cattanach relict to Duncan Clark late at Invertromie, Depones that about a month agoe, she met with said Christian Cattanach accidentally on the street of Ruthven, and told her she wondered that she, Katherine Gordon relict of John M'Intyre late in Ruthven, and Janet M'pherson spouse to William M'pherson in Noid, did not endeavour to frighten Kyllihuntly out of the countrie, as it would greatly reconcile her to her husband, to the people of the country, who looked down upon them on Killyhuntly's account, That in case they went, their taking staves or battons with them, would be a means of frightening him But recommended to them, in the strongest terms, not to offer Kyllihuntly any abuse or injure his person; That Christian Cattanach refused to goe, Catherine Gordon said nothing, and the other

Digitized by Google

woman was not present at the conversation, nor spoke to on the subject, and what she depones in the premises are true as she shall answer to God. (Signed) " Ann Macpherson.
" Rot. Menzies, B."

8th FEBRUARY, 1900.

At the meeting held on this date the following were elected members of the Society, viz. :—Lieut.-Colonel T. R. Macdonald, The Haven, and A. J. P. Menzies, Esq., Palace Hotel, Inverness. honorary members; and Mr A. K. Findlater, of Messrs Macdonald & Mackintosh, Inverness, an ordinary member. Thereafter the assistant secretary read a copy of a MS. presented to the Society by Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie, Bart. of Gairloch, entitled " An Œconomical History of the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scotland." The paper, which is a transcription of British Museum King's MS., No. 105, deals in considerable detail with the economical history of the islands of Lewis and Harris, about the year 1765, when the MS. is understood to have been written at the " desire of the Board of Annexed Estates." It is as follows:—

AN ŒCONOMICAL HISTORY OF THE HEBRIDES OR WESTERN ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND.

BRIT. MUS. KING'S MS., 105.

In " An Economical History of the Hebrides and Highlands and Islands of Scotland, by John Walker, D.D., late Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh," published in two volumes in 1808, the author says in his introduction:—
" In the year 1764 the Author received a commission from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to enquire into the state of religion in the Highland Countries; into the distribution of His Majesty's bounty, granted for the religious instruction of the inhabitants; and to point out the districts where the erection of new parishes might be judged most necessary and expedient. He at the same sime received a commission from His Majesty's Commissioners of the Annexed Estates, to examine

Digitized by Google

the natural history of those countries, their population, and the state of their agriculture, manufactures, and fisheries. In the year 1771 he received a similar commission from these two respectable bodies, in order to extend his survey over those parts of the country which he had not formerly visited. One report on the business of the Assembly was communicated in the year 1765, and another in the year 1772, when both were inserted in the records of the Assembly. His report to the Annexed Board formed a large folio volume, which remained for some time in possession of the Board, but was afterwards sent to London, and of which no exact copy was retained. This volume has since disappeared, and even after much inquiry to recover it, has been given up as lost."

A volume corresponding to this description is among the King's MSS. in the British Museum. It is prefixed by a letter to the Board of Annexed Estates, which is unsigned and undated, but the account given of the Lews, at all events, appears to have been written in 1765. The volume is entitled "An Œconomical History of the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scotland," and it gives a detailed account of each of the islands from Lewis to Islay, commencing with the Long Island, going on to the Argyllshire islands, and ending with Skye and Small Isles. The first 30 pages dealing with Lewis and Harris are here transcribed.

This MS. stands in the British Museum's Catalogue next to that published a year or two ago by Mr A. Lang, under the title of "The Highlands in 1750."

To His Magesties Commissioners at the Board of Annexed Estates.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The following history of the Western Islands, undertaken at your Disire, and executed under your Patronage, I have endeavoured as much as possible to render subservient to your Excellent and Patriotic Designs, for the Improvement of these wild and remote Parts of the Kingdom.

It consists of the most part of a Naration of Facts, designed to serve as so many Data, from which every intelligent Person, tho' he has never seen these Countries, may form a proper Idea of their Oeconomy and Improvement, and in this View, it is hoped they may be of Use to those who have the Police of these distant parts of Scotland under their immediate Inspection.

They were collected with the utmost Care during the Course of above Seven Months, in a journey by Land and Water of upwards of 3000 Miles, through the Islands North of Cantire,

Digitized by Google

and the adjacent parts of the Highlands, being concious of no Intention to Mislead. I perswade myself, no Person will here be misinformed through Design, tho' I cannot be equally certain that amidst such a Multiplicity of Facts, I have been no where Mislead. What I saw I can affirm; but many things related must rest on the authority of others; tho' no Informations were admitted, whose Evidence, was not in a high Degree unexceptionable.

Many curious Discoveries in Natural History ocured in the Course of this Journey. But here I judged it more proper to confine myself to a general Description of the Countries, of their Soil and Climate, and of the Customs and Manners of the People. To mark every where the Prices of Labour and of Commodities, the Nature and Extent of the Exports and Imports, and the Causes of the Populations and Depopulations: To describe the present State of Agriculture, Manufacture, and Fishery; and to point out the most obvious Methods, for the advancement of these Usefull Arts. Natural History, however, could not be wholly omitted, as it affords such frequent and favourable Opportunities of turning the Truths of Science to the Purposes of Life.

There is no Corner of Europe, so little known, even to the Inhabitants of Britain, as the Islands which are here described. We have long had more Information Concerning the Islands of Asia; and it is likely will soon be better aquainted with those in the far distant parts of the Southern Hemisphere, than we are with the Islands adjacent to our own Coasts, and which make part of the Kingdom.

This is the more to be regretted, as the Improvement of the Hebrides, is undoubtedly a great national Object. Their Extent is importent, upwards of two Millions of Acres; their Inhabitants numerous, being above Seventy thousand Persons; yet the Number is small compared to the Territory they inhabit. Thirty Acres for each Individual is a Proportion hardly known in any other European Country, and shews how little these Islands have hitherto felt of the Beneficial Influence of Arts and Industry.

Their Soil remains as it was left at the Creation. The Inhabitants, when compared to their Fellow Subjects, with Respect to Arts, are in almost the same Situation as in the Days of Oscian. Yet they are Countries capable of being greatly advanced by Agriculture: capable of many of the most important Species of Manufacture; possessed of the most valuable Fisheries in Europe; and inhabited by a sencible, hardy and laborious Race of People.

Digitized by Google

I call them laborious, contrary indeed to received opinion. But it is only from a superficial View, that they are represented as unconquerably averse to Industry, and every kind of Innovation. The Culture of their Fields, carried on by the Spade, with the Strength of their Arms, instead of that of Cattle; and many other opperations in their rude System of Husbandry, exhibit powerfull tho' indeed ill directed Efforts of Industry. Their extensive Cultivation of Potatoes, by Hand Labour; their Hardships and Assiduity in the Manufacture of Kelp; the Success of the Linen Manufacture where ever it has been introduced; and the amazing Progress of Inoculation, show that ye Highlanders are as capable to judge of, are as ready to embrace and can as vigorously pursue any Innovation that is advantageous or Salutary, as any other People whatever.

Unassisted Exertions of Industry are not to be expected from a People still in the Pastoral Stage of Society; nor from unenlightened Minds are we any where to expect the Sudden Discontinuance of Bad Customs. But wherever the Highlanders are defective in Industry, it will be found, upon fair Enquiry, to be rather their Misfortune than their Fault; and owing to their want of Knowledge, rather than to any want of the Spirit of Labour. Their Disposition to Industry is greater than is usually imagined, and if judicially directed is capable to rise to the greatest Heights. I have the Honour to be with the greatest Respect, My Lords and Gentlemen, your most Obidient and most humble Servant.

LEWES.

Situation and Extent.

The Country of Lewes is connected to that of Harris by a Narrow Isthmus, from which it extends Northwards, about 54 Miles in Length to Europa point; which lies nearly under the same Paralell with Cape Wrath, the most remote place on the North West of the Main Land of Scotland, and is distant from it about 30 Leagues. The Extent of the Lewes from east to west is various, being deeply cut by several extensive arms of the sea; but at a medium, its Breadth is nearly about 18 miles.*

This vast Country, which must contain about 449,120 acres, is let by Mr Mackenzie of Seaforth, who is the Sole Proprietor, for 1,200£ with the adjacent Islands included, so that it is rented at present for about one Halfpenny p. Acre.

* Ordnance Survey, 404,166 acres including the fresh water lochs.

Digitized by Google

NUMBERS OF PEOPLE.

The Lewes contain 4 Parishes, which are peopled entirely wt. Protestants. The Parish of Stornoway, which consists of the united Parishes of Stornoway and Ey, and lies along the east Coast, is 22 Miles long, and 10 Miles broad, but the Inhabited part of it scarcely extends any where above 3 miles from the sea. The number of People in it amounts to 2,286.

The Parish of Lochs, which comprehends all the south east part of the Island, is about 24 Miles long, and 8 Miles broad; it contains the Islands of Schant, and has 1,187 Inhabitants.

The Parish of Wig, which lies on the South east side of the Country, is 27 Miles long, and 11 broad; the number of People in this Parish is 1,687.

The Parish of Barras, consisting of the united Parishes of Barras and Ness, is the most northerly one in the Lewes; it is 24 Miles long, but of very different Breadth in different places, and contains 1777 People.

The total number of People in this Island or Peninsular of Lewes amounts to 6938, and by comparing this number with the number of Acres which the Country contains, it appears that there are 64 Acres to each Person, a most amazing Proportion! Such as there is certainly no Instance in any other Country in Europe.

Of all the People in the 4 Parishes in the Lewes, there are Scarce any who understand English, except a few in the Town of Stornoway and its neighbourhood; these amount not to above 200, and here the Minister preaches an English sermon once a fortnight; but of the other two places of Worship in this Parish, and in the other three Parishes in the Island, the Ministers preach allways in Galic, having no hearers at these places who can understand them in English.

The Small Progress which the English Language has made in this Country is chiefly owing to Want of Schools, for the Inhabitants having little intercourse with any People who speak English they can have no other way to obtain it, but by being taught to read and speak the Language when they were young. The Committee for Managing the royal Bounty have establish'd a School for English, Latin, Writing, and Arithmetic at Stornoway, and the Society for propogating Christian Knowledge Support two Charity Schools in this Parish; these Schools are full, and well taught, and are at present of great Use in Spreading the English Language in that part of the Country; but till

Digitized by Google

last year, that Mr Mackenzie the Proprietor erected a Legal parochial School in the Parish of Lochs, there was no other in all the Lewes. There is still no School of any kind in the Parishes of Wig and Barras, and in the whole Country there are at least 6000 who can neither speak English nor read ye Scriptures in any Language. The Lewes sent to the Army during the last War 170 men; of these 34 have returned Home since the Peace, 18 of whom have Chelsea Pensions, the Rest were mostly slain in action in America.

An exact account having been taken of the People in the Lewes in the year 1763, an Abstract of it shall be here subjoin'd according to their different ages and sexes:—

Males.		Females.	
Men above 60 years of age	241	Women above 60	348
Men from 16 to 50	1331	Women from 16 to 60	1265
Boys from 7 to 16	1069	Girls from 9 to 16	1207
Boys under 7	714	Girls under 9	763
Total of Males,	3355	Total of Females,	3583

Total of Inhabitants, 6938.*

Of this number there are 9 men above 80 and 12 women; none of the former are 100, but two of the latter are above it, one being 102 and the other 105.

Soil.

By the nearest Computation there may be about 40,000 Acres of Land in the Lewes which have at some period or other been turn'd by the Plough or Spade, which consist for the most part of a thin hazely Soil, of a reddish Loam, or of a Soil compos'd mostly of Sand. It contains about 200,000 Acres, which tho' never hitherto touch'd by the Labour, either of Men or Cattle, are capable of being reclaim'd, and consist chiefly of wide extended Heaths or Sandy Downs. The remaining part of this Island, which amounts to no less than 209,120 Acres, appear totally irreclaimable, and is composed of Steep Mountains, large tracts of Rocks, fresh water Lakes, deep Mosses, and Blowing Sand.

The number of Tenants in the Island is about 668, and their whole Rent paid to the Proprietor amount only to 1,200£. Their Possessions at an average are under 40 sh. p. Annum. There is one Farm in the Island whose Rent is 50£, but the greatest number runs from 10 to 20 sh.

* Census 1891, 27,590.

Digitized by Google

Price of Labour.

They know little or nothing of Day Labourers in any of the Islands; when People have occasion for more Labour than that of their own Servants, they borrow their neighbours, so that they have scarce any Price upon a Man's labour by the Day.

Here the whole Wages of a Man Servant during the year come only to 28 sh., and those of a Woman Servant to 8 sh., and the man's Sustenance in a Family amounts only to 2£ and the Woman to 1£ 5 sh. There is certainly no European Country at present that equals this Cheapness of Labour.

At Stornoway 12 and 14 Heer Yarn is spun at 10d p. Spyndle. Yarn of 18 Heer is spun at 1 sh. p. Spyndle.

Of the 18 Heer Yarn a woman spins 1 Hank a day, or one fourth of a Spyndle, which amounts to 3d.

Price of Commodities.

	£	s.	d.
The best driving Cows at a Medium each	1	6	0
The Lewes Stone of Butter 23 lb. English p. Stone ...	0	7	0
The Stone of Cheese	0	2	6
The Stone of Wash'd Wool	0	9	0
The Grass of a Cow for a whole Summer	0	1	8
Kelp p. Tun	3	5	0
Aqua Vitæ p. Anchor, containing 26 Scots Pints ...	1	5	0
Dog Fish Oil p. Barrel	2	5	0
Herrings p. Barrel	1	2	0
Salmon p. Barrel	1	16	0
Dried Ling p. Hundred	3	15	0

Quality and Price of Grain.

The Lewes Boll of Beer, which sells usually at 16 sh. heap'd measure, affords a Boll of Meal streak'd measure. The Lewes Boll of Gray Oats, which is ¼ more than the Lithgow Boll, sells usually at 8 sh.

The Lewes Boll of Grain is 16 Pecks, the Peck consisting of 8 Pints liquid measure, whereas the Lithgow Peck contains only 6.

This Boll of Grey Oats affords commonly but 9 Pecks of Meal. When distill'd it yields 10 Pints of Aqua Vitæ, and this again twice Rectified, is reduced to 4 Pints of the Strong ardent Spirit call'd Trestarig.

In general they find that the yeild of Spirits from Oats is exactly in proportion to the Quantity of Meal which the Oats

Digitized by Google

would afford. Whatever Quantity of Oats affords 3 Firlots of Meal, Lewes Measure, will make 2 Scots Gallons of Aqua Vitæ, so that it is the farenaceous parts of the Grain alone that yeilds Spirits.

Exports.

The Lewes exports annually to the Main Land of Scotland 700 Black Cattle; about 100 are sold to ye Shipping that put in at Stornoway, and 300 are sent, Salted, to the Ports upon Clyde. The value of the whole is about	£1430	0	0
Last year about 50 Ton of Kelp was made and exported	162	5	0
There are 12 Stills in Lewes, and from these was last year exported 200 Anchors of Aqua Vitæ	250	0	0
Dog Fish Oil, 140 Barrels	315	0	0
Dried Ling, 17,000	637	10	0
Herrings, 750 Barrels	1575	0	0
Salmon, 48 Barrels	86	8	0
The Spinning School at Stornoway from Oct. 1763 to Dec. 1764 produced 2288 Spyndles of Linen yarn from 8 to 18 Heer in ye lb. of Flax, wh. at 2 sh. p. Spyndle at an average amounts to	228	16	0

Dried Cod, 50 Barrels.
Mud Cod, 117 Barrels.
Above 2000 Sheep Skins with the Wool upon them.
About 38 Stone of Feathers are also exported, which are the Product of Suilskeray and the Rona and Flannen Isles.

The Lewes neither imports nor Exports Grain.

State of Agriculture.

Agriculture is not perhaps conducted in any part of the World in a more rude and artless manner than in this Country; they know of no grain besides Bear and Grey Oats, no Manure but Lea Wrack, and scarce any Instrument of Agriculture but the Carschrome, which is a crooked Spade, and a little Harrow with Wooden Teeth which is drawn by a man. The Plough is a thing but lately known to the Inhabitants of the Lewes, and they are still but few of them in the Country. There is not one in all the Parish of Wig, the Land in that part of the Island being still cultivate entirely with the Spade. It is but 9 years since Potatoes were first planted in the Lewes, and the making

Digitized by Google

of Hay is still a more late Improvement, and as yet practised but in few places. They do not shear their Sheep, but pull the Wool off their Baks; neither do they reap their Bear as in other places, but pull it up by the Roots. After it is in the Barn they cut off the Roots, and with a part of the Stem. This Stubble they strow irregularly upon their House Tops, and tie it down with Ropes of Heath, without Turf below it, the Scarcity of Wood oblidging them to have the Timber of their Roofs so Slight, that it will bear no great Burden. They then cut the Heads off it, and these they burn, having no other way of drying their Grain, and at length the middle part of the Straw goes to the Cattle.

State of the Fisheries.

Tho' the Fisheries have never been so much prosecute in the Lewes as they deserve, yet the People pursue them to a greater Extent than any other of the Islanders. The Town of Stornoway has 30 fishing Boats; there are about 20 more upon the adjacent Coasts in that Parish, and besides these, there are about 50 in the other parts of the Islands. In each of these Boats there are 5 Hands at a Medium, so that the whole, for several months of the year enploy 500 Men, but the Fisheries on the Coasts of this extensive Island are capable to furnish Employment for ten times the number.

Ling.—All along the East Coast of the Island, and in most places, within two miles of the Shore, there runs an extensive Bank, which abounds in Ling, but there are scarce any Fishers upon it, except for a few miles in the Parish of Stornoway, where the People are more industrious in Fishery than in the other parts of the Island, by having better opportunity of being furnish'd wt. Salt. Here they generally make and export añually about 13,000 Ling, which at 23 Fish to the hundred, the usual number amounts to 30 Ton, but last year they caught and exported 17,000.

Cod.—The above Bank running along the east Coast of the Lewes, from which the Ling are taken, likewise abounds in Cod, which is a singular case, as these two kinds of Fish are seldom found in Considerable Quantities upon the same Bank. Here alone 50 Barrels of dried Cod, and 117 Barrels of Mud Cod were caught last Season, and exported from Stornoway to Liverpool. There is also plenty of Cod off Loch Roag, upon the west side of the Country.

Digitized by Google

HERRING.—The Situation of the Lewes is extremely favourable for the Herring Fishery, especially in the beginning of the Season. The great Shoal which enters the Minch that is the Sea between the Long Island and the Main Land always doubles the Butt of the Lewes in its way from the North West, sometime in the month of July, and generally enters some of the extensive Lochs on the East Coast of the Lewes. At the first appearance of the Herrings, they are in their greatest Perfection, and of the greatest Value for the European Market, but as they are not then so stationary, they require to be fish'd with greater adress and dispatch than in the Winter Season. By this usual Progress of the Herring the Lewes is more conveniently situate for the early Fishing than any other of the Islands, and besides this, its Lochs are very frequently their Residence durning the Spawning Season. A few years ago Loch Roag, upon the West Coast of the Island, was the Chief of the Winter Fishery, and every year they are to be found during that Season in greater or less Quantities in the Lochs of Stornoway, Birhen * Isles, Horron, Shell or Seaforth on the East Coast. In some or in all of these Lochs they are generally to be found in large Shoals during the Spawning time, and continue till about the first of February, nay they have even been caught in great Quantities at Stornoway between the 8th and 15th of that month, but about this time, or soon after, they pretty regularly remove from the Coasts of the Lewes. During the whole fishing season, the Inhabitants of this Island generally cure and export about 750 Barrels of Herrings; sometimes they are confined to 500, and sometimes they have compleated 1,000, but the various success arises from the precarious way in which they are furnish'd with Salt, not from the uncertainty of the Shoals, which are very steady in their appearance upon the Coasts, and was there easy access to Salt and Cask it is not improbable that 10,000 Barrels might be annually exported by the Industry of its own Inhabitants.

The People of Stornoway made Trial last year of the Buss Fishing with one Vessel. She sail'd from Stornoway from the Rendevouze at Campbelton about the middle of August, and at Loch Tarbert in the Isle of Harris, very near compleated a cargo of Herrings, which she carried to Campbelton and sail'd from thence upon the Bounty, in the middle of September. This one Experiment points out Stornoway as the Place most advantageously situate, of any in Scotland, for carrying on the Buss Fish-

* *i.e.* Birken Isles

Digitized by Google

ing, while the present Bounty Law continues in Force, and indeed without any experiment, it is abundantly Evident.

By that Law the Herring Busses are oblidged to rendevouze at Campbelton on or before the 15th of September, when they proceed to the Winter Fishery. In the voyage to this Rendevouze a vessel from Stornoway may be pretty certain of making a compleat cargo of Herrings, provided she is ready to leave that Port at the proper time, that is upon the first information of their appearance in the Minch, which is always about the middle of July. While she follows them in their Progress Southwards she is continuing her voyage, and has a fair chance of arriving at Campbelton fully loaded, where she can dispose of her cargo to advantage, and be furnished with fresh supplies of Salt and Casks. She may by this means have the opportunity of making two cargoes during one Fishing, While the Busses from the south can only have the opportunity of Obtaining one, and the only inconvenience, or additional Expence she need incur for this great advantage, is that of leaving the Port of Stornoway a month or six weeks sooner than she otherwise would do.

To every other Method of procecuting the Summer Fishery in the Western Islands, there is this Discouragement that by Law there is a Debenture only for a Bushel of Salt for each Barrel of Herrings that are cured and exported. A Bushel is indeed sufficient to cure a Barrel during the Winter Fishery, but in the summer season, from the first appearance of the Shoals in the middle of July to the middle of September, each Barrel requires two Bushels of Salt to cure it well, so that the Fishers Premium by the Debenture amounts only to the Duty upon one half of his Salt. This must effectually Discourage the People of the Islands from pursuing the Summer Fishery, who have no other premium than the Debenture upon Salt, but to a Buss upon the Bounty sailing from the Lewes to her Rendevouze, it needs be no Impediment to her making a cargo in Summer, as her voyage becomes thereby highly Profitable notwithstanding this Disadvantage. It may be observed likewise in favour of this method of following the Summer Fishery, that it may be practised by all Vessels who Sail to the Campbelton Rendevouze from any place between the Lewes and the Isle of Mull, and further, that as one half of all the Salt in this way pays the full Duty, should this method of Fishing be enlarged the Revenue must be proportionably increas'd.

MACKREL.—The Mackrel do not reach the Coast of ye Lewes till the first of August, and might then be had oftimes in large

Digitized by Google

Quantities, but the Inhabitants are at no pains in catching them, except when they cast up in their Herring Nets, and then they have Salted them to very good advantage. The Fishers on the west of the Island cure a great deal of Mackrel, which are Barrel'd and sent to the west Indies where they keep equally well with Herrings, and it were certainly worth while to make Trial of the same kind of Trade in the Lewes, and in others of the western Islands, where this Fish is found in great Plenty.

Salmon.—Tho' there are several Rivers in the Lewes that abound in Salmon, it is but of late they were ever turned to any account. Last year they were fished with some care, and afforded 48 barrels for Exportation, and this Quantity will probably increase, as the People become more expert in catching and curing Salmon, which is a Business they have been but lately made aquainted with.

Dog Fish.—Many of the People on the west coast of the Lewes are very industriously and profitably employed during some part of the Summer and Harvest in catching Dog Fish, from which they extract a Fish Oil of excellent Quality. Tho' it is only the Liver that affords the Oil, yet the Fish abounds on that Coast to such a Degree, that 140 Barrels of the Oil were made and exported from the Lewes at 2£ 5 sh. p. Barrel, which amounts to 315£. Upon the Coast of many others of the Islands, the Dog Fish is equally numerous, but is no where fish'd to manufacture Oil for Exportation but at this Place.

State of Manufacture.

From the above account it appears that the different kinds of Fishery give a good deal of Employment to many of the Inhabitants of ye Lewes, yet notwithstanding this and ye usual Labour of their Husbandry, the greater part of ye men are either not half occupied throughout ye year, or unprofitably employ'd, yet here as in almost all ye other parts of the Highlands, there is still a greater superfluity of Idleness among ye Women, occasioned By ye want of ye Woolen & Linen Manufacture.

Wool.—The only article of Woolen manufacture that the People of the Lewes pursue, is some coarse Blanketing which they send to Clyde, but their negligence even in ye article appears from their sending annually above 2000 of wool out of the country unmanufactured.

Linen.—Tho' they have been in the practise of Sowing Lint for above 60 years, yet for want of being properly supplied with

Digitized by Google

foreign Flax seed, their Lint is degenerate to such a Degree, that it is not worth Cultivation, and its produce serves only to afford to a few of the Inhabitants a little Linen Cloth of the coarsest Quality. They are entire strangers to all the Proper Methods of Executing the Linen Manufacture, and are even ignorant of the whole Progress of Watering Flax. In place of which they dry their Lint before the Fire, as it is taken off the Ground, and then beat it upon a Stone.

In an Island, where there are about 3000 Women in a great measure idle, who might be all profitably employ'd in the Linen Manufacture, such a situation is really deplorable. The Commissioners therefore upon the annexed Estates erected a Spinning School at Stornoway in October 1763, which has already been attended with excellent Effects. There was at first indeed great opposition made to it by the People, but this was soon overcome, by the care and vigilance of the Gentleman who have the management of Mr Mackenzie's Business in that Country, and of Mr MacPherson who is ye undertaker for the Factory.

The women were averse at first to come to the School from groundless Reports of a Design to send them to the Plantations, but their Fears being despelled, the School was immediately fill'd, they find their Labour both easy and profitable, and pursue it with a Degree of Spirit and Cheerfullness.

The Spinning Mistress was brought from Fyfe and her husband is the Hekler. Tho' she has no Galic, she says the Girls in two or three days understand every thing she means with regard to their work, that they are extremly quick & docile, and is certain that such Girls in the low Country could not make equal Proficiency under a Person who was ignorant of their Language. In August last there were 51 Girls in the School from 9 to 25 years of age, who in about 3 months had learnt to spin Linen yarn from 8 to 18 Heer out of the Pound of Lint, with Sufficient Dexterity. When the School was erected, it was proposed that 150 Women should be taught to spin in the cours of 3 years, but by the diligence of Mr MacPherson the undertaker, that number was sufficiently instructed in the Business last October * that is in the course of one year after the School was open'd. If he is sufficiently supported there is no doubt of his rendring the Manufacture of Linen yarn universal throughout the Lewes in three or four years.

The advantage of this Spinning Station, tho' still in its Infancy, have been considerable. Above 2288 Spyndles of

* *i.e.* October, 1764.

Digitized by Google

Linen yarn have been sent in the course of 14 months from a Country which never exported a Thread before. The Inhabitants have already inbib'd a strong Inclination for pursuing the Manufacture, so that besides the yarn which the Spinning School has produced, the People of the Country have purchased from the undertaker about 1500 Pound of Tow, from one penny to 5 Pence p. Pound, and a considerable Quantity of dress'd Lint at 10 Pence, which they have manufactur'd upon their own account.

All this however has been produced from Riga Flax, and in order to perfect the manufacture in the Lewes, the first and most necessary thing wanted is a Skillfull Flax Raiser, to initiate the People in the Cultivation and Dressing of Lint. The Soil and Climate are favourable enough for the Production of such Lint as is most proper for them to manufacture. For tho' any Lint Crops they at present have, are very contemptible, yet this is owing to the Degenracy of the Lint Seed, not to any Fault in the Soil. In the year 1756 some Foreign Lint Seed was brought into Lewes, and it produced as good Crops as in most other places.

An expert Weaver settled at Stornoway would also be of great Benefit. There is no Weaver at present at Lewes capable of working Linen at 1 sh. p. yard. From the Foreign Flax brought lately into the Country there has been a great deal of yarn spun to a pretty fine Grist, but the Proprietors were oblidg'd to send it to Ireland in order to be weav'd.

Hemp.—They sow a good deal of Hemp in ye Lewes, and tho' their manner of Cultivating and dressing the Plant is very defective and erronious, yet all their Nets which are us'd in the Fishery are made of it. Last Season, the Vessel which sail'd to the Fishery upon the Bounty from Stornoway, had 67 Nets on Board from 10 to 12 Fathoms long, and from 3 to 5 Fathoms deep, of an exceeding good Quality, and all made in the Lewes, from the Hemp of the Country. Tho' their Hemp is greatly degenerate, as they never get any foreign Hemp Seed, but a few Pounds now and then from Ireland, yet on the 16th of August last, the Male Plants just come to the Flower measur'd 4 Feet 3 Inches in Length, this shews that the Soils and Climate are extremly favourable for the Production of this valuable Plant, and were the Inhabitants properly supplied with foreign Hemp Seed, and instructed in its Cultivation, it would establish a very useful Branch both for Agriculture and Manufacture, as there can be none more proper in a Country where Fishery is to be consider'd as the Chief Employment of the People.

Digitized by Google

Natural Productions.

Eider Down.—The Anas Mollissima of Linnæus, or Eider Duck, abounds in the Rona and Flannan Isles, and the uninhabited Island of Soulisker. This Bird is of a Size, between that of a Duck and a Goose, and affords the Eider Down, which is so much esteem'd and so high Pric'd, being the highest & most elastick that is known. Of this fine Down the Bird divests itself for building its Nest which is very large, and almost wholly compos'd of it, and from the Nest only it is Collected. The Eggs are as large as those of a Goose, and of a green colour, which it hatches in the end of June, the proper time for gathering the Down.

The Danes furnish the rest of Europe at present with this costly Plumage from Iceland and the Coasts of Norway. The Bird abounds in several of the Western Islands, and the great value of its Feathers was known even in Buchanan's Time, who particularly describes it by the name of Colca, in the Description of Scotland prefixed to his History. Their Value however is altogether unknown to the Inhabitants of the Lewes; For tho' there is a large Quantity of Eider Down brought annually from Rona, Flannan & Soulisker, it turns to no account as it is mix'd by the Simple Inhabitants of these remote Islands with the Feathers of their other sea Birds.

Martrick.—The Martrick which is the Mustela martes of Linnœus Inhabits many of the wild rocky places of the Lewes. It is a carnivorous Quadruped, larger than a Cat, of a blackish brown Colour, and affords an exceeding good Fur. They are taken by the Inhabitants in Gins, set for the Purpose, and their Skins usually sell at Five shillings a Peice.

Sperma Ceti.—The Whale which affords the Sperma Ceti or the Physeter macrocephalus of Linnœus is frequently put ashore upon the Lewes, but the People are entirely ignorant of the value of that commodity, and the manner of Preserving it. In August last a Fish of that kind 50 feet long was cast in near Stornoway, which was immediately cut up and divided into Shares, by the People who found it. A white substance they observed in the Head, which they took to be brains, and being more than ordinary fat and mellow, they unluckily mix'd and boil'd it up with the Blubber. The consequence was that both Oil and Sperma Ceti were in a great measure lost. The Oil Merchant at Stornoway would not buy it, being half frozen up with a Substance he knew nothing about, and even at Liverpool

Digitized by Google

either thro' Ignorance or unfair Dealing, it was disadvantageously sold and turn'd out to no account.

SEATH FISH.—The Seath Fish abounds throughout all the Western Islands, and is a principal part of the Support of the Islanders during all the summer season, who then take it in great numbers with Fishing Rods and Hand lines.

The Poor People observe that when they live upon any other Fish, without Bread, which is often the case, they are never sufficiently nourished, but a weakness of their whole Body ensues, but when they feed upon Seath, whether with Bread or not, it proves equally healhfull and nourishing. As the Preservation of a Fish of such an excellent Quality deserved a Trial, the People of Stornoway in August last were perswaded to make the experiment. They then began to fish them with Nets, which had not formerly been done, and were very successfull, a single Net at one Haul bringing from 1 to 300 of them, which at an average were 18 Inches long. While the weather answer'd, which was but for a little Time, they splitted, salted, and dried them, and these turn'd out to very good acount. But when the weather fail'd for this purpose they were oblidged to preserve them in the way of Mud Fish, which did not answer, either from the peculiar nature of the Fish, from their not being in Season, or from inexperience in the proper Manner of Curing them. One Beneficial article of knowledge however results from this experiment, that the Fish is capable of being preserved to advantage dry. And as it is to be had in great plenty, during all the Spring and Summer Months, the People of the Islands should be encouraged to make a Trial of it at the Market, along with their Cod and Ling.

HARRIS.

SITUATION.

The country of Harris is divided from that of Lewes by a narrow Tarbert or Isthmus, about half a mile over. It composes one extensive Parish, which comprehends Seven lesser adjacent Islands which are inhabited: Pabbay, Ensay, Killigray and Bernera, which ly to the South in the dangerous Channel between Harris and North Uist, Taransay and Scarp, which ly upon the west Coast, and Scalpa, which is situate upon the East.

Digitized by Google

Extent and Rental.

The main Land of Harris is 36 Miles, and in different places from 8 to 18 miles broad, but its mean Breadth will be about 12 Miles. According to these dimensions it contains 276,480 Acres, and the Seven lesser Islands contain 24,960, in all 301,440 Acres which are rented at 600£, that is at less than one half penny per Acre.

The small Islands contains a much larger Proportion of Arable and fertile Ground than the main Land of Harris. Their Rent amounts to 257£, so that they are set at between Two pence halfpenny and three Pence p. Acre, but the main Land, being let at present for about 343£, it is rented at less than one third of a penny p. Acre.

Mr M'Leod is the sole Proprietor of these Islands, which are all inhabited by the People of his Family and Clan.

Number of People.

Upon the main Land of Harris there are 1363 Inhabitants, and 630 upon the seven adjacent Islands belonging to it, the number of People in the whole Parish being 1993, which makes 151 Acres to each Person. In the seven lesser Islands there are indeed but 39 acres for every Inhabitant, but upon the main Island of Harris, the Proportion amounts to a prodigeous Number 202.

There are no Papists in Harris, but of all the Inhabitants there are not above a 100 that understand English. There is a Legal and a Charity School in the Parish, but the Bulk of the Inhabitants receive but little benefit from them, by their dispers'd situation through so wide a Country, and so many Islands divided from each other by very dangerous seas. These Schools have hitherto been kept at the particular Place, but they would be rendered much more usefull if they were mov'd to different parts of the Parish every three or four years.

From this Parish there went to the Army during the late war 118 men, who were all sent to America. Only 14 of these have as yet returned, 8 of whom are Chelsea Pensioners.

Soil.

All the East Coast of the Main Land of Harris, and all its interior parts, are rocky and mountainous. Here the mountain of Clisham is situate, which is the highest in all the long Island,

Digitized by Google

and appears to be about 2000 Feet high. There is an extensive Forest here formerly much better replenish'd with Deer than at present, The Eagles being so numerous that very few of the Fawns escape. It still contains however 700 Head, which browze upon the mountains in summer, and upon the shore in winter, where they feed much upon the sea weeds. The west side of the Island near the sea is mostly arable, the Soil is all Sandy but fertile, producing very rich grass and good Crops of Grain.

In this Island it is judged there will be about 22,000 Acres that have been turned by the Spade or Plough; 60,000 that may be brought into Culture consisting chiefly of dry Land upon the skirts of the Mountains, Heaths, Sandy Downs, and Bogs that might be profitably drain'd. The remaining 194,480 Acres seem totally irreclaimable, and comprehend all the High Lands upon the mountains steep Declevities, great Tracts of Rocks, Deep Mosses, and blowing Sand. The Proportion of Wild Land is much less in the seven adjacent Islands, for of the 24,960 Acres which they contain, 15,000 have at least been Cultivate.

In several parts of the Harris, the Sand Drift from the sea shore has made great encroachments upon the Land. There are about 300 Acres of what was formerly the best arable and pasture Land in the Island Pabbay, that are at present overwhelm'd with Sand: as the Sand blows from the Shore, the sea advances, and accordingly upon the south west side of the Island the sea flows for a great space where many People still alive have reaped crops of Grain. There are about 300 Acres of the best Land in the Island of Bernera entirely blown up with Sand, in the same manner; and the Drift has encroach'd so much upon Loch Bruist, a fresh water Lake in the Island, that it is now firm ground, where there was formerly a great Depth of Water, interspers'd with Islands. The Sand Drift is continuing to make great Devastation in the same way along all the west Coast of the main Land of Harris, and in all the other lesser Island which are adjacent

EXPORTS.

The Harris affords 100 Tons of Kelp, what at 3£ 5 sh. p. Ton amounts to	£325	0	0
About 250 black Cattle are exported alive and 100 Salted, which at 1£ 6 sh. each amounts to ...	455	0	0

The Harris seldom export or import any Grain, but exports a little * & Cheese, som. wool, and the skins of Sheep, Otters & Seals.

* Word omitted in MSS.

Digitized by Google

State of Agriculture.

There is no kind of Grain sown in Harris, but Bear or Gray Oats. They us'd to sow a great deal of Rye, but have given it up of late years, as they found it prejudicial to their Soil, which in general is very light and Sandy, but afford exceeding good Crops of Bear, when Manur'd with Sea Weeds, and Cultivate with the Spade. An increase of twenty fold is frequent in that Grain, but they sow it exceeding Thin.

The Plough which is us'd here, and in most places of the Long Island, is of a very particular construction. Its whole Length is but 4 feet 7 Inches, and is drawn by 4 horses abreast. It has but one Handle by which it is directed, the Mold Board is fastened with two Leather Thongs, and the Soke and Coulter are bound together at the Point by a Ring of Iron.

There is another Instrument also us'd in the Harris, and the other parts of the Long Island, in the Cultivation of their arable Land, called a Ristle. It is of the shape of a Plough, but is only two feet and a half Long, and drawn by one Horse. It has no Soke, but has a sharp crooked Coulter, which is drawn through the Soil, near 10 Inches deep. The use of it is to be drawn before the Plough, in order to cut the strong twisted Roots of a number of Repent Plants with which the Sandy Soil in the Long Island is particularly infested, and which are powerfull enough to obstruct the Progress of so weak a Plough as that which is commonly us'd.

Manufacture.

Beside Kelp, there is nothing of Manufacture kind, that the Inhabitants of Harris are employed in Except a little coarse Woolen yarn, and some Blanketing, which they send yearly to Glasgow. They raise a little Flax of which they make some coarse Linen for their own use, but import all the fine Linen which they consume. In the year 1756, an American Vessel in Distress was oblidged to put out three Hogsheads of Lintseed in Harris, which was sown, and afforded crops of Lint which were above double the value of the usual Crops. Yet since that Time, no foreign Lintseed has ever brought into the country, and there had been none before in the memory of any Person alive. The Second Crop of this American Lintseed sown in the Harris, was greatly inferior to the first; the third continued to be worse, yet was still better than any Crop from the Lintseed of the Country, but all the Succeeding Crops have neither been

Digitized by Google

better nor worse than those rais'd from the Lintseed that has been sown immemorially in the Harris.

Fishery.

There is plenty of Cod upon the Coasts of the Harris, and especially on the west side of the Island, in the great Loch or Arm of the Sea between Harris and the Lewis, but the Inhabitants have never avail'd themselves of this advantage any further than by taking a few with Hand Lines for their own Consump. There ar but two long Lines on all the Harris, the one belonging to Mr M'Leod of Pabbay, and the other to Mr Campbell of Scalpa, but they have never us'd them except for taking Ground Fish as the Cod do not resort near either of these Islands. The East and West Loch of Tarbert in the Harris are every year revisited by the Herring Shoals, in their Passage towards the South or upon their return. During Five years from the year 1743 to the 1747, the west Loch was the principal seat of the Herring Fishery. About 30 Vessels from 18 to 40 Ton, belonging to Campbelton, Greenock, and Irvine were compleately loaded each of these years at this place. They lay in docks in the east Loch, and their boats were hauld over the Isthmus to the west Loch, where the Fishery was carried on.

The Herring generally enter the East Loch of Tarbert in the end of July. This Loch is a circular Basin of about 4 miles Diameter perfectly land lock'd by the Island of Scalpa, surrounded with lofty Mountains and interspers'd with fine green Islands. In the beginning of Augus last, it was so full of Herrings that a Fleet might have been loaded in a few Days. By the Moonlight, the water was seen heaving with the Fish, and the very air was strongly inpregnated with the Smell, yet they came and return'd unmolested, except by one Vessel from Stornoway, and a few highland Yauls, who caught them in great quantities, tho' with very little art, for the consumpt. of the country, and who were anxious to sell them at the Rate of 120 for 4 pence having no Salt to preserve them.

Notwithstanding this advantageous situation, the country of Harris does not export one Barrel of Herrings. It could at present furnish above 50 Boats, manned with about 300 men for carrying on the Herring Fishery if they were but provided with Salt and Cask at a reasonable Price.

Digitized by Google

15th FEBRUARY, 1900.

At the meeting this evening suitable reference was made to the death of Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch, which had taken place a few days previously, and it was remitted to Mr Watson and the Secretaries to draw up a minute of condolence, and send copy of same to Lady Mackenzie. Thereafter the assistant secretary read a paper contributed by Rev. C. M. Robertson, and entitled—"Some Notes on Highland Superstition."

22nd FEBRUARY, 1900.

At this evening's meeting Mr Thomas Fraser, Edinburgh, was elected an ordinary member of the Society, and thereafter the assistant secretary read a paper contributed by J. R. N. Macphail, Esq., advocate, Edinburgh, entitled "Further Notes on the Trial of James of the Glens." The paper is as follows:—

FURTHER NOTES ON THE TRIAL OF JAMES STEWART OF AUCHARN.

Some years ago there came into my hands an interesting copy of the report of the well-known trial of James Stewart of Acharn. I set to work to try to trace the history of the volume, and also to make myself better acquainted with the facts and circumstances of the case. And the result was a paper which I had the pleasure of submitting for the consideration of this Society.

Since that paper was written, some further materials have come under my notice. In particular they illustrate the relentless determination with which the conviction of James Stewart was carried out, for a deed with which there was no evidence to shew that he had the least concern. The estate of Ardshiel, it will be remembered, was forfeited after the '45, and placed under the management of the Barons of Exchequer. Certain MS. records of that Court are preserved in the Advocates' Library, and from these the Curators of that institution have courteously permitted me to make the excerpts which follow below. My first excerpt is a letter from the Barons to the

Digitized by Google

Treasury, giving an account of the killing of Glenure. It is as follows:—

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury.

May it please your Lordships,—

We judged it incumbent upon us to lay before your Lordships some melancholy accounts we have lately received from the Highlands in relation to Colin Campbell of Glenure, who upon the 14th current was barbarously murdered as he was passing through a wood on the farm of Leittermore in Duror, part of the forfeited estate of Charles Stewart, late of Ardsheil, attainted for High Treason. In regard he was appointed factor on that estate by the Court of Exchequer and his commission approved of by your Lordships.

Pursuant to directions given by your Lordships to us, he was ordered to remove such tennants and possessors upon that estate as were nearly related to the forfeiting person, or had been engaged on the late rebellion. And in obedience to the instructions given him, having taken the legall steps towards removing such tennants, he obtained Decrees by which they were decerned to leave their possessions void at the term of Whitsunday, which by the Law of Scotland was the 15th current.

The Tennants & Possessors applied at Edinburgh to have a stay of execution of these Decrees, which obliged the said Colin Campbell immediately to attend at Edinburgh, and having given in Answers to the Bill offered by them, it was, by the Judge of Session, who in terms of the law of Scotland is called the Ordinary, refused.

As the term for removing approached he went daily to Fort-William, which is about nine or ten miles from the estate of Ardsheal upon the confines of Lochaber, and having a messenger with him who is the proper officer for executing such decrees, a nephew of his own, and his servant, as they passed through the above wood between four and five in the afternoon he was shot dead on the spot from behind a bush.

As this barbarous fact was done at a time when a servant of the Publick was pursuing the duty incumbent upon him, the crime is not only highly aggravated, but may have consequences extremely pernicious to the Government by intimidating others to undertake the service in these parts. Being therefore desirous that nothing should be ommitted in order to detect the abominable murderers and to bring them to condign punishment, we

Digitized by Google

had a meeting with Lord Justice Clerk to know what measures had hitherto been taken to this purpose, and he acquainted us that he had received an account of this murder from Mr Campbell of Barcaldine, the Poor Gentleman's brother, and at the same time a list of the names of some persons who he suspected might probably have some hand in this matter, being of the number of those who were to be removed, and who from their characters he judged might be hardy and wicked enough to perpretate the villany, and desireing warrants to apprehend them if from circumstances it should appear there was foundation for the suspicion. Such warrants were immediately sett of, and the like warrants were also putt in the hands of General Churchill to be dispatched to Fort-William, and since that time there is an account that the commanding officer there has sent a strong detachment to support the Civil Magistrate in taking the enquiry which no doubt the poor man's friends and relations will push forward with zeal and attention. His Lordship likewise acquainted us that other steps were taken which were not so proper to be mentioned at present, and we are fully perswaded that he will do everything in his power with zeal and fidelity to bring the actors and accomplices to Justice.

As the case now stands untill the result of the enquiry shall be known it does not occurr to us what further can be done, nor shall we presume to offer any opinion to your Lordships, but so soon as further information is had, ariseing from the examination to be made, and the case shall be fully known as far as the Villany may be detected, We shall acquaint your Lordships and shall be glade to receive such directions from your Lordships as in your great wisdoms you may think proper in a case which on many accounts seems to merit the greatest attention. We are your Lordships most obedient humble servants

Sgd. THO. KENNEDY.
EDW. EDLEN.
JO. MAULE.

Excheqr. Chamber, Edinb'. 21st May 1752.

This is followed by a proposal to appoint as Glenure's successor his nephew, who was with him when he fell:—

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury.

May it please your Lordships,—

We had the honour to inform your Lordships the 21st of May that Mr Campbell of Glenure, Factor on the forfeited estates of Ardsheal, Callart, and that part of the estate of

Digitized by Google

Lochiel which holds of the Duke of Gordon, had been barbarously murdered near Ardsheal in the Execution of his duty, and as we are humbly of opinion that it is of the greatest consequence for the service of the Government that another factor should be immediately appointed to putt in execution the plan which cost Mr Campbell his life, we have named one Mungo Campbell to be factor on the estates of Ardsheal, Callart, and that part of the estate of Lochiel holding of the Duke of Gordon, and have transmitted him for your Lordships' approbation. This gentleman is nephew to the deceast, and, is, we presume, thoroughly acquainted with his uncle's scheme. He has been strongly recommended to us for his loyalty and ability for executing this employment by Lieutenant General Bland and Lieutenant General Churchill and the Right Honourable Lord Burny and Collonel Crawford, who are at present at Fort-William.

We beg leave to inform your Lordships that this Gentleman is a Highlander, but we are convinced that under the present circumstances no Low countryman either can or will undertake the management of these estates. We have also in consideration of the exigency of the case appointed this Mungo Campbell to be factor in the meantime untill your Lordships' pleasure shall be known. And we have recommended to General Churchill to order the troops to support him in the execution of his duty. All which is most humbly submitted to your Lordships' consideration by your Lordships' most faithful and most obedient Humble servants

THO. KENNEDY.
EDW. EDLIN.
JO. MAULE.

Edinburgh, Excheqr. Chamber, 3d June, 1752.

To this the Treasury replied by a letter dated:—

Arlington Street, 11 June 1752.

My Lords,—It is with great satisfaction I have heard that the relations of Mr Campbell of Glenure are using their outmost endeavours to bring his murtherers to justice. The sufferings of the family and the particular exertions of his brother, Mr Campbell of Barcaldane, on this occasion are in my opinion sufficient reasons why any former suspicions of his conduct should be overlooked, of which I shall take an opportunity to acquaint his Majesty, as I make no doubt but his future loyalty and zeal in the execution of his duty will merit the continuance in the

Digitized by Google

office he now enjoys.—I am, my Lords, your Lordships' most obedient and most humble servant, H. PELHAM.

To the Rt. Hon. the Lord Chief Baron and the rest of the Barons of His Majys. Excheq. in Scotland.

Next comes a letter from Glenure's brother, proposing in carefully guarded language the subornation of a witness who would make conviction sure, viz.:—

To the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Baron and Barons of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer in Scotland.

The humble Memorial of John Campbell of Barcaldine.

Sheweth: That ever since the murder of Colin Campbell of Glenure your memorialist with some of his other Relations have been constantly employed with the assistance of the King's servants both civil and military in endeavouring to discover the bloody authors of that barbarous assasination, and altho the most dilligent enquiry has been made yet your memorialist is sorry to inform your Lordships that hitherto the proof appears not so strong as could be wished.

The proof points chiefly at Allan Breck Stewart who is not in custody as the assasin who committed the murder, and against James Stewart of Aucharn, a bastard brother of Ardsheal's, who is in custody as the person who contrived and assisted the barbarous design, to which he was moved by revange against Glenure, first for having accepted the factory at all, and afterwards for having by order of your Lordships turned out the said James Stewart and some other of his favourites who were in possession of parts of the estate of Ardsheal and setting their possessions to Tennants who were friends of the Government, and who would not pay a yearly subsidy to Ardsheal and his family over and above their nominal rents to the Crown.

It is intended to bring on the Tryal of the said James Stewart at the ensuing Circuit at Inverary, and your memorialist having been lately informed that James Drummond alias M'Gregor, present prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, would be a material witness against him, for that the said James Stewart did visit Drummond in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh in the month of April last, and after making frequent mentions to Drummond of Glenure's name in an opprobrious manner did propose to him a scheme of disabeling Glenure from acting as factor on the forfeited estates. What he proposed was that

Digitized by Google

James Drummond should give him James Stewart a letter directed to Robert Campbell alias M'Gregor, brother to the said James Drummond (a person under sentence of fugitation), desireing the said Robert to do whatever the said James Stewart directed him, particularly to murder Glenure, for which purpose the said James Stewart was to furnish a very good gun. James Drummond's bribe was to have been a prorogation of a very beneficial tack or lease from a near relation of James Stewart's to whom he was Tutor, and the bribe to Robert was to be James Stewart's affording him money to carry him to France, where by Ardsheal's interest he was to get a commission in the French Service or a pension, whichever of them he chused.

This said James Drummond alias M'Gregor has been lately tryed before the Court of Justiciary for the crimes of being aiding and assisting in forcibly carrying a young woman away from her own house and causing her to be married to his brother against her consent, and a special verdict has been returned by the Jury, upon which the Court mett to give Judgement, but some difficulty having arisen in point of law whether from the verdict a capital punishment could have been inflicted or not, the Court have delayed pronouncing sentence till November next.

A great majority of the Jury who remained in town came to the Court and declared that they meant to exeem Drummond from capital punishment, so that if the Court had pronounced sentence of death its very probable the Jury would have applied to His Majesty for mercy.

The tryal of James Stewart is to come on at Inverary the 28th of September N.S., at which time James Drummond will be incapable of giving evidence unless he first be capacitated by a pardon.

In these circumstances it may probably occur that the conviction of the murderers of Glenure will be of more service to the Government than the taking away the life of James Drummond, so that if the matter be properly represented to their Excellencys the Lords Justices they may possibly be prevailed with to grant Drummond a remission to enable him to be a witness against the sole contriver of the murder of Glenure.

Your memorialist thought it his duty to represent this matter to your Lordships that you may, if it be thought proper, represent the case to the Lords Justices. I have the honour to be your Lordships' servant myself. My brother was killed in your

Digitized by Google

service, and therefore I know not to whom I can more properly make this application. Sigd. Jo. CAMPBELL.

And the Barons transmit to Mr Pelham this discreditable proposal, endorsed with this discreditable docket:—

Being persuaded it will be greatly for the service of the Publick that James Stewart mentioned in the Memorial herewith sent be convicted, We humbly beg to submit to your Lordship's judgement whether it is not proper to apply for the pardon according to the prayer of the Memorial. We are, Sir, your most faithful and obedient Servants,

Sgd. J. IDLE.
EDW. EDLEN.

Exchequer Chamber, Edinb'. 12 Augt. 1752.

Directed To the Right Honourable Henry Pelham, Esq., Chancellor of the Exchequer, London.

This was, however, too much for Mr Pelham and his colleagues, and they reply:—

Whitehall, Septr. 14th 1752 N.S.

My Lord and Sir,—The Earl of Holderness having this day laid before the Lords Justices your letter of the 12th of August inclosing the Memorial of John Campbell of Barcaldine which had been delivered to his Lordship by Mr Pelham to whom you had transmitted it, I am commanded by their Excellencies to acquaint you that they have taken the same into consideration, and as their Excellencies are extremely desireous that the several persons concerned in the infamous murder of Mr Colin Campbell of Glenure, late factor of the Estate of Ardsheal, should be brought to condign punishment, and particularly that James Stewart of Aucharn who is now in custody and is to be tryed at the ensuing circuit at Inverary for contriving and abetting that horrid crime should not escape the judgement of the laws for want of evidence, they gave the utmost attention to the said memorial, and especially to that part of it wherein it is desired that James Drummond alias M'Gregor, who has been lately tryed before the Court of Justiciary for a very heinous offence, should be pardoned in order to enable him to become a witness upon the tryal of the said James Stewart on the 28th of this month.

The Lords Justices are easily induced to believe that James Drummond has been instrumental for and privy to several atrocious crimes and very possibly to that in which the said Stewart is supposed to have been concerned, and tho' James

Digitized by Google

Drummond has not yet received the judgement of the Court for aiding and assisting in forcibly carrying away a young woman from her own house and causing her to be married to his brother against her consent (a special verdict having been found by the Jury upon a point of law which can not be determined till November next), yet their Excellencies hope that sentence will at last be pronounced against him to the utmost extent of that Justice he shall appear to have deserved. And they have directed me to acquaint you that the prayer of the memorial can not be complied with in this case as there will not be time sufficient before the tryal of James Stewart to apply to His Majesty for his royal pardon in order to capacitate James Drummond to give evidence upon that occasion altho' the circumstances had been still more strong and perswasive to make their Excellencies imagine that the testimony of the one would materially tend to the conviction of the other.—I have the honour to be, with great regard, My Lord and Sir, your most obedient Humble Servant, Sgd. CLAUDIUS AMYAND.

Directed thus—To the Lord Chief Baron Idle
and Mr Baron Eden, Judges of His Majts.
Court of Exchequer, at Edinburgh.
C. Amyand.

But though they thus failed to secure the disinterested testimony of James Macgregor—so well known now since the appearance of "Catriona"—Mr John Campbell of Barcaldine and his associates had not been idle. The report of the trial itself shows the efforts they had made to secure a conviction. They had scoured the country for evidence of any kind; they had done their utmost to hamper the prisoner's defence; they had brought the Lord Advocate of Scotland for the first time to a circuit court; they had got that circuit court held at Inveraray, and there Mac Cailein Mhor himself, Titular Justice General of Scotland, had insisted on presiding, lest the two Lords of Justiciary on the bench might develop scruples about seeing the job through.

The following excepts will tell in their own words some of the steps taken by Glenure's relatives in manufacturing their case against James of the Glens. First comes a letter from the Treasury to the Barons:—

My Lords,—The Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury command me to transmitt to your Lordships the enclosed copy of the Petition of the Widow of the Deceased Colin Campbell of Glenure, late factor on the forfeited estates of Ard-

Digitized by Google

sheal, Callart, and part of Lochiel, who was murdered in the execution of his duty, and also a copy of an account of the expence of prosecuting and convicting James Stewart as an accessory to the said murder, which being of so heinous a nature committed on an officer of the Crown in the execution of his duty the expence was always intended to be defrayed by the Crown. But as this demand so far exceeds what my Lords expected, they therefore desire your Lordships will be pleased to take the several articles charged in the said account into your consideration, and report to their Lordships your observations thereupon with your opinion what may be reasonable to be allowed for this service.—I am, my Lords, your Lordships' most faithfull humble servant,

(Sgd.) T. WEST.

Treasury Chambers, 8th March 1753.

Directed to the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Baron and the Rest of the Barons of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer in Scotland at Edinburgh.

N.B.—The account of Expences amounts to £1334 9 2½ ster.

The petition was as follows:—

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury.

The Humble Petition of Janet M'Kye Daughter of the Honourable Hugh M'Kye of Bighouse Esquire and widow of the Deceast Colin Campbell of Glenure for herself and on behalf of Elizabeth and Lucy Campbels Her Infant Children.

Sheweth: That the said Colin Campbell of Glenure was the son of Patrick Campbell of Barcaldane of a second marriage and as such received for his provision the lands of Glenure a small estate in the northern parts of Argyllshire and adjoining to that part of the Country possessed by the Stewarts of Appin—Comprehending inter alia the lands that belonged to Charles Stewart late of Ardsheil attainted.

That the said Colin Campbell served his Majesty sometime in the army in the quality of a Lieutennant in the Earl of Loudon's Regiment, and in the year 1748 he came home and intermarryed with your Petitioner, and being still ready to serve his Majesty in such manner as the situation in the Country gave him access to He in the month of February 1748/9 accepted of a Factory

Digitized by Google

from the Barons of Exchequer which was approved by your Lordships upon the forfeited Estates

of Ardsheil being of yearly rent.....	£50	18	5⅓
Called formerly Camerons.....	40	16	1⅓
Part of Lochiel in Inverness-shire	118	18	8
In all.....	£210	13	2⅔

That for this various, troublesome and as it hath since appeared most dangerous duty the salary or appointments which the said Colin Campbell had was no more than after the rate of 5 per cent. of the rent roll of the lands under his charge, amounting per annum to £10 . 10 . 7½.

That in the faithfull Prosecution of his Duty it hath now appeared upon full Tryall, that the said Colin Campbell rendered himself obnoxious to the resentment and Deadly Hatred of James Stewart in Acharn, a Bastard Brother of Charles Stewart of Ardsheil attainted, who with others his accomplices entered into a conspiracy to Lye in wait for and assasinate the said Colin Campbell, which was accordingly accomplished on the evening of Thursday the 14th of May last as he was returning from Fort-William where he had been upon duty in respect of the Lochiel estate and was passing thro' the wood of Lettermore upon the Lochiel Estate to keep an appointment he had made at a publick house on that estate in order to remove certain Tennants in due course of Law the day following, and at this time and place he was basely murdered by being shot thro' the Back as he rod along the road with two musket balls fired upon him by an assasin concealed in the wood by which in a little time he died on the spot.

That this base and execrable murder as a publick crime was a most dareing and audacious insult upon his Majesty's Laws and Government and as a private Injury created the most pitiful and compassionate case that can well be imagined.—The deceast was himself a young man cutt of in the flower of his age for no other cause nor offence than doing his duty in the King's and the Publick Service with Fidelity and zeal. And the situation of his Family when he was thus cutt of was, that besides the two infant children above named he left the Petitioner, his wife, with child.

In these circumstances the family and the brothers of the deceased without making any previous application to your Lordships or even to the Officers of the Crown at Edinburgh to make a provision for the Expences of an Enquiry or prosecution

Digitized by Google

for this murder applied themselves with the outmost Diligence and Vigour to make the necessary Discoverys in which they received the aid and concurrance of all his Majesty's officers civil and military with great alacrity; but by reason of the remoteness of the place where this Enquiry was carried on, the great number of Persons whom it was necessary to summon and examine and many of them to committ and Detain before any material Discovery could be effectually made, a very great expence was necessarily incurred, all which was advanced and defrayed by the Family and near relations of the Deceased, and last of all tne expence of the Tryal that was brought before the Circuit Court at Inverary where Allan Breck Stewart formerly a Rebell and now a soldier in the French Service who had been discovered to have been the actor of this murder but had made his escape was outlawed, and the said James Stewart who was in custody stood his Tryal and was convicted of accession to the said murder, and was condemned and hath suffered accordingly.

That if the expence of the previous enquiry and examinations and of the subsequent Tryal in this very singular case had not greatly exceeded what the estate or Family of the deceased is able to bear, the Petitioner would not have thought of Troubleing your Lordships with this application, but as in reallity these expences from first to last, as they are ready to verify, have amounted to upwards £1,300 the Petitioner hath found herself under a necessity humbly to apply for relief to the end that the Family or heirs of the deceased may not become further sufferers by the Legal Redress which they found it their duty to pursue.

So great a sum being laid out for bringing to Justice in the Highlands of Scotland one criminal, the Petitioner is sensible may appear at first sight to be excessive, but the remoteness of the place where the fact happened and the Enquiry behoved to be made was one principall cause of the greatness of that Expence one article of which for instance consists of Entertainments provided for the officers Civil and Military and numbers of Persons who Dayly attended during the examinations or precognitions that were taken from the 18th of May to the 13th of June last, being a season of the year when provisions are scarce in that Country and behoved to be brought from a distance and this one item amounted to £225.

The veracity however of the account and the necessity or propriety of every part of it, the Petitioner humbly submits to examination in such manner as your Lordships shall be pleased to direct.

Digitized by Google

The Petitioner therefore humbly prays your Lordships to consider the present case of the family of the deceased Colin Campbell of Glenure and to represent the same favourably to his Majesty to the end that he may be graciously pleased to grant us such relief as to his Royal wisdom and goodness shall seem fitt, and your petitioners shall ever pray. (Signed) Duncan Campbell brother German to the Deceased for the Widow and Children.

Then follows the account of which payment is asked:—

An Account of expenses laid out concerning Glenure's murder and prosecuting the Committers thereof.

1752.

Article 1st. To paid Mungo Campbell * writer in Edinb'r. who was along with Glenure when murdered his expenses sending expresses to Fort William and Glenure's friends to acquaint them of the murder, apprehending and transporting to Fort William James Stewart in Aucharn Allan Stewart his son and John Beg M'Coll his servant all suspected to be in the knowledge of the murder or committers thereof	£6 13 11	
2nd. To the said Mungo Campbell further laid out by him concerning the murder his expenses at Fort William in June &c. and in going to and returning from Carlile when it was informed Allan Breck was apprehended there tho' it proved false, and some small charges he paid Collonell Crawford	£27 9 1	
		34 3 0
3. To James Campbell writer in Inverary Deputy Sheriff Clerk of Argyllshire who attended the Sheriff of Inverness and Argyllshires from 18th May to 13th June 1752 both inclve. while precognitions were taken concerning the said murder in Appin,		

* This person was a nephew of Glenure, and succeeded him as factor at Ardsheil.

Digitized by Google

Duror, Glenco, Mamore and Lochaber, there being upwards of 700 persons precognosced in obedience to order from the Justice Clerk as p. Accott. thereof & his receipt	34	13	7½
4. To expences of entertainment to the Sheriffs of Argyll and Inverness Justices of the Peace officers of the military, many gentlemen and others who attended taking said precognitions at several different places in Appin and at Fort William there being upwards of 60 persons dayly entertained from 18th May to 13th June provisions being very scarce at that time of the year and it being necessary to bring them from a distance	225	0	0
To sundry expences paid to persons employed in search for Allan Breck who was suspected to be the actual murderer before and after the Lords Justices published a reward to any who discovered the murderer, vizt.:			
5. By an account of expences laid out by Captn. Alexander Campbell younger of Barcaldane 5 15 8			
6th. By Do. laid out by John Campbell of Barcaldane 14 15 11			
7. By Do. laid out by Alexander Campbell of Ardsheil 10 0 0			
	30	11	7
8. To paid witnesses cited to the Tryal their expences	98	0	1
9. To expences of entertainment during the Tryal to Lawyers Jury & oyrs. attending therein p. account thereof	125	10	9
10. To John Campbell Writer in Inverary his expences from the 20th July till the 23d August while going to at and returning from Edinburgh and for his pains, he being employed to attend the Lawyers at Edinburgh at consulting them and as agent at the Tryal &c. p. account thereof and other disbursements by him.....	39	13	0
To sundry expences laid out in the Country and at Edinbr. by Glenure's Broy'r concerning his murder and the Trial yrof vizt.:			

Digitized by Google

11. By Barcaldane p. account thereof	76	2	10½			
12. By Duncan Campbell Sheriff Subt. of Perthshire p. accott.	73	1	6			
13. By Robert Campbell Mercht. in Stirling p. accott.	14	17	0			
				64	1	4½
14. To paid the King's Advocate, Mr James Erskine, Mr Simon Fraser,* Mr John Campbell and Mr Robert Campbell, Lawyers, and Mr Alston the Crown's Solicitor for their trouble and pains in going to Inverary and assisting at the Tryal				235	0	0
15. To paid the messengers account for executing the Criminall Letters and for citeing the witnesses and Jury and returning them to the Court				80	1	6
16. To the Clerk of Justiciary his account for extracting the Trial from the Record in order to publish it				16	5	0
17. To Alexander Robertson Clerk to the Signet and Robert Watt Writer Joint Agents in the Trial their account of money disbursements to Lawyers at Edinburgh officers of Court for writting and for their own pains...				251	9	3½
				£1334	9	2½

Little wonder that the Treasury thought it well to have a report on the items of such an account. The Barons submitted it to Mr Moncreiffe, one of their officials, whose report follows:—

Unto the Right Honble. The Lord Chief Baron and Barons of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer.

The Report of David Moncreiffe, Deputy Remembrancer, upon the account of expences debursed by Janet the widow of Colin Campbell of Glenure in bringing James Stewart the murderer to Tryal.

In obedience to your Lordships' order the 20th June last, I have examined the vouchers of the several articles of disburse-

* This Simon Fraser was the Master of Lovat. He had been out in the '45, and was endeavouring to make his peace with the Government. According to Mrs Grant of Laggan "he differed from his father only as a chained up fox does from one at liberty. A slight veil of decorum was thrown over the turpitude of his heart and conduct."

Digitized by Google

ments charged as expended on the Tryal of James Stewart who was convicted of being art and part in the murder of Glenure, and find them all sufficiently vouched. I did indeed object to the fourth article that it did not occur to me what necessity there was to have Sixty persons present at taking the precognitions, and that I thought the expences of their Entertainment was high, being three shillings a day for each of the sixty persons. To this it was answered that upon the murder's happening all the friends of the deceast in that part of the country mett in order to find out who were the persons guilty of the murder and the proper evidences for convicting them thereof. That the Horidness of the crime and being committed to one immediately employed by his Majesty in the execution of his office made the gentlemen in that part of the country who were well affected to the Government repair to this meeting to offer their countenance and assistance to the friends. That it was necessary a precognition should be taken in the Country of Appin where the murder was committed, and as it was not prudent for a few of the friends to go there by themselves on this business they willingly embraced the offer the other gentlemen made them of going along with them. That to this appearance of gentlemen joined with the officers civil and military was in a great measure owing the success of the Trial as it struck a terror into the people of the Country and made them even against their inclinations tell so much of the truth as by degrees brought the whole to light. That the article of three shillings a day for sixty persons and their horses its hoped wont be thought extravagant when its considered that there is included in it some necessary expences and charges to the witnesses precognosced who were upwards of seven hundred, and that this precognition was taken in a country where there are no Inns or Publick Houses and at that season of the year little or no provisions which made it necessary to bring everything of that kind from a great distance.

I likewise objected to the fourteenth article that it did not occur to me why five Lawyers should be carried to Inverary on the part of the Prosecuters as I thought three were sufficient for the Triall.

To this it was answered that the Pannell carryed four Lawyers from Edinburgh to manage his defence and that there were only two Lawyers carryed from Edinburgh by the Prosecuters to witt the King's Advocate and Mr James Erskine. And as the latter was obliged to go away before the proof was taken on account of an accident in his own family the prosecuters were obliged to

Digitized by Google

have recourse to the assistance of such young Council as were occasionally there one of whom was absolutely necessary as he understood the Irish language.* And the other two young Lawyers became also necessary in order to relieve the Lord Advocate during the course of the Trial.

And I objected to the seventeenth article that as Mr Alston agent for the Crown was at the Tryal at Inverary it did not occur to me that it was necessary to take the other agents but thought one sufficient.

To this it was answered that so great a number of persons as seven hundred and upwards having been precognosced their Precognitions when reduced to writting was of a prodigious bulk and length and a task too great for any one agent to go through and pick out from it what was necessary for the purpose of the tryal, and to reduce it to proper interrogatories for the witnesses, especially considering that the time for this was but short from the Finishing the precognitions to the beginning of Tryal. On this account the friends of the Deceast employed two agents at Edinburgh who reduced the precognitions as above mentioned, formed proper memorials from them for the Lawyers there and consulted them not only on the import of these precognitions but upon the proper steps to be taken previous to and at the Tryal and in order rightly to conduct the Tryal at Inverary in the manner directed by the Lawyers it was judged necessary by the friends to carry both these agents to Inverary. It is also true that Mr Alston agent for the Crown did at the desire of the friends of the Deceast attend at the Tryal as from his office he is particularly well acquainted with the nature and form of such prosecutions, and from the extraordinary length of the Tryal it became absolutely necessary for the Agents to relieve one another.

All which is humbly submitted to your Lordships' consideration by (signed) David Moncreiffe.

Edinburgh, Excheqr. Chamber, 3 July 1753.

This report seems to have met with the approval of the Barons, who accordingly forwarded it to the Treasury with the following letter:—

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury.

May it please your Lordships,—

In obedience to your Lordship' commands signified to us by Mr West in his letter dated the 8th day of March last past,

* Obviously Mr Simon Fraser.

Digitized by Google

wherein we were desired to take into our consideration the several articles charged in an account given in to your Lordships by the widow of the deceast Colin Campbell of Glenure of the expence in prosecuting and convicting James Stewart as an accessary to the murder of her said husband, we did order Mr Moncreiffe, Deputy King's Remembrancer, to examine the said account and vouchers and to report to us a state of the same, which he accordingly did, and as the report sets forth severall facts which in some measure account for the expence being so very great, we thought it proper herewith to transmitt the same for your Lordship consideration.

All which is humbly submitted to your Lordships' great wisdom,—Your Lordships' most obedient Humble Servants (Signed) J. IDLE.
JOHN CLERK.
E. EDLEN.
JO. MAULL.

Exchequer Chambers, Edinb'. 6 Augt. 1753.

I have found nothing to shew whether payment followed upon this approval of the account—but it would be strange if it did not—and the absence of any further petitions by Glenure's family is itself significant.

There are many reflections to which the various items in this account—and the auditor's criticisms thereon—inevitably give rise. But it would be unpardonable in me to occupy the Society's time with observations which will occur as naturally to every member as to myself. And so I leave the whole excerpts to speak for themselves.

1st MARCH, 1900.

At the meeting on this date Rev. D. Connell, Inverness, was elected an ordinary member of the Society; and the assistant secretary read a paper contributed by Rev. John Kennedy, Arran, as a further instalment of his interesting and valuable series of "Unpublished Gaelic Ballads from the MacLagan MSS." The paper is as follows:—

Digitized by Google

UNPUBLISHED GAELIC BALLADS FROM THE MACLAGAN MSS.

The following poems from the MacLagan Manuscripts are taken from No. 36, and marked in red ink 137:—

A' Mhuscaid Dubhair Alchainn.

Ciod e mhuscaid air Alchaig,
No 'm ball arm da 'm biodh spéis,
Na 'm feite do charamh,
No 'm bheil am bàs ort no 'n t-eug,
'N do luidh smal air do chinnteachd,
No 'n do mhill air do ghleus,
No ciod e 'm mulad air th' inntin
Nach innseadh tu Leigh?

Cha 'n 'eil ormsa mar iarcuinn
Aon sion tha fui 'n ghréin,
Ach an Cainneach so thriall uainn,
'S tric bha tialadh an fhéidh;
Dh' fhàg e mulad air m' inntin,
'S gur lion'or mo dheur,
Gus am faigh mi brath cinnteach
Ciod an tìm an tig e.

'S cailleach dhona gun stà thu,
Chaill do claistin 's do chliùth,
Nach cual thu gu 'n d' eug e?
Ma bha spéis agad diubh,
'S e bhi 'n ciste chaoil dionaich,
'S ann an lion-anart ùr;
Ma chadhaichear leac dho, (chladhaichear)
Chaoidh cha 'n fhaicear leis thu.

Ochain, ochain mo dhiubhail,
Sceul a dhruidh air mo bhian,
Thu bhi d' shìn' anns a' chrùidse,
Far nach dùraig thu triall.
Fhir a cheannachadh dhomh fùdar
Anns na bùitibh gun fhiamh,
Dh' fhàg mis' anns an smùraich
'S na buill shnidh' air mo bhian.

Digitized by Google

Ceannachaidh mise dhuit fùdar
Ann am bùth Inbhir-neis,
Luaidh' scallanta chinnte
Mar re t-inntin mhaith ghlic;
Na biodh ortsa bonn mighean
'M feadh 's a chitir leat mis,
Gus am faigh mi cion-fàdh dhuit
Chaoidh cha 'n fhàg mi thu rìs.

Coist a' bheadagain bhiorrcaich (silly)
Cha ceann seanchais leam thu,
Bha thu fad ann am leanmhuinn
O dh' fhàs mi ainmeil 's a' chùirt
Aig mo mhaighistir ainmeil
Gun aon iomradh 's an
Làimh leagadh 'n daimh chrocaich
'S a bheireadh spòrs dheth 'ga chùth.

T' ósa beag ort a shean bhean,
Cha 'n 'eil do sheanchas ach olc;
Dh' éirgheadh friogh agus fearg ort
'N uair a b' fhearr dhuit bhi d' thosd;
Bu tu 'n ochd-shlisneach ainmeil
Thogadh calg air an lot,
Ge bu trom air an làimh thu
Bha thu namhadach goirt.

Ach nan cuireadh tu 'n urchair
Gle chuimseach am bheul,
Do luaidhe 's do fhùdar
Chuirinn smùid a mo chrea;
Thilginn fada, reidh, cinnteach,
'S chuirinn m' inntin an céill,
'S tric a leag mi le m' fhuadaig
Am fear a b' uallaiche céim.

Ceannaidh mise dhuit cota
A chunnbhas beò thu gu bràth,
Chuireas am fuachd as d chnàmhuibh,
Mhead 's a ghabh thu dhe tràth.
Gur e mheaduich mo ghaol ort,
Thaobh nan tighin a bha,
Biaidh tu noise fàs duineil
O d' ghial cuimear gu t-earr.

Digitized by Google

'S deair (eadair?) dhomhsa bhi duineil
O chaill mi m' fhuran r'a luas,
'N ti da 'm b' aithne mo chreachda
Ann an creabhachd 's am fuachd;
Rachadh 'm fada 's an goirid
Gus am faighte 'm fear ruadh,
'N uair a gheabhadh e 'ghaoth air
Cumail dìreach re chluais.

Buicein biorach, glan,, cluas-dearg,
Eangach, cruadh-ladhrach, ard,
'S glan fradharc air fàsach,
Cutach, geur-mhàsach, dearg;
Air na fuaranaibh frìthe,
Far 'm bu mhiann a bhi sealg,
Air na falpana gorma,
Air bharr nam borra-dheas ud thall.

Theilg iad mise air asdar,
'Mach a turus nam beann,
Far nach fhaigh mi ann eachlidh,
Thilgeadh fras air gach gleann;
Biaidh tu noise 'n cois cladaich
Mair oinsich bhreac anns gach ball,
'S c(g)uiridh mise dhe d' theagasg,
O nach tuig thu mo rann.

Ochoin, Ochoin! mo scéile.
'S goirt an teinn 'm bheil mi noohd
Cc chabhradh am fhéim mi
'Nuair bu léir dhoibh mo lot?
An ti 'bheireadh na béin diubh
Ann an eadain nan cnoc,
Dh' fhàg e mise gu deurach
As a dhiadh 's mi gun toirt.

GRUAGACH LADHACH NAN CIABH CAS.

Chualas mar gu cualas ann,
Da ghruaidh mar abhall, gruagach cas donn;
Giolla nan geal mhàsa (ghasair, bhasa) seang,
Da 'n tug na mnai 'm marbh ghaol trom.

Digitized by Google

Tha taobh bu mhiannach leam a lot,
Na 'm faighin do chàirdeas le h-iochd,
Bheirinn briathar air a' chrosg (chrois)
Bean eile nach pòsuinn ach thus'.

Is ionmhuinn do chùl buidhe glan,
'S do bheul dait' air dhath nan sugh;
'N gaol a thugas re seal,
Mar ghaol mear a's miste dhomh.

Stob sholuis nan corra chioch,
Tha mi dean-lionnt' ad' ghràdh;
Dh' fhàg thu dorran orm sios,
Cho ìseal re corran mo dhà shàil.

Mar ghràine mullaich air déis,
Mar 's beus d' an chruinneachd a bhi fàs;
Mar ghrian ag folach nan reul,
Bean eile cha leur (leir) fui d' sc(g)àth.

Mar chobhar an uisge ghlain,
Slios mar eala re sruth mear;
Gheug ùr tha mar chabhar a chuir,
Tha mi gun chabhair d' ad' chean.

Cha dìrich mi bruthach na béinn'
Céim mo choise d' fhàs e trom;
Iuchair na glais' tha fui 'spàirn,
Tha sud cho ìseal re m' bhonn.

'S luaineach mo chadal a nochd,
Ge beò mi cha bheò fui thlachd;
Tha mo chroidhe air searg' ann am uchd,
Air dubhadh mar ghual gu beachd.

'S mòr luascuinn a chadail thruim,
Tuig sud ainnir 's na toir beum;
Cha chuirinnse mo chasan siar
Na 'm biodh mo chiall agam fhéin.

Noise o fhuair thu do chiall,
'S gun chuir ort i Triath 's an àm;
Na tugamaid abhachd d' an chléir
Tionntadh rium do bheul-thaobh nall.

Digitized by Google

Tha dorn gheal mo leannain a muich,
Ge dorn gheal cha mheiste chruth;
Gruaidhean corrach glas nach caochail snuadh,
'S a' ghaoil, na dio-moil mo rùin.

Bhruadair mi 'n rair air ninghein ghrinn,
Dà mhiog-shùil donna 'na ceann;
Falt fada air fiamh nan teud,
'Slios mar channach sléibh an gleann.

Mo rùin a bhruadair mi 'n rair,
'S sinn 'nar luidhe taobh ri taobh;
Ach 'nuair dhuisg mi as mo shuain
Bha i uam dà mhìle dheug.

A ghruagach ladhach nan ciabh cas,
B' e mo roghainn 'dhol ga t-fhios;
Mu 'n tilinn aon traidh air m' ais,
Bhiodh m' aghaidh gu ceann Locha-neis.

Ghruagach bhuidhe nan cùl druimleach,
'S geile do chorp na 'n sneachd aonuich;
'S glaise do shùil na 'n lion Flannruisg,
Tha coitein ort d' an shioda ainlach.

Tha ni'an eile 'sa bhaile so shios
A's gile deud 's a's glaise sùil;
Deud mar chailc air a snoidheadh na beul,
'S binne na gach teud a guth.

Meòir a's grinne chuir gleus (gréis),
'S binne a beul na teud chiùil;
Uchd mar eal' air snàmh a' chuain.
Mo rùin a bhruadair mi 'n rair.

Oran air Naimhdin na Tuatha.

Le Alastair Robertson a Botheaspuic, a rinn fòs Laeth Ranndabo 'n t-Sléibhe.

A Righ gur goirt am bruaidlean
A chuala mi o 'n dé;
O Thighearna gun truacanachd,
Bu thuataidh leinn an sceul;

Digitized by Google

A Righ gur goirt am bruaidlean
A ghluaisid mi gu h-eug,
Cuir gearsam air luchd teanantri
'S gu 'm b' ain-iochdmhor an sceul.

A dhaoine glacaibh fìrinn
Ann bhur 'n inntinin gu léir,
Is feuch nach toill sibh dioghaltas
Da 'n linn a thig bhar diaidh;
Cha 'n 'eil neach ga bheil e ghnàthacha'
Gné àiteach aige féin,
Nach fhodh'n do cheird 's do chracaireachd leis
Gearsam bhi 'na bheul.

A dhaoine 's éiginn éisteachd ris
Gach sceul tha tighinn mu 'n cuairt,
A liud fear 'tha ga shàrachadh
Re h-anranaich bhochd thruadh;
Mar shoitheach an dà eàrraich
'S a chrios air failing uaidh,
'Nam faighteadh gun a charachadh
Gu biodh e tamul suas.

'S ioma fear tha bùrach agus
Braid an cùl a chinn,
'S mairg a chuireadh dusgadh air
No thogadh pluc d' a ni;
Biaidh ainmheach agus pàistin air
'Gan àrachadh ro chrion,
'Nam faighteadh gun an carach'
Gus am biodh gach caluin dioilt'.

Sin mar bhios na h-uailsin
'Nan crua-chàs air an tìr,
'S iad mar ghàradh Phàrrais
No laethe blàir na thìm;
Ach mar teid bhar bàthadh air
Muir shaile no air tìr,
'N uair thig oirn laethe bhreitheamhnuis
Biaidh pian ag feithidh dhuibh.

Digitized by Google

'N uair theanaileas sibh re chéile
Bu daingeann treun bhur bann,
Mu 'n fhearann chuir an daoirid
Air na daoine bochd a th' ann:
Cha 'n éisteadh sibh re truacanachd
Bu tuaitidh leibh s' a' chainnt,
Mu 'n toir sibh fabhor uaire dhoibh
Biaidh 'n Scuabach air na th' ann.

'N uair bhitheas sibh ag éirghidh
Le 'r léinteagaibh gu moch,
'N uair tharlas ribh an drama
Is bhur làmh bhi ris a' chup;
Biaidh sibh do thaobh nàtuir
Ag sàrachadh bhur stuic,
Cha ghabh sibh cunnbhail suasa
Gun an tuath a chuir nan druid.

Righ, cuidich clann na tuathadh
'S ioma tuar a tha nan diaidh,
Tha tighearnan is uachdarain
Gach uair ag dol 'nan ni;
Tha gaibhnin agus muilleirin
Gle ullamh gu 'n cuid cìs,
Tha ceaird is bàird is baigeirin
'S an calcadair so shios.

Tha pòr beag eile fasd ann
Ni agartas ro gheur,
Cha chuir an saor an cearcal duinn
Mur gleidh sinn do fiodh caoin;
Tha notairin is bàilidhin
Le 'm paipeiribh ro dhaor,
Cha tig am fear a's measa
Gus an laethe 'n tig am maor.

Tha greasaichin is tailleirin
Tric sàitheach air ar cuid,
O 'n fhigheadair cha 'n fhabhar dhuinn
'S e ni ar snàth a pluc;
Thuirt Mac Thomi Bhata
Far sin 's breugach dhuit,
'S mar faigh an criarair pàigheadh uainn
Gu leig e chàth 'nar cuid.

Digitized by Google

Tha iolairin is eunlaidhin
  Ag raitheadh oirn gu moch,
'S ma 's e gille martuin is
  Fhearr fabhor leigeadh duit;
Tha cromanan 's na eunlaidhin
  Cha téirneadh uainn gràidh luch,
Gach beodhach a ta gluasad
  A muich air uachdar sluib.

'N uair thoisicheas na grùdairin
  Le 'n sùthan anns gach ceirn,
Biaidh iomadh bonn ga chùntadh dhoibh
  Gun chùntas thoirt ga cheann;
Mur bhiodh gu bith na gaidseirin
  Ag raitheadh os an ceann,
Bhiodh iadsa da nar friothaladh
  Mar thighearn anns gach ball.

Glacadh Mhoirir Hunti.

Le Maidseir Meine.

(See also Turner's Collection—1813).

Mhuire, 's muladach 'tha mi,
Mu gach sgeul tha mi clàisdin,
'S mi bhi téirneadh le bràidh uisge Dhé.

'G amharc Lughart a' bhaile,
Agus tùr Aber-gheallai,
Gun luchd surd a bhi 'n talla nan teud.

'G amhar àros nan Luidhin,
Far am b' àbhaist duit suidheadh,
Gheibhte àite nan abhall 's nam péir.

Ceann uidhe nan Gàidheal,
Far an suidheadh iad stàiteil,,
Gheibhte rodha gach àite dhoibh réidh.

Gheibhte caillin ann lasadh,
An ceinn choilleire praise,
Bhiodh do sheòmraiche laiste le céir.

Digitized by Google

Gheibhte gleadhartaich Peòdair,
Cuir air adhaircibh beòra,
Seal ma's tigeadh trà nòna d'an ghréin.

Uisge beatha na tairne,
Ruaig air chupachaibh airgid,
Mnaí' uchd-gheal, gruaidh dhearga 'cur gleus.

'S bochd a nuaidheachd an Albainn,
Bog-na-gaoithe 'n Srath-bhalgaidh,
Air a claoidheadh le 'n àrmailtibh treun'.

Agus leithid Mhoirir Hunntain,
A bhi 'n làimh 'n Tolla bùtha,
Agus naimhdin 'na dhùthchanaibh féin.

Morir Hunntin 's a Marcas,
O Thùr nan clach snoite,
Far 'm bu lionmhor laogh breac re cois féidh.

Ach ma chuaidhe do ghlacadh,
Leis a' Mheinearach thachair,
B' e mo dhiùbhail (thu) a bh' aca is b' e 'm beud.

Fior thoiseach a' gheamhraidh,
Ann am fochair na Samhna,
Bhiodh do bhochdan air tiontadh o 'n ceill.

An Dail-nam-Both an Srath-thamhuinn
Aig a bhràthar gun nàire,
Bha làmh scapadh a mhàil air luchd-theud.

'S an Clachan Chille-muice
Dh' fhàg sibh 'n ceannart gun tuisle
Marcach greadhnach air trupair mòr sréin.

The next poem is "Seurlus an Dobhair," which is already printed ("High. Monthly"), and extends to, or contains, 17 double verses.

ORAN DO DHONULL GORM,
Tainisteir Ghlinne-agarra, a thuit an Raon-ruaraidh.
Le ninghin Mhic-Mhic Raonail, a bhean féin.
(Thuit a h-athair 's a da bhràthair 's an ar-fhaich cheudna).

(Already printed—See Vol. XXII.)

Digitized by Google

MARBHRAINN DO MHAC GHILLE CHALUM RARARSA.

Seall a mach an e là e,
'S mi feitheamh na faire,
'S e 'n sgeula nach binn leam,
Chuaidh innseadh o Chàisg dhomh.
O ioro i 's o i ril o bha,
O ioro i 's i rim i o ho u,
O 's tu gun tighinn fallain.

T' fheadain bàit' air a charra,
Mar re Calum do bhràthair;
Fear mòr thu Shìol Torcuill
'S e do chorp a bha làidir.
O 's maith thig dhuit breacan
Air a lasadh le carnaid,
'S cha mheas thig dhuit triubhas
Dol a shiubhal nan sràidin.

Nochd is mòr tha dhe t-iarcuinn
Air Earla Chean-tàile;
Nach roibh 'n soirbheas ud réidh dhuit
'S gur tu féin air a b' àirde?
Dìreach muigh ris an rudha,
Fhuair sibh 'n cùrsa nach b' àill leam;
Bha sibh salach le siaban,
Tigh'n o liantanaibh bàite.

Dh' fhàg e smuairein air m' aignidh,
Dh' fhàg gun chadal ochd trà mi,
Mhead 's a gheabhainn do bheadra,
'N uair a thiginn gu t-àrois.
'S maith thig sud os cionn t-fhéil ort,
Gorm gheur nan lann Spàineach
Mar re d' uille air a céire,
Sgiath réidh air do cheàrr-laimh.

Lamh dheas air a chuspoir,
Cha b' ann bharr uchdan nan gàrrlach;
Leis an taraig ùir fharsuing
Chuireadh cairt as a h-àite;
'S ge do thigeadh iad uile
Bu leat urram nan Gàidheal.

Digitized by Google

ORAN AIR AONGHUS MAC DHONUILL,

a mharbhadh le Sgiorra ann Striliadh (Eaglais Bhrio) 's a bhliadhna 1745.

(See also Turner's Collection—1813).

Gur muladach oirne
Ann àm cuimhneach a' Choirneil,
Ceann-feadhna Chlann-Donuill
Ann àm catha no còmhraig;
'S mairg a chitheadh t' fhuil bhoidheach,
'S i ga taomadh gun òrdugh air càbhsair.

Aonghuis òig a' chuil dualaich
'S maith a dh' éirgheadh gach buaidh leat,
Gus 'n do chuir iad 's an uaigh thu
Gu 'n raibh Tearlach ann uachdar;
Bha do bhuille cho chruaidh is
Nach raibh pilleadh da uair air,
Air mo làimh bu tu bhuaileadh na doance.*

Aonghuis òig a' chuil channaich
'S nan calbacha geala,
Tha do shlios mar an eala
Mar là gréine gun smalan,
Tha do chéile 'n deis scaraidh
O na chuir iad thu 's talamh,
O 'n là dh' eug thu O b' ainneamh a gàire.

'S i dh' fheadadh a radha'
Nam faidheadh tu laethe,
C'àit an raibh e mac mathar
Ris nach seasadh tu làrach;
Dol a sheasamh na h-àraich,
Dol a bhualadh do nàmhad,
Bhiodh luchd chòtachan màdair dhe caillte.

'Nuair a rachadh tu t-éididh
'S do bhreacan an éil ort
'S maith thigeadh cloidheamh fui d' scéth dhuit;
Cuilbhear caol air dheadh ghleusa',
Air mo làimh bu mhòr t-fheum air
Dol a bhualadh nan ceudan
Bhiodh fir Shagson ag éigheach na h-ain-neart.

* N-adbhansa.

Digitized by Google

'Nuair a thogta leat bratach,
Bhiodh làmh dhearg leat is bradan,
Bhiodh fraoch du-ghorm na ghagan,
Aig fir ùra nach taise,
Nach gabh cùram na gealtachd
As na trupaire fhaicsin,
Gheibhte cunra do chlaigionnaibh gearrta.

Cuis bu mhaith le Righ Deòrsa
O 'n là dh' inntrin an tòs e,
Thu bhi dhith air do sheòrta;
Bha iad uile mar cheòthan
Cha d' fhan diais diubh 'n ordu'
O 'n là chuir iad fui 'n fhòid thu,
Och mo chreach nach bu bheò thu o 'n àm sin!

Cha bhitheadh Diuc Uilleam
Cho trom ort 's cha b' urrain,
'S tu sheasadh gach cunntart
'S a bhuaileadh na buillin;
Na 'm fanadh an gunna
Gan do bhual' as an fhuineoig,
Gu 'n raibh T——h ann Lunduinn o 'n àm sin.

Dhamhsa b' aithne r' a fheadain
Fear a dh' innseadh dhamh t-eagas,
Dà ghruaidh dhearg ort mar chaorann;
O thus barraich gu fraochan
Sùil chorrach ann t-aodain,
Beul tairis, 's e faoilidh;
Och mo chreach nach beò thu o 'n àm sin.

A chraobh a's àird' tha fui 'n aeir
'S i fui bhlàth gun a crathadh,
Mar bha 'n luaidh 'n deis a scathadh;
Thug sud uatsa do labhairt,
Beirt bu chruaidhe le t-athair,
Thu bhi uaidhe 's gun t-fhaighinn;
Och mo thruaidhe 's do cheathairn ga d' ionndruinn.

Cha 'n fhead sinne bhi 'g acain
Ma thig Alastair dhathigh,
As a phrìosan tha 'n Sagsonn,
A mùir uaine 's a glasaibh,
O tha 'n saoghal so cleachdadh na h-ain-neart.

Digitized by Google

Deadh mhac Alastair mhòir thu
Ghlinne-garradh is Chnoideart,
Fhuair thu 'n stail ud o t-òige,
'S b' airidh air re do bheò thu;
Olc ar mhaith le R—— D——
Le U——m 's le chòmhladh,
Thig thu dha-thigh le sòlas fo Bhealtuin.

'S ioma duine bha brònach,
'N uair a chual iad an Còirneil
Bhi 'na shìneadh gun chòmhradh,
'S fhuil chraobhach ag dòrtadh,
'S i sileadh na bhròg an;
Bha daoine uailse dhe brònach 's an àm sin.

An Fhirinn Ghlan.

Is mairg a ni 'n t-amharus bréige,
Is mairg a ni eudach gan a' bhar,
Is mairg a ni smaointeach air droch ni,
'S a liuad ni coslach ra fheadain.

'N uair a theid thu d' an tigh laghadh,
'Na bithse na d' spleadhadair gòrach;
'S ma 's àil leat gu faigh thu urram
Na bi féin ad' dhuine bòstail.

Na bi 'g eudach air do mhnaoi
'S na bi 'ga laoidh air fear;
Ma thig thu air càint nach bi fìor,
Deir an tìr nach bi thu maith.

Bi d' choimhearsnaich fìr-ghlic soist' neach,
'S dean t-obair gu soimhe sàmhach;
'S ma gheabh thu neach a ni riut cuideach'
Na bi thusa dho 'nad namhad.

Bi d' choimhearsnach fìr-ghlic nàrach,
'S na bi gràineil re do mhuinntir;
Feadaidh duine 'ga 'm bi nàire
'N cunnbhail m'a làimh gun an ciùradh.

Digitized by Google

'S àrdanach, corrach na h-uailsin,
'N aon uair bu mhò do ribhidh;
Dh' fhaoite le aon fhocal suarach
Gu falbh thu uapa le mio-mhodh.

Bheirinns' ort comhairl' eile,
Is deirea' tu gu bi i maith;
Measg Ghall no Ghaoidheal gu bi thu,
Na toir spéis do chuis gun seadh.

Bheirinn ort comhairl' eile,
'S deirea' tu nach i bu tàireadh;
Ge d' bhiodh agad ni an domhain
Na cuir sud comhad re d' nàire.

'S mairg a bhias òlar no misgeach,
'S mairg a bhias drìseil no gòrach;
'S mairg a ni càint gun fhulang,
'S mairg a ni dubh a chomhradh.

Ge do shuidhinnse gu lae,
'S ge d' òluinn mo phéidhinn phisich,
B' annsa deoch casga' mo phathaidh,
Is dol a luidhea' le gliocas.

A Righ 's olc deire' a' chomuinn
'S gur tric a choinnich sud mis';
Is cuiridh mi cùl mo làimhe,
Ris an rud ghranda—'mhisg.

Cha chuimhnich i cunntas no pàidhe,
Cha chuimhnich i nàire no onoir;
Bu mhianach lea tuasaid a thogbhail,
'S gu 'm b' i sud obair an donuis.

Ta buaidh dhon' eil air a' bhréig
'S cum agam a bhi ga chleath;*
'S a bha sinn car tamuill 'ga réiteach.
'S tric a thog i tuasaid am baile,

* Cuim am bithinn féin da chleath?

Digitized by Google

ORAN OIRDHEIRC GAOIL.

1

Cha d' fhuair mi 'n rair cadal
Air leabba 's mi 'm onar;
Cha bhidhin faoi mhulad
Far an cluinnin do chomhradh;
Do bheul binn gasta (blasta) grinn
Labhradh fir eolach;
Go 'n deanuin duit suairceas
Co uasal 's bu deoin leat.

2

Se t-uail agus t-eolas
Dh' fhag leon is mor chradh orm;
Do mhire 's do shugradh
Dh' fhag bruit anns gach ball mi;
Ainnir ùr nan ciabh dluth
Labhradh i ciuin mharan;
Geadh shiubhlain na criocha
'S neimh lionar dhuit samhla.

3

Bean samhla do 'm leannan
Is ainneamh (ainmic) air Feille;
Is gille 's is glainn i
No cannach an t-sleibhe;
Do chorp sheang 's do chroidh glan
'S aineamh bean t-aogais;
'S fada uam ta mo luaidh
'S truagh shin 's mi 'm aonar:

4

Am aonar a ta mi (as an deigh ort, etc.,)
O thar mi 'n ceud iuil ort;
A gheug nam bas ban
Da 'm budh natur bhi cliuteach;
Gus an sintear 's an uaimh mi
Go 'm bi mo bhuan dhùil riut;
'S go 'm bidh mi faoi èislean
Gus am feid shinn bhi puiste.

Digitized by Google

5

Non biodhamaid puiste
Budh shurdail ar beusan;
Cho 'n fhaighte faoi leon shin
'M fad budh bheò shin le cheile
Giodh bhiodh (raibh) a gharbh rhuaig orm
Gad' chuairteach a theid mi;
O 's mòr a chuish leoin liom
Gun do phòga bhi re dhomh.

6

Gun do phòga bhi re dhomh,
A gheug nan gruaidh narach;
Ag am biodh an cul tana,
Caoin mhalla, geall-bhragaid:
Gorm do shùil, gheall do ghnuis,
Lub a chuil or-bhuigh;
Do bheul nach luaigh breug,
Luach,* 's eibhinn uait maran. (* Luaidh)

7

Gur binne uait maran
No dàn as a' chlarsaigh;
Is teirce re fhaodain
Air an t-shaoghal sho t-aicheadh;
Eala ghasta mo chleimh thu
Nach do ghleidh riamh an t-ardan;
Ag a mheud 's thug mi ghaol duit
Gun chlaoidh e go bàs mi.

8

Gur bliadh'n liom gach sheachdain
O ghlac mi 'n cead iul ort;
Gu 'n do lion thu le tlachd mi
Is thaillin do ghnuis riom;
B' e toisheach ar 'n eolais
Bhiodh comhradh mu 'n chuis ud;
Gu 'm b' eans bhiodh gad phòga
No bhi 'g òl as na cupach.

Digitized by Google

9

Chomnas dol sheacham
Do 'n chlachan an dè u (thu);
'S tu bean nan ciach corrach
Mar t fhaleus (sholus) na gréine;
Chon bheil ort cronn-cumaidh
No uireasbhuidh beusan;
Gur e do ghean-fallaich
Sgar e o mo cheill mi.

10

O la luain 's mi dad luaidh
Shud a ghluaish bròn orm;
Cho d' uair mi 'n rair cadal
Air leabba 's mi 'm aonar.

ORAN GAOIL.

1

Ge fad ta mi m' shuain
Gur buan domh dusgadh;
Tha mi faoi ghruaim
Gun luaidh air sugradh;
B' eansa liom cuairt
Do 'n ghruagaich chul-duinn,
No ol nan cuach
Air chruaidh-leann dubailt.
'S i bean nan rosg mealla
Nach méallar le goraich;
Mar realan air talamh
Mar eal' air na lointin.
Gur cumhradh liom t-annail
Blas meall' air do phoga;
Cho teid thu as m' airre
Ach gon ceallaich an fhoid mi.

2

Gun thog iad mar fhualaisg
Gu rabh Ruaraigh 'n trom ghradh ort;
Fleasgach glan suairce
Nach cualadh mar bha siud;

Digitized by Google

Mas breugach mo sgeusa (sgeula)
Cho leir e re chlaishin;
B' aitt liom fein bhiodh 's tu reidh
Ann an ceill natuir
Giodh ta riabhaich a t-aghaidh
'S tu mo roighin san sgathan;
Gruaidh dhearg ort 's maith rudha
'S maith thig usgrach mud bhragaid;
Cho'n bheil an taobh-sa do Lunnuin
F(h)uair t-urram air ailleas;
O fhir is fearr fhraodharc,
Conmh taodhal do bhaish uam!

3

O ningheag og mhaisheach,
Am peat na biodh 'n gruaim rium;
Tha mo dheoir tric gu leoir
D' fhogair thu uait mi;
B' fhearr no ol mar re ceol
Pog dad bheul suairce;
B' fhearr no beus no ceol theud
Mi bhi reidh uair 's thu;
Gruaidh mar ros, folt mar or,
Meoir is grinn' fuadhla;
Gorm do shuil, geal do ghnuish,
Tha mo run fuait' 's thu;
Cho'n bheil e air talamh
Cron fallaich mu 'n cuairt duit;
Ta do dhealbh gun bhi mean'mh,
Dhearbh thu bhi uasal.

4

S nar dhearbh thu bhi uasal
S neamh-bhruailleanach ta thu;
Caol-mhall' ort gun ghruaman,
Beul suairc air fiamh-ghaire;
Deud chailce is maith dludha,
S maith thig t-(fh)uran san sgathan;
B' ait liom fein bhi s tu reidh
Ann an ceill natuir;
S giodh bhithin co beirteach
'S go 'n gaibhte meas mor dhiom,

Digitized by Google

Giodh bhithin co diubhlaidh
'S bhi 'm Dhiuc air an Olaind,
Gad bhithin co staiteil
'S bhi 'n aite Phrions' Hanover,
Cho deunain do threiges',
'S thu fein a bhi deonach.

5

'S gur mis' tha faoi sprog,
'S mi 'nochd gun ghaire;
Ag ro mheud an tost;
Go 'n tug mi 'n gaol tradh dhuit:
Gur mis' th' air mo chiuradh
'S mo run air mo sharach;
Cho'n innis mi fein
Go la eig mar a ta mi;
'S mi 'm shuigh' air an tullaich
Lion mullad is bron mi
Ag cuimhnach bean t aogaish
'S tu 'n eucag chul-or-bhoigh;
Do mhnaibh a chruinne
'S tu crunnèag is boiche;
Na 'm faighin damh fein thu,
'S tu cheud bhean a phosain.

ORAN

Rin Duine uasil bhi an tromghaol da ngoirther Eoin Stuart dforru Sraspe, do ninghn uasil Ghrandich na Tir sin fein, Ghradhich è go mòr.

1

Chuneas aislin a nreir,
Teacht mar hoilse oirn uai ranaig,
An an coshamhlis na maighden,
Chum i oiche mi a mcharis;
Nuair a haoile leam a bi laimh riom,
Ar cur dhamh mo lamh tharis,
'S tra dfhosgile mi mo huilu nairde
Cha rabh agum ion a haite ach failas.

Digitized by Google

2

Ich 's och mar ha mi féin,
Is bochd 's tin ha mi nochd,
Cha neile fios aig neach fui nghrein
C'ait a bhuile mo chrech tu goirte;
Is bocht a ngallar ha mi tarmach,
D' fhag e mi gu hiomlan loit,
Lott e mo chroidh is mairnu,
'S cha neile earrin slan an m' chorp.

3

An mo chorpsa cha neile ball
Edir cheann is chois is laimh,
Nach rabh glacd an san nuair sin
Ma na ghluais mi o mo phramh;
Nuair a dhiontrich mi mo ghaole
Thionda mi mo thaobh gu lar,
Ag fhadids cha mo chroidh sios
Is eagal leam nach dir gu bra.

4

Ga nan dirich e gu bra
Is ga nan slanigh e gan leigh,
Ma thig teachtir orm uai n bhas
Leam nach nar a dholl gu heug;
Is maith mo leisgeul 's ro mhor maobhar,
Ma na ghaol a hug mi do nte,
Is mar a nonain ansa ghairdine
Is boich i na Diana fein.

5

Aghaidh holis ar a ghruagich,
Falt na chuachu ar dhreach theud;
Malach chaol ga nchalg, gan ghruaman
Is a da ghruaigh co derg re cèir:
Suile chorrach ghorm mar a nenstale,
Faile muste teacht uai beul;
Uchd solis na ntur gheall bana
Ar a mhnoi is ailt ta fui nghrein.

Digitized by Google

6

Is maith hig stocin lass derg dhuit
Ar a chalb chruin nach iarfidh crebhan,
Troigh laich nach dochin feornan
Ansa bhroig is cuimta d fheuch mi;
Cha neile aon eang no scorr orra,
Air a hordaig seach a cheile;
Cha neil criman thar a choir oir,
Edir saile is sron na mear ac.

7

Chuncas aislin man mhaiden,
Teacht mar hoilse oirn uai no ghrein;
Mar go nteilgti an a moltair
Uai a da bhonn a muigh gu headin;
Is barail leam nuair cha do dheanu
Nach han diomhain bha na daoin,
Is ga nrath na mnaibh a ncomhstribh laidir
Co a neach a b fearr no cheile.

8

Ha raid uigneach ar gach taobh dhiobh,
Glassu dubailt ar gach te dhiobh;
Ar a gheatt ha comhla dhuinte,
Is a da ghlun mar ursin scè;
Cha deid a mpass a chaoi scriobha
Gan pheann phriosail 's coinlin ceir,
Agus is baraile leam nach rabh e brute
Checed* fher fuair a chuis re leogha. (* Cheud)

9

Is uai nach urrine mi ga tareamh,
A bhi samhach gir e 's èigin,
Hog mi ran cha dean mi haicha
Go gleidh dhan gan nfhocall brèig
Gad bhithins folmh a marich
Gan teacht gu bra go ntalamh chèdna
Gus a ngairmar leis an bhas mi
Mhairie Grant bithidh mo speis duit.

Digitized by Google

Appended are a few poems from the Benjamin Urquhart MSS.:—

Song by Fear Shrath-Mhathaisidh,

Taken down from Miss Ann Macpherson, Kingussie, September 30th, 1873.

Am boirionnach òg, thugas dòigh dhi thar chàch,
'Ga faicinn an àit air chor-eigin;
Nam bu leam o'n stòl-phòsd' i bheirinn lòn di gu bràth,
'M feadh 's (Neas) mhaireadh mo shlàinte is m' fhallanachd.
Thogainn taigh a réir mo staid,
'Bhiodh a staigh iongolta;
Leam bu toigh i bhi 's a' chladh
Mar gach co-lethbhreac i.

B' fhearr leam na 'n ainnis i bhi barraichte thar chàch,
Ged chosdainn cluas-mhail ri ceannaiche.
Dh' innsinn fhin m' inntinn di,
Bhithinn fìor thairis di.
Chaisginn strì, ghlacainn sìth,
Dheanainn ni ceanailta (e).
Ghabhainn an fhidheal 's nam bitheadh e innt',
Gu 'n tugainn 'm port-danns' bu mhath leatha dhì.

'S cha bhiodh e gu dìlinn r'a inns' aig mac mna
Gu 'm biodh droch chànran eadarainn.
Aig feabhas a nàduir, a càirdeis, 's a blathais,
Ged b' e 'n duine 'bu mhi-nadurra am Breatann e,
Dar bhiodh esan 'na bhrais
'S a chiall ghrad bheag aige,
Bhiodh a tlachd 'g a thoirt as,
'S gu 'm bu phailt beadradh dha.

Thuirt i le sgreadachd, cha fhreagair mi 'n dràs,
Mu 'n toir mi do chàch droch theisteanas oirnn.
Trath tharla iad somhail, 's a shumhlaicheadh 'fhearg,
Chuireadh ise le 'sheanchas fallus air,
'Ga rusgadh an stòldachd 's an òrdugh fior shearbh,
O'n thug am mi-shealbh dha tighinn thiris air.
Mar dean sid, aic' tha fios,
Duine glic ro-mhath dheth,

Digitized by Google

'S mòr bu mhios' casadh ris
Dar bhi friodh conais air.
O'n b' e 'n t-òrdugh ged bu chointe e na tarbh
Gu 'm biodh i le crannchur toilichte.

Tha i anabarrach suairc agus truas aic an dàimh,
Fìor shuairc anns gach àm geur-bharalach.
Ged shirteadh shios agus shuas,
Deas is tuath 's na 'm bheil ann,
Cha 'n fhaicteadh neach ann
A bheir barrachd oir'.
'S mòr an giamh (gnìomh), mar 'n duirt Dia,
Nach robh biadh an goireas aic',
A feabhas 'ga dheanamh,
'S ro fhial uime i.
Ged shiùbhladh tu 'n cruinne, cha 'n fhaigh thu ann té,
'S lugha àrdan na spéis do thaghanachd.

Gruaidh dhearg a's glan rudha, mar ubhal air crann,
Cùl buidhe, corp seang, 's grund soilleir aic',
Troidh chruinn am bròig chumhaing
'Ni siubhal gun spàirn,
B' e 'n t-iongantas anns gach cruinneach' i,
Mar eal' air shruth, 's geal a cruth,
'S binn a guth, 's is loinneil i,
Mar an diugh air a chur sneachd tiugh, a broilleach geal,
Fardalan goirid, sùil radhairc nach mall,
'S dà chìch chorraich àrd mar lili oir'.

Taken down from Miss Ann Macpherson, Kingussie.

Rìgh, gur diombach a tha mi,
Air a' chàrn 's mi a' m' shuidhe,
'S nach faic mi mu 'n cuairt domh
Fear ruadh no fear buidhe.
'S nach faic mi, etc.

'S cha bhuidhche a tha mi
Dhe m' mhàthair 's dhe m' phiuthar.
'S cha bhuidhche, etc.

Toirt domh an fhir ruaidh,
'S cumail uam an fhir bhuidhe.
Toirt domh, etc.

Digitized by Google

'S dar 'fhuair mi 'm fear glùn-dubh,
Thug mo shùilean gu sruthadh.
'S dar 'huair mi, etc.

Truagh nach 'eil mi 's tu pòsda,
Is sinn bhi deònach 'n ar dithis.
Thuagh nach 'eil, etc.

Bhiodh tu eadar mo ghlacan,
Mar a b' ait le mo chridhe.
Bhiodh tu eadar, etc.

O laidhe na gréine
Gus an éireadh i rithist.
O laidhe, etc.

'S ann a b' ait leinn bhi 'g éirigh
'N taobh geugach Loch Uidhist.
'S ann a b' ait, etc.

Far am biodh an crodh guaillfhionn
'S an ualmhaich a' tighinn.
Farm am biodh, etc.

'S ann 'tha iuchair na buaile
Fo chluasaig na nighinn (righinn).
'S ann 'tha iuchair, etc.

'S i 'g an stiùradh le àrdan
Gu àilgheas a cridhe.
'S i 'gan stiùradh, etc.

'S tha na gillean mu 'n cuairt di,
'S iad gun fhuachd no dith-bidhe.
'S tha na gillean, etc.

Rìgh, gur diombach a tha mi,
Air a' chàrn 's mi a' m' shuidhe.

Digitized by Google

ORAN

Do dh' Eomhain Mac a Phearsan, Mac Fhir Bhreachdaohaidh, ann am Baideanach.
Le Calum Mac an t-Shaoir.

(The last line of each verse to be repeated).

'S trom a shaltraich an t-aog oirnn
Bhuail e coran na saighaid oirnn,
Ann am broilleach na soillse
'S e dh' fhàg bronach do dhaoine;
Bhi 'ga d' ghiùlan air ghoidaibh
Dh' iunnsuidh cruig air neart ghairdean,
'S t' fhàgail dùinte fuidh 'n roinnaidh
An seòmair ùir, 's tu bhi chòmhnuigh fuidh 'n fhòd.

Thàinig arraid neo-chaoin oirnn
'S cha 'n e bagair a rinn e,
Rinn e bheart mu 'n robh t' aoibhear
Lùb e 'n gallan a b' fhione as an darach bu daighne;
Bu cheann-iùil air thùs fianeadh,
Bu neo-mhuit ann an caonaig,
'S e fàth mo ghearain gun t' fhaotainn
'S an Tùr-gheal ann 's a choinnidh am bi phòit.

Ach 's binn an naigheachd 's na beanntaibh
Dha na h-aighaibh 'n tìm samhraidh,
Dha na graidhaibh 'n tìm tearneadh,
Dha 'n damh dhonn theid 's an damhair;
Do choilleach dhubh nan sgiath-bàine,
Do dh' eòin sléibh 's do dh' iasg aimhne,
Gu na chaochail air h-abhaisd,
'S nach mairean (maithruin) thu slàn Eomhain òig.

Ach Thi thug Maois bho Righ Phàraoh
Sgoilt an fhairge 'na clàraibh,
Dhealraich solus 's an fhàsaich
Shuidhich talamh air fairge;
Rinn dhe neo-nith siol Adhamh
Seall an taobh s' le càirdeas,
'S trom a bhagair thu d' làmh oirnn
Bhuain thu chraobh 's i 'na plàntan.

Digitized by Google

Mu 'n d' fhàs duilleag na meanghlan
Trian do t-aoibheach cha 'n eòl domh,
Gu innseadh sgeòil thoirt do chach
Air na dh' fhalbh ;
Tha do phàrantan brònach,
Tha do phiuthar fuidh leòin dheth,
Tha leon-duth oirre 'n còmhnuidh (leann-dubh)
Mu 'n leomhan ghasda gun mhòr-chuis.

Dh' fhoghluim gaisgeachd as òige
Bu chùl-taichde do dheòraibh,
Bu sgiath dhion air a' mhòd thu
Beart is diomhain ri leobhadh, (leughadh)
Na chuir sios ann an òran ;
Ge do sgrìbhte air bòrd e,
Cha 'n 'eil 's an t-shaoghails' ach gòraich,
'S gach maoin dheth mar cheò theid le sian.

'S i chraobh chuillain chruaidh, chomhnaird,
Gun ghràine mullaich, gun ròs oirre,
Do bhian mar shneachda nan lòintean,
Do dheud mar chailc, na mar neòinean ;
Aogais Bhènuis air bhòichead,
Na 'm b' ann le crèubhagaibh feòla
Bhuailte an t-èug ud a leòn thu,
Nochd chluinnte sgèul air an Albainn.

Nochdta crann is breid sròl ris,
Mar ri cat is greann-cholg air,
Chuirteadh treudan an òrdugh
Da thaobh Spé gu ruig Lòchaidh,
Mus biodh t-éirig gun tòireachd
'S lionmhor creuchd a bhiodh a dòirteadh
'S iad mar dhreaganaibh òga
A dol sios.

Mo mhòir-dhiùbhail do chàraibh,
T' fhuil bhi brùit ann do bhrathad,
'S i bhi bruicheadh mar sgàrlaid,
Cha robh cùis gu do thearnadh ;
Bho na dùilibh chum slàinte,
Bho na dhùin iad 's 'na clàir thu,
Seinnidh trùmbaid gu h-àrda

Digitized by Google

'Sgoiltidh uaighean is teampuil,
'S éiridh mairbh asda 'n àirde,
Mas tig m' iunntrans' an lathair,
Dh' innseadh dhuinn ciod e 'm bàs
Tha tigheachd oirnn.

ORAN DO DH' EOMHAIN RUADH, TIGHEARNA 'CHLUAINIGH, 'nuair a chaidh e 'n Fhraing, an deigh dha bhi fallach naoigh bliadhna ann am Baideannach, a measg a dhaoine fhéin, Leis a bhàrd aige fhéin, ris an abaireadh iad, An Tàillear Mac Dhonnachaidh.

Deoch slàinte Tighearnadh Chluainidh
Lion mu 'n cuairt ann 'sa chùp i
'S ge do chosdadh i gìneadh
'S mi fhìn nach bi [diumbach;]
Tha na dh' òladh do shlàinte
Chrùinntean Spàinteach 'nam phùige,
An déigh 'sa mall a thoirt seachad
Do dh' àth-chorc a' Phrionnsa.

'S e bhi bagairt air t-fhearainn
Tha toirt gal air mo shùilean,
'S mi bhi uilleachd mo leabaidh
Cha 'n e 'n codal tha shùird orm;
Gu 'm bheil bruaidlean inntinn
Ann 'sa tìms', 'cur orm cùram
Mu na bharantas shàraigh
Tha 'tighinn an àirde bho 'n Diùc oirnn.

Ceannard feadhna Chlann Mhuirich,
Leinn is duilich gu'n cualas,
Gu 'na bhuaineachd thu 'n Fhraing oirnn,
'S tu thighinn slàn as gach cruadal;
A laoich bhorb bu mhòir misneachd
'S bu mhòir meas aig na h-uailsean,
Fhir bhuanachd gach trioblaid
'S mòir is misde sinn bhuainn thu.

Digitized by Google

Tha do chinneadh 's do dhùthaich
Fuidh fhiabh-mhuig aig na Gallaibh,
'S fuidh chasan an naimhdean,
'S iad 'nan camp anns gach baile;
Ga do bhuail iad 's a' cheann sinn
Cha 'n 'eil ann na ni 'm farraid,
'S mar tig cobhair bho'n Fhraing oirnn
Tha sinn cailte gun mhearachd.

(See also Turner's Collection—1813—where a very complete version of this poem occurs).

8th MARCH, 1900.

At the meeting on this date Mr J. Rusterholtz, manager, Palace Hotel, Inverness, was elected an ordinary member of the Society. The Secretary thereafter read a paper in Gaelic, contributed by Rev. John M'Rury, Skye, entitled "O Chionn Leth Cheud Bliadhna." The paper is as follows:—

O CHIONN LEITH CHEUD BLIADHNA.

Is iomadh atharrachadh a thainig air an t-saoghal o chionn leith cheud bliadhna; agus thainig a cuid fhein dhe na h-atharrachaidhean so air Gaidhealtachd na h-Alba. Nan gabhadh daoine aig am bheil seann eòlas air a' Ghaidhealtachd os laimh cunntas a thoirt dhuinn air na dòighean agus air na cleachdaidhean a bha cumanta am measg an t-sluaigh 's an am a dh' fhalbh, bheireadh iad iomadh fiosrachadh araon dhuinne air an latha 'n diugh, agus do 'n àl a thig 'nar deigh. Cha 'n 'eil mi 'smaointean gu 'n robh sluagh fiosrach, foghluimte an t-saoghail riamh roimhe cho fior dhéidheil air a bhith 'cluinntinn mu sheana bheachdan, agus mu sheana chleachdaidhean 's a tha iad aig an àm so. Agus o 'n a tha so mar so, theirinn gu 'm bheil e mar fhiachan air na Gàidheil nach do chuir fhathast dubh-chùl ri cainnt is gnàths is cleachdadh na Gàidhealtachd, gach oidhirp 'nan comas a thoirt air cuimhne a chumail air na beachdan agus air na cleachdaidhean a bha aon uair cho cumanta air feadh na Gàidhealtachd gu léir.

Bheir mise oidhirp air cunntas a thoirt seachad mu dheidhinn cuid dhe na nithean sin a chunnaic 's a chuala mi ann am

Digitized by Google

Beinn-a-faoghla o chionn leith cheud bliadhna. Ma's urrainn domh, cha toir mi guth no iomradh air na nithean a sgriobh mi do 'n Chomunn 's an àm a dh' fhalbh.

Is e an rud a's fhaide air bheil cuimhne agam, rud a thachair air oidhche challaig o chionn dà fhichead bliadhna 's a dhà dheug. Tha 'n oidhche ud cho ùr air m' inntinn 's ged nach biodh ach beagan bhliadhnachan o 'n a bha i ann.

Anns an àm ud, bhiodh na ficheadan de ghillean, o aois naoi bliadhna, suas gu ochd bliadhna deug, a' dol air challaig. Agus an uair a thigeadh iad thun an doruis, agus a thoisicheadh iad ri gabhail nan duan, bhiodh muinntir an taighe ag éisdeachd riutha le mòr aire. Tha na duain a bhiodh iad a' gabhail air a dhol air dichuimhn. Is gann a chreideas mi gu 'm bheil a h-aon dhiubh an diugh air chuimhne. Ged a bha feadheainn dhiubh anns an robh deadh bhàrdachd, bha feadhainn eile dhiubh nach mòr a b' fhiach.

Ri mo cheud chuimhne, cha robh dìmeas sam bith air gille òg a rachadh air challaig, ma thachair gu 'n robh a phàrantan bochd, dripeil. Ach beag air bheag, thòisich daoine ri amharc air a' chleachdadh, sean "s mar a bha e, m'ar chleachdadh suarach. Agus tha e nis air thuar a dhol gu buileach as an t-sealladh.

Ach mar a dh' éirich do dh' iomadh cleachdadh eile a chaidh as an t-sealladh, bha math an co-cheangal ris. Bha e 'tarruinn am mach tomhas de dh' iochd agus de charantas a cridheachan dhaoine a bheireadh seachad bonnach callaig, agus a' dusgadh tomhas de spiorad taingealachd ann an cridheachan na muinntir a gheibheadh na bonnaich chaillaig.

Bha 'n cleachdadh so mar an ceudna a leigeadh ris ann an tomhas, cò na mnathan a bha cruaidh, spiocach, agus cò na mnathan a bha còir, fialaidh, mor-chridheach. Dheanadh cuid dhe na mnathan bonnaich bheaga, thana, anns nach biodh tail no tàbhachd sam bith. Dheanadh mnathan eile bonnaich mhòra, thiugha, thaileil, thàbhachdach, air an deadh fhuinne 's air an deadh bhruich.

Bha seana choimhearsnaich chòire a' dol gu math tric a dh' amharc air a cheile air oidhche challaig; ach cha 'n fhaigheadh fear sam bith a steach do thaigh a choimhearsnaich gus an gabhadh e duan an toiseach aig an dorus. Agus an uair a rachadh e steach, chuirteadh làn na slige de mhac na braiche na thairgse, agus aran is càise. Am fear a dheanadh duan ùr a h-uile bliadhna, bhiodh meas a bharrachd air.

Bha maighstir-sgoile anns an àite anns an robh beagan de ghrìd na bàrdachd. Bhiodh pige gallain aige staigh gun a'

Digitized by Google

chéir a thoirt dheth gus an tigeadh oidhche challaig. Bha duine dòigheil, cothromach anns a' choimhearsnachd aig a' mhaighstir-sgoile, agus cha bhiodh aige air son oidhche challaig ach pige beag leith ghallain. Ann an aon dhe na duain a rinn am maighstir-sgoile, thug e greis mholaidh air na càirdean 's air na coimhearsnaich a b' fhearr a bha 'cordadh ris fhein; ach mu dheidhinn Eoghainn thuirt e:—

> "Fagaidh sinn Eoghainn le 'dhòigh,
> 'Na ònar 's a' bhail' ud thall;
> Sid an rud nach toigh leam fhin,
> Pige bìodach 's dileag ann."

Dh' fhalbh na laithean ud, agus ged nach iarramaid iad a thilleadh a rithist, feumaidh sinn a radh gu 'n d' fhalbh tomhas mòr dhe 'n chàirdeas, dhe 'n chomunn 's dhe 'n ghaol a bha 's an àm ud am measg an t-sluaigh.

Is math a tha cuimhne agam air an dòigh anns am biodh daoine, mar bu trice, a' cur seachad nan oidhcheachan fada geamhraidh. Bhiodh iad a' cruinneachadh air chéilidh do chuid dhe na taighean, agus bhiodh iad a' gabhail sgeulachd, ag canntaireachd nan dàn gaisge a th' anns an leabhar luachmhor sin a chuireadh am mach le Eoghainn agus Iain Mac Callum o chionn tri fichead bliadhna 's a h-ochd deug; ag innseadh mu na chual' iad mu thimchioll gaisgeich na Feinne; agus mu thimchioll gach aimhreit agus eucoir a bha eadar na finneachan Gàidhealach anns an àm a dh' fhalbh.

Bhiodh iad mar an ceudna a' feuchainn cò aige bu mhò a bhiodh a' bhuaidh aig an neach aig am mò a bhiodh de shean-fhacail. Ach an neach aig am mò a bhiodh de shean-fhacail aon oidhche, is dòcha nach ann aige bu mhò a bhiodh dhiubh oidhche eile; oir leis cho tric 's a bhiodh daoine 'g an aithris 'nam measg fhein, thigeadh fear is fear diubh a dh' ionnsuidh an cuimhne fhein, no 'dh' ionnsuidh cuimhne an càirdean. Air an dòigh so bha an àireamh bu mhò de shluagh na dùthchadh, cha b' ann a mhàin ag ionnsachadh tuilleadh shean-fhacal, ach mar an ceudna a' cumail air cuimhne nan sean-fhacal a bha aca roimhe. Ma bha gus nach robh an cleachdadh so cumanta air feadh cearnan eile dhe 'n Ghàidhealtachd aig an àm ud, cha 'n urrainn dhomhsa a radh. Ach cho fad 's is fhiosrach mi—agus tha tomhas math de dh' eòlas agam air feadh Eileanan an Iar na Gàidhealtach—cha robh àite sam bith anns am faighteadh uiread de shean-fhacail 's a gheibhteadh anns Eilean Fhada, gu h-àraidh ann an dà Uidhist 's am Barraidh.

Digitized by Google

Agus tha mi 'creidsinn gur e an cleachdadh a dh' ainmich mi a b' aobhar gu 'n robh sid mar sid.

Bha dòigh anabarrach math aca air na sean-fhacail a thoirt gu 'n cuimhne. Thug iad an aire gu 'n robh àireamh shean-fhacal co-cheangailte ris gach ni, ach ni ainneamh, a bhiodh iad a' faicinn mu 'n cuairt dhaibh anns an t-saoghal, agus thuig iad nach robh dòigh sam bith anns am b' fhearr a rachadh aca air na sean-fhacail a thoirt gu 'n cuimhne, agus chumail air chuimhne, na feuchainn ris na b' aithne dhaibh dhiubh anns an dòigh so aithris. Gus so a dheanamh na's soilleire, cha bhiodh e as an rathad dhomh, tha mi smaointean, beagan a radh mar chomharradh air cho fior fhreagarrach 's a tha 'n dòigh so air son cuimhne dhaoine 'bheothachadh agus a neartachadh.

Gabhamaid na facail 'cat,' 'cù,' 'each,' 'bò,' 'cearc,' 'clach,' agus chi sinn cho furasda 's a tha e dhuinn co-chruinneachadh mòr de shean-fhacail a dheanamh:—"Miann a' chait anns an tràigh 's cha toir e fhein as e." "Cho déidheil 's a tha 'n cat air a' bhainne." "Cho bradach ris a' chat." "Is fhairrde an càl an cat a chur ann." "Cleas a' chait—'na chaithris air oidhche 's na chadal air an latha." "Am fear a bhios 'na thamh, cuiridh e na cait 's an teine"—etc.

"Is fhearr dh' an chù a dh' fhalbhas, na dh' an chù a dh' fhuiricheas." "Cha sgal cù roimh chnàimh." "Trotan mìn seana choin." "Is ann air a shon fhein a ni an cù an comhart." "Cha 'n ith an cù ach a leòr." "Cho danarra ris a' chù." "Is olc an cù aig nach bi làn a bheoil de dhranndan"—etc.

"Mclaidh an t-each math e fhein." "Greasad an eich 's e 'na fhallus." "Citheamh a' chapuill iasaid." "Is minic a thuit an capull ceithir-chasach." "Cho làidir ris an each"—etc.

"Millidh aon bhò buaile,
'S buairidh aon bhean baile."

A' bhò a's caoile 's a' bhuailidh is i a's àirde geum." "Is toigh le bò sgàrdach bò sgardach eile." "Geum bà air a h-ainiuil." "Is ann as a ceann a bhligheas a' bhò." "Far am bi bean, bidh bò, 's far am bi bò bidh dragh." "Bò mhaol odhar agus bò odhar mhaol"—etc.

"Modh na circe, gabhail alla rithe." "Ithidh a' chearc seachd leòran 's an latha." "Cha b' e a reiceadh a' chearc 's an latha fhliuch." "Is ioghnadh le circ aghastar a chur rithe." "Cho lom ris a' chirc o 'n chòcaire." "Cridhe na circ' ann an gob na h-airc"—etc.

Digitized by Google

"Mar chloich a' riuth le gleann tha feasgar fann foghair." "Clachan beaga 'dol an iochdar 's clachan mòra 'tighinn an uachdar." "Clach os cionn clach Mhic Leoid." "Is sleamhainn a' chlach a th' ann an dorus an taighe mhòir." "Snàmhaidh e e mar a' clach"—etc.

Tha mòran shean-fhacal am measg an t-sluaigh nach do chuireadh riamh fhathast ann an clò, agus tha mi 'creidsinn gu 'n rachadh aig daoine air an àireamh a's mò dhiubh a chruinneachadh gun dragh mòr sam bith a chur orra fhein, na 'n gabhadh iad an dòigh a chomharraich mi am mach dhaibh.

A bharrachd air a bhith 'feuchainn a cheile feuch cò aige bu mhò a bha de shean-fhachail, bhiodh daoine, an uair a biodh iad cruinn air chéilidh mar a dh' ainmich mi mar tha, a' cur thòimhseachan air a chéile. Cha 'n 'eil air chuimhne an diugh ach fior bheagan dhe 'n àireamh mhòr thòimhseachan a bha aig daoine ri mo cheud chuimhne-sa. Mar a dh' éirich do mhòran dhe na sean-fhacail, chaidh iad air dichuimhn le coireanan dhaoine a bha 'cumail am mach, ann an ainm diadhachd, gu 'n robh e na pheacadh a bhith 'cur seachad nan oidhcheannan fada geamhraidh ann a bhith 'g aithris agus ag éisdeachd sgeulachdan na Feinne, agus a' cur 's a' fuasgladh thoimhseachan. Ach cha robh dad aig na daoine so an aghaidh a bhith 'cur seachad na h-uine ann a bhith 'ruith sìos dhaoine a bha mòran na b' fhearr na iad fhein. Am feadh 's a theireadh na daoine cràbhach so nach robh ann an sgeulachdan, ann an sean-fhacail, agus ann an toimhseachain ach "comhradh amaideach, agus baoth-shùgradh, agus nithean nach 'eil iomchuidh," dh' éisdeadh iad gu toileach ri sgainneal, ri tuaileas, agus ri cùl-chàineadh. Agus tha dearbhadh gu leòr againn gu 'n d' rinn na daoine so barrachd cron na rinn iad de mhath le bhith dìteadh cur seachad ùine a bha araon neo-lochdach, agus a bha 'na mheadhain air inntinn an t-sluaigh a dheanamh fiosrach agus geurchuiseach.

Is e fior bheagan dhe na tòimhseachain a tha air chuimhne agamsa; oir tha dlùth air ceithir bliadhna deug ar fhichead o nach cuala mi a bhith 'g an cur 's 'g am fuasgladh. Ach cuiridh mi sios an so beagan dhe na tha air chuimhne agam:—

"Fear cruinn cnaparra, cruaidh,
Gur cruaidh craicionn a làmh,
A shuil am meadhain a chleibh,
Is fheoil am meadhain a chnàmh"

—Am portan.

Digitized by Google

"Theid e 's a' mhuir
'S cha bhàthar e,
Theid e 's an teine
'S cha loisgear e,
Theid e gu bòrd an righ
'S cha chaisgear e"
—Gathan na greine.

"Ceathrar 'nan ruith,
Ceathrar air chrìth,
Dithis ag amharc 's an adhar,
Dithis a' deanamh an rathaid,
'S aon fhear ag éigheach"
—Bò 'na ruith 's i 'geumnaich.

"Tri chasan nach gluais,
'S dà chluais nach cluinn" —A' phoit.

"Am fear mòr, fada, dubh a bhios am muigh a h-uile oidhche."—An rathad mòr.

"Am fear liath 's a' chùil 's dà shùil dheug air."—An criathar.

"Theid e null air an amhainn 's thig e nall air an amhainn, 's gearraidh e feur 's cha 'n ith e e."—Am peillear.

"Is àirde e na taigh an rìgh,
Is mìne e na 'n sìoda" —An deathach.

Tha na litrichean 'l,' 'n,' 'r' buailteach air tomhas dhe am fuaim a chall an uair a thachras dhaibh a bhith dlùth air a cheile aig deireadh aon fhacail, agus aig toiseach facail eile. Mar an ceudna tha na litrichean 'd,' 'l,' 'n,' 'r,' 's,' 't,' ann an tomhas fo riaghladh an lagha so. A chum toirt air daoine am fuaim ceart a chur gu glan, cothromach air na litrichean so an àm dhaibh a bhith 'labhairt, bha briathran air an gnàthachadh leis am biodh an teanga air a cleachdadh ri bhith 'cur fuaim ceart air na litrichean so. Cha 'n 'eil air chuimhne agamsa ach fòor bheagan dhiubh. Cuiridh mi sìos ann an so iad. Mu 'm faoidteadh a ràdh gu 'n rachadh aig duine air am fuaim fhein a chur gu ceart, glan orra, dh' fheumadh e an aithris anabarrach luath gun dol iomrall:—"Laogh ruadh lurach air rinn rudha Loch Rainneach." "Caora dhubh air bota dubh lìona Lamalum." "Seachd slatan de phlaide phailt, slat phailt phlaide." "Bòrd na poite bige an ceann poite mòire 's bòrd na poite mòire an ceann na poite bige."

Digitized by Google

An uair a tha fear a' labhairt, cha 'n e mhain gu 'm feum e am fuaim ceart a chur air na litrichean mu 'n uarrainn e a smaointeanan a chur gu soilleir, glan fa chomhair a luchd-éisdeachd, ach feumaidh e mar an ceudna a bhith comasach, iomadh uair, air iomadh facal a labhairt an deigh a cheile gun 'anail a tharruinn. Gus so a theagasg do dhaoine bha na briathran a leanas ri bhith air an cleachdadh gu tric:—"Naoi minidh, naoi cip; ochd minidh, ochd cip; seachd minidh, seachd cip; sia minidh, sia cip; còig minidh, còig cip; ceithir minidh, ceithir chip; trì minidh, trì chip; dà mhinidh, dà cheap; minidh agus ceap."

An uair a rachadh aig duine air na facail so a radh an déigh a cheile gun 'anail a tharruinn, bha facail eile a bha mòran na bu doirbhe, aige ri radh:—"Naoi amuill le naoi tuill 'nan naoi cinn; ochd amuill le ochd tuill 'nan ochd cinn; seachd amuill le seachd tuill 'nan seachd cinn; sia amuill le sia tuill 'nan sia cinn; còig amuill le còig tuill 'nan còig cinn; ceithir amuill le ceithir tuill 'nan ceithir chinn; tri amuill le tri tuill 'nan tri chinn; dà amull le dà tholl 'na dhà cheann; amull agus toll 'na cheann."

Tha e furasda 'thuigsinn nach b' urrainn duine sam bith an dà rann fhada so a ràdh gun anail a tharruinn na's lugha na labhradh e anabarrach luath. Agus feumaidh mi a radh, gu 'm b' ainneamh duine a b' urrainn rann nan amull a radh gun 'anail a tharruinn; oir nan rachadh e an lideadh bu lugha iomrall, cha b' fhiach a shaothair taing.

Bha ni eile glé chumanta o chionn leith cheud bliadhna air am biodh e ro fheumail cuimhne 'chumail, is e sin, na sgeulachdan agus na h-òrain (Nursery Tales and Rhymes) a bhiodh màtharaichean agus na banaltruman a' gabhail do 'n chloinn bhig an àm a bhith 'cur saod orra, na an àm a bhith 'g an cur a chadal. Tha taghadh is raghadh na Gailig anns na sgeulachdan agus anns na rannan so. Cha 'n 'eil teagamh nach 'eil cuid dhiubh fhathast air chuimhne air feadh na Gàidhealtachd, ged a tha mòran dhiubh air a dhol gu buileach air dìchuimhn. Da fhichead bliadhna roimh 'n diugh bha cuid mhòr dhe na bha cumanta aig an àm ann an Uidhist air chuimhne agam; ach is gann gu 'm bheil dad agam air chuimhne dhiubh an diugh. Tha deich bliadhna fichead o nach cuala mi a h-aon dhiubh.

Bha mòran thuigse agus de ghliocas air fhilleadh a staigh anns na sgeulachdan agus anns na h-òrain so; agus ged nach robh a' chlann bheag 'g a thoirt so fa near aig an àm, cha 'n 'eil

Digitized by Google

teagamh nach robh cuid dhiubh 'g a thoirt fa near an uair a thàinig iad gu aois. Is i an sgeulachd cho cumanta 's a bha air a h-aithris am measg na h-oigridh an uair a bha mise òg, an sgeulachd ris an cainte gu cumanta "Biorachan Beag is Biorachan Mòr." Ged a tha i clò-bhuailte anns an leabhran ghrinn ghasda ris an canar, "Mar a leughar Gailig," cha 'n 'eil mi 'smaointean gu 'm biodh e as an rathad dhomhsa a' cur sìos an so, o 'n a tha tomhas de dh' eadardhealachadh eadar na briathran anns an cuala mise i agus na briathran anns an cuala I ain Mac Ille-Bhàin i. Bheir mi seachad i direach facal air an fhacal mar a chuala mi i:—

Chuala mise mar a sid a bh' ann Biorachan Beag is Biorachan Mòr. Mar a bha Biorachan Beag is Biorachan Mòr ann, chaidh iad latha 'bhuain chnòintean. Mar a bhuaineadh Biorachan Mòr, dh' itheadh Biorachan Beag. Dh' fhalbh Biorachan Mòr a dh' iarraidh slaite a ghabhadh air Biorachan Beag mu 'n itheadh e ach beagan dhe na cnòintean.

"C'àit' am bheil thu 'dol?" ars' t-slat.

"Tha mi tighinn a dh' iarraidh slat a ghabhas air Biorachan Beag mu 'n ith e ach beagan dhe na cnòintean."

"Cha 'n fhaigh thu mise," ars' an t-slat, "gus am faigh thu tuadh a ghearras mi."

Dh' fhalbh e far an robh an tuadh.

"C'àit' am bheil thu dol?" ars' an tuadh.

"Tha mi 'tighinn a dh' iarraidh tuadh a ghearras slat; slat a ghabhas air Biorachan Beag mu 'n ith e ach beagan dhe na cnòintean."

"Cha 'n fhaigh thu mise," ars' an tuadh, "gus am faigh thu clach a bheileas mi."

Dh' fhalbh e far an robh a' chlach.

"C'àit' am bheil thu 'dol?" ars' a' chlach.

"Tha mi tighinn a dh' iarraidh clach a bheileas tuadh; tuadh a ghearras slat; slat a ghabnas air Biorachan Beag, mu 'n ith e ach beagan dhe na cnòintean."

"Cha 'n fhaigh thu mise," ars' a' chlach, "gus am faigh thu uisge a fhliuchas mi."

Dh' fhalbh e far an robh an t-uisge.

"C'àit am bheil thu 'dol?" ars' an t-uisge.

"Tha mi 'tighinn a dh' iarraidh uisge a fhliuchas clach; clach a bheileas tuadh; tuadh a ghearras slat; slat a ghabhas air Biorachan Beag mu 'n ith e ach beagan dhe na cnòintean."

"Cha 'n fhaigh thu mise," ars' an t-uisge, "gus am faigh thu fiadh a shnàmhas mi."

Digitized by Google

Dh' fhalbh e far an robh am fiadh.

"C'àit' am bheil 'dol?" ars' am fiadh.

"Tha mi 'tighinn a dh' iarraidh fiadh a shnàmhas uisge; uisge a fhliuchas clach; clach a bheileas tuadh; tuadh a ghearras slat; slat a ghabhas air Biorachan Beag, mu 'n ith e ach beagan dhe na cnòintean."

"Cha 'n fhaigh thu mise," ars' am fiadh, "gus am faigh thu gadhar a ruagas mi."

Dh' fhalbh e far an robh an gadhar.

C'àit' am bheil thu 'dol?" ars' an gadhar.

"Tha mi 'tighinn a dh iarraidh gadhar a ruagas fiadh; fiadh a shnàmhas uisge; uisge a fhliuchas clach; clach a bheileas tuadh; tuadh a ghearras slat; slat a ghabhas air Biorachan Beag mu 'n ith ach beagan dhe na cnòintean."

"Cha 'n fhaigh thu mise," ars' an gadhar, "gus am faigh thu ìm a shuathas mi ri m' chasan mu 'n teid mi 'phropadh na mòintich."

Dh' fhalbh e far an robh an t-ìm.

"C'àit' am bheil thu 'dol?" ars an t-ìm.

"Tha mi 'tighinn a dh' iarraidh ìm chasan gadhar; gadhar a ruagas fiadh; fiadh a shnamhas uisge; uisge a fhliuchas clach; clach a bheileas tuadh; tuadh a ghearras slat; slat a ghabhas air Biorachan Beag, mu 'n ith o ach beagan dhe na cnòintean."

"Cha 'n fhaigh thu mise," ars' an t-ìm, "gus am faigh thu luch a sgrobas mi."

Dh' fhalbh e far an robh an luch.

"C'àit' am bheil thu 'dol?" ars' an luch?

"Tha mi 'tighinn a dh' iarraidh luch a sgrobas ìm; ìm chasan gadhar; gadhar a ruagas fiadh; fiadh a shnàmhas uisge; uisge a fhliuchas clach; clach a bheileas tuadh; tuadh a ghearras slat; slat a ghabhas air Biorachan Beag, mu 'n ith e ach beagan dhe na cnòintean."

"Cha 'n fhaigh thu mise," ars' an luch, "gus am faigh thu cat a ruagas mi."

Dh' fhalbh e far an robh n cat.

"C'àit' am bheil thu 'dol?" ars' an cat.

"Tha mi 'tighinn a dh' iarraidh cat a ruagas luch; luch a sgrobas ìm; ìm chasan gadhar; gadhar a ruagas fiadh; fiadh a shnàmhas uisge; uisge a fhliuchas clach; clach a bheileas tuadh; tuadh a ghearras slat; slat a ghabhas air Biorachan Beag, mu 'n ith e ach beagan dhe na cnòintean."

"Cha 'n fhaigh thu mise," ars' an cat, "gus am faigh thu bainne o 'n bhoin mhaoil ud thall."

Digitized by Google

Dh' fhalbh e far an robh a' bhò mhaol.

"C'àit' am bheil thu 'dol?" ars' a' bhò mhaol.

"Tha mi 'tighinn a dh' iarraidh deur a gheibh an cat; cat a ruagas luch; luch a sgrobas ìm; ìm chasan gadhar; gadhar a ruagas fiadh; fiadh a snàmhas uisge; uisge a fhliuchas clach; clach a bheileas tuadh; tuadh a ghearras slat; slat a ghabhas air Biorachan Beag, mu 'n ith e ach beagan dhe na cnòintean."

"Cha 'n fhaigh thu bainne uamsa," ars' a' bhò mhaol, "gus am faigh thu sop dhomh o 'n tioradair."

Dh' fhalbh e far an robh tioradair.

"C'àit' am bheil thu 'dol?" ars' an tioradair.

"Tha mi 'tighinn a dh' iarraidh sop a gheibh a' bhò; bò a bhligheas deur; deur a gheibh an cat; cat a ruagas luch; luch a sgrobas ìm; ìm chasan gadhar; gadhar a ruagas fiadh; fiadh a shnàmas uisge; uisge a fhliuchas clach; clach a bheileas tuadh; tuadh a ghearras slat; slat a ghabhas air Biorachan Beag, mu 'n ith e ach beagan dhe na cnòintean."

"Cha 'n fhaigh thu sop uamsa," ars' an tioradair, "gus am faigh thu bonnach o 'n mhnaoi-fhuinne ud thall."

Dh' fhalbh e far an robh a' bhean-fhuinne.

"C'àit am bheil thu 'dol?" ars' a' bhean-fhuinne.

"Tha mi 'tighinn a dh' iarraidh bonnach a gheibh an tioradair; tioradair a bheir dhomh sop; sop a gheibh a' bhò; bò a bhligeas deur; deur a gheibh an cat; cat a ruagas luch; luch a sgrobas ìm; ìm chasan gadhar; gadhar a ruagas fiadh; fiadh a shnàmhas uisge; uisge a fhliuchas clach; clach a bheileas tuadh; tuadh a ghearras slat; slat a ghabhas air Biorachan Beag, mu 'n ith e ach beagan dhe na cnòintean."

"Cha 'n fhaigh thu bonnach uamsa," ars' a' bhean-fhuinne, "gus an toir thu uisge dhachaidh as an tobar leis a' chriathar."

Dh' fhalbh e do 'n tobar leis a' chriathar. Ach mar a thaomadh e, dhòirteadh e.

Chaidh fitheach seachad, agus thuirt e: "Suath còineach ris, suath còineach ris." Shuath e còineach ris a' chriathar; ach mar a thaomadh e, dhoirteadh e.

Chaidh feannag seachad, agus thuirt i: "Suath poll bog ris, suath poll bog ris." Shuath e poll bog ris; ach mar a thaomadh e, dhoirteadh e.

Chaidh faoileag seachad, agus thuirt i: "Suath criadh ruadh roit ris, suath criadh ruadh roit ris." Shuath e criadh roit ris a' chriathar, agus rinn e dìonach e. Thug e an t-uisge dhachaidh thun na bean-fhuinne; thug e am bonnach do 'n tìoradair; thug an tìoradair dha sop; thug a' bhò dha bainne; thug e am bainne

Digitized by Google

do 'n chat; ruag an cat an luch; sgrob an luch an t-ìm; thug e an t-ìm do 'n ghadhar; ruag an gadhar am fiadh; shnàmh am fiadh an t-uisge; fhliuch an t-uisge a' chlach; bheil a' chlach an tuadh; ghearr an tuadh an t-slat; agus an uair a ràinig e far an robh Biorachan Beag, bha e air spraidheadh air na cnòintean.

Saoilidh daoine, an uair a chluinneas iad an sgeulachd so nach 'eil brìgh sam bith innte. Ach a réir mo bharail-sa, tha i cho làn de theagasg feumail 's gu 'n tugadh e earrann mhath dhe 'n latha dhiom mu 'm b' urrainn mi a mìneachadh gu léir. O 'n a tha am paipear so fada gu leòr mar tha, cha chuir mi sìos an so ach beagan dhe 'n teagasg a tha mi 'faicinn innte.

An toiseach, chi sinn nach teid a ghnothach gu ceart le fear sam bith mur bi an t-inneal a tha feumail dha aige faisge air a laimh.

A rithist, chi sinn gu 'm feum gach duine smaoineachadh roimh laimh gu 'm faod iomadh duiligheadas tighinn 'na rathad ris nach bi sùil aige.

Chi sinn anns an treas àite, nach 'eil rud sam bith a bhios feumail dhuinn ri 'fhaotainn gun phaigheadh gu daor air a shon, aon chuid le ar saothair, no le luach air choireiginn eile.

Agus chi sinn mar an ceudna, nach dean cuid dhe na comhairlean a gheibh sinn feum sam bith dhuinn.

Cha bhiodh e as an rathad dhomh mu 'n crìochnaich mi am paipear so, facal a radh mu dheidhinn an fhithich, na feannaig, agus na faoileig. Bha mi-mheas aig na Gaidheil riamh air an fhitheach 's air an fheannaig; ach bha meas mòr aca air an fhaoileig. Ge b' e rinn an sgeulachd, chuir e na comhairlean gun fheum ann am beul an fhithich agus na feannaig; agus chuir e a' chomhairle a bha glic—"Suath criadh ruadh roit ris"—ann am beul na faoileig. Agus bha no nàdarra gu leòr. Mar is glaine nàdar an duine is ann is dualaiche gu 'n tig a' chomhairle a bheir e dhuinn a chum ar feuma.

15th MARCH, 1900.

At this meeting the following were elected members of the Society, viz.:—Mr Malcolm Mackenzie, M.A., 30 Woodburn Terrace, Edinburgh; Mr James Macdonald, 134 Gilmour Place, Edinburgh; and Mr D. P. Fraser, Moray Place, Inverness. Thereafter Mr W. J. Watson, B.A. (Oxon.), rector, Royal Academy, Inverness, read a paper entitled "Place-Names of

Digitized by Google

Ross-shire." As Mr Watson is writing a book on this subject for early publication, the paper will not be recorded in the Society's Transactions.

22nd MARCH, 1900.

At the meeting this evening Mr Charles Fergusson, Nairn, read a further instalment of his "Sketches of Strathardle," which is as follows:—

SKETCHES OF THE EARLY HISTORY, LEGENDS, AND TRADITIONS OF STRATHARDLE AND ITS GLENS.

No. VIII.

1700.—During the troublous times between the Battle of Killiecrankie and the Rising of 1715, Strathardle, Glenshee, Glenisla, etc., were terribly infested with bands of caterans and broken men, from Rannoch, Badenoch, and Lochaber. To keep clear of the strong Castle of Blair, where the Atholl family always kept strict watch for such depredators, they kept clear of the main valley of Atholl, and slipped along the Grampian ridge, and through the passes of Glenloch, Bealach-na-leum, and Glenlochsie, into the eastern glens, where, hurriedly collecting all the spoil they could, and making off as quickly and as quietly as they could, they were generally beyond pursuit before the alarm was given.

Though the last regular clan battle had been fought in 1689, at the Maol Ruadh, in Brae-Lochaber, between the Macdonells of Keppoch and Mackintoshes, and though the old order of things in the Highlands was rapidly giving way to a more civilized state of affairs, yet cattle-lifting was still reckoned an honourable occupation, in which any gentleman might engage, so long as it was carried on against hostile clans, or districts with which the raiders were at feud, or against the common enemy, the hated and despised Lowlanders. Yet it was counted a very dishonourable thing for a neighbour or clansman, and such an act was very rare indeed.

But as there have been rogues and rascals at all times, and amongst all races, from the family of Adam to the present day, so it sometimes happened that even amongst the Highlanders some men were found of deceitful and dishonest character, who, watching a favourable opportunity, and under cover of darkness, quietly helped themselves to their neighbours' cattle. So expert

Digitized by Google

did some of these black sheep become at this trade that they escaped for a long time, some even for a lifetime, but, as a rule, their evil doings generally came to light sooner or later, and, when they did, swift and sure was the punishment.

Though, as a true son of Strathardle, I am naturally inclined to say "as little ill and as muckle guid" as I can about my native glen, yet in truth I must confess that we had at least one of these undesirable characters in Strathardle, who lived by plundering his neighbours. This was the noted "Donal Mor" M'Coull, or Big Donald, the last of a race of M'Coulls who for several generations held the estate of Easter Kindrogan, and where to this day many traditions linger about Donal Mor and his doings. Donal Mor's Burn and Donal Mor's Knowe, a little east of Kindrogan House, retain his name, where he hanged himself, and where his ghost is still supposed to haunt the burn, and scare the belated traveller passing the road. I well remember what a terror it was to me, as a boy, to pass there, and when I mustered enough courage to pass there alone after dark, I did think I was a hero, and fit for any desperate deed; and as familiarity breeds contempt, I soon got so hardened that I many a time played the ghost myself at the burn, and thereby gave a severe shock to the nervous system of some of my young neighbours.

These M'Coulls, as their Gaelic name tells, were M'Dougalls, who originally came from Lorn. The first of them, in some desperate fray in the south, happened to save the life of Robertson of Wester Straloch, a cousin of the Baron's, who, in gratitude, took him to Straloch and gave him a farm there. His son, Robert M'Coull, crossed the river, and lived in Wester Kindrogan, which then belonged to the Baron, and the ruins of whose house is still to be seen below the west shoulder of Kindrogan Rock, half way between the rock and the road. We have already seen that Robert M'Coull was outlawed in 1620, for art and part in starving to death with cold and hunger a neighbour—"ane puir simple man"—in the dungeon of Blair Castle. Soon after this, being, like Sir Ralph the Rover, "now grown rich on plundered store," the M'Coulls bought the estate of Easter Kindrogan, which they held till Donal Mor's death.

Donal Mor got to be in league with the caterans, and greatly assisted them in their raids on Strathardle by giving them private information as to when and where to make a foray, and their depredations helped to hide his own private cattle-stealing, as every beast stolen was blamed on the caterans. In the Roll of 1638 we find—"Alexander M'Coull of Eister Kindroigney,

Digitized by Google

and he himself hes of vapins ane gun, ane bow and sheaff (of arrows), ane swird, and ane tairge." All the M'Coulls lived on bad terms with their neighbours, but Donal Mor was the last and worst.

Old Lachlan Rattray, a grandson of Rattray of Dalrulzion, tells us in his MS. of one of Donal's pranks in bringing Badenoch men to raid his near neighbour, Rattray of Tullochcurran's, cattle. He says:—"The next year Alexander Rattray of Tullochcurran had at that time the lands of Inverchroskie, and also on that hill Minnoch and Bardsallacage, which had not been laboured since the flood. And he and I being cousins, and schoolfellows, he would give me a good pennyworth of that place called Bardsallachage in that glen. So that I took a tack of it, and built houses on it, and bigged dykes round it, near to the Mill of Leuth, which is to be seen to this day. I also took Minnoch on the other side of the Moss, and built a good house in Minnoch with a chimney in it, and a good new kiln in it, and to tell the truth I was very well there for several years, and cousin Sanders (Alexander) and I agreed very well. He was very kind to me, and I did him several times very good service, particularly when old M'Coull of Kindrogan, that lived hard by him, set some Badenoch men on his cattle, and stole away from him 18 head of cattle, which cost me a travel to Badenoch. I staid there for a month among the gentlemen of my acquaintance, and found out the theives and who was their masters, and I sent home to my cousin Sanders, and he came and brought our friend M'Intosh of Dalmunzie with him, and we convened all the Badenoch gentlemen, and it was decreed among us all, Cluny M'Pherson being president: that Tullochcurren my cousin would have home with us, for our 18 head of cattle, we got 21 head of cattle for charge, etc." So the Rattrays got off much better than usually was the case in those days; but I suspect M'Intosh of Dalmunzie had a good deal to do with it, as he was nearly related to Cluny.

One of Donal Mor's favourite pursuits was to slip out quietly at nights and steal the fattest and best of his neighbours' sheep; and as his character was now well known, suspicion began to fall upon him, with the result that the Baron, Wester Straloch, Dirnanean, and other neighbouring lairds got into the awkward habit of dropping in at unexpected times to inspect Donal's kail-pot, or even his supper-pot, to see on what fare he fed his eight strapping, big daughters. Now this was very inconvenient for Donal Mor, but he was a man of great resource, so with the able and willing assistance of his eight big daughters, he started and

Digitized by Google

dug out an underground chamber, under the floor of his house, to which he descended by a cunningly concealed trap-door in a dark corner. In this chamber he made a fireplace, with an ingeniously contrived chimney, through which the smoke ascended in the wall and entered the kitchen chimney further up, so that both smokes came out together at the top of the chimney. In this underground retreat he could now safely cook his stolen mutton at any time, as well as salt and store his meat unknown to the upper world. Here his daughters could also prepare and spin the wool, and so expert were they at this art that if Donal brought in half a dozen sheep at midnight they had them clipt and the wool spun into thread before morning, and the mutton salted and stored by.

Handy girls they were, these great, strapping daughters of Clan Dougall, and hardy and strong, for when their father started his excavating operations, they made great bags of ox hide, and carried the earth on their broad backs down the steep bank and emptied it into the river Ardle, where it told no tales.

The old house of Easter Kindrogan stood in front of the present house, on the brink of the high bank overlooking the Ardle, a little north of where Kindrogan burn enters the river. I have known old men who remembered the ruins of the old house there, before the green was levelled; and the old garden was there also, on both sides of the burn. I remember of many of the old apple trees growing there, and the row of very tall beech trees on the river bank there is a remnant of the old garden hedge.

When I was a boy, the late Mr Small Keir of Kindrogan, for the sake of getting a view of the river from the windows of Kindrogan House, removed the highest part of the bank, sloping it towards the burn; and during these operations the workmen came upon the remains of Donal Mor's underground retreat on the site of the old house. The underground chimney was found partly entire, and it must have been used for a long time, as there was a thick coating of soot on the stones. There was great excitement amongst the workmen, as they all well knew the story of the old house. I was very young at the time, but I got an old spade and dug with hearty good-will, as I was in full hopes of finding Donal Mor's claymore and other arms; but no, the destruction of the old house when Donal's family were cleared out had been too complete.

The M'Coulls flourished for a long time—thanks to their snug underground retreat—and their neighbours' sheep and stirks disappeared as mysteriously as ever, and nobody wondered

Digitized by Google

so much as Donal Mor at the cunning way the caterans carried them off without leaving a trace. But at last the day of reckoning came. It was on a cold winter afternoon, a bitter day of wind, rain, and sleet, that the Baron, Patrick Small of Dirnanean, and George Small of Dalreoch crossed the hill from Moulin and were passing Kindrogan on their way home. They were wet through, tired, and hungry, but as Donal Mor was not given to hospitality they did not intend calling on him, till, on passing the house, they noticed a great cloud of smoke issuing out of the kitchen chimney. "Surely," says Dalreoch, "Donal Mor is cooking an extra good dinner to-day." "Very likely," says Dirnanean, "as I lost three fine, fat wethers this week." "Let us invite ourselves to dinner," says the Baron, "and if he has anything extra good, we were never in more need of it."

So they made for the house, found the door open, but nobody about, so they marched into the kitchen, expecting, if they did not get dinner, at least to get a good warm at a big fire. But, to their utter astonishment, there was no fire in the kitchen; it had burnt out, and nothing there but some peat ashes. In a moment they were outside again gazing up at the chimney-head; but there was no mistake, for there was the chimney pouring forth volumes of smoke, like a modern steam-engine. Again they went inside, but found no trace of a fire. After a little, says the Baron: "Co ac 's obair Dhomhnuill Dhuibhe, na Dhomhnuill Mhor tha 'n seo?"—"Whether is this the work of 'Donal Dhu' (the devil) or of Donal Mor." "Cha chreid mi nach 'eil e eatorra"—"I think they go half and half"—says Dirnanean.

After thinking it over, Dalreoch proposed that the other two should stay inside, and that he should go outside, scramble up to the roof of the house, and drop a good big stone down the smoking chimney. This was done. The stone came rumbling down the chimney, they heard it pass close by them but unseen, then a great crash down below, followed by the frightened screams of Donald's daughters, who had been busy cooking below when the great stone crashed into the pot and smashed it to pieces. They had grown careless, and not expecting visitors on such a day, some of them had gone below, and the rest, going out after the cattle, had let the fire go out, which caused the discovery.

Dirnanean at once crossed the river and gathered some of his men. They made a thorough search, and the worthy laird not only found the skins of his three lost wethers, but many more. So did the other two lairds find many skins of cattle and sheep, to be proof against Donal. That worthy was from home on

Digitized by Google

some of his roving excursions, so they set a watch to wait his return; but one of his daughters, being out late, noticed armed men about the house, and, taking the alarm, she awaited her father, and warned him of his danger before he came to the house. He at once made for a cave he had ready in the great cairn at the foot of Kindrogan Rock, where he was safe for a time. But luck was against him. He had no food in his cave, and as a very heavy fall of snow came on that night, he could not come outside without his footmarks being seen and followed, as the whole country was now raised, men watching on every hill and pass, and his family kept close prisoners. He had to come out at last for food, was seen and followed, but escaped in the wood for a time. But there was no escape; the circle of his foes gradually closed closer and closer round him, till in despair he hanged himself with a rope he had used so long for tying his stolen sheep. This he did on the top of "Cnoc Dhomhnuill Mhor"—Donal Mor's Knowe. His grave is still seen there, on the east shoulder, just over the top, out of sight of the road and about fifty yards west of the burn. So ended the career of Donal Mor—in the flesh; as for his ghost, well, if it is not about the burn to this day, it was well known when I was in the district.

Donal's family were banished from the country, his house was burned, and all his goods confiscated. The estate was then bought by William Small, brother to Patrick Small of Dirnanean, in whose hands we find it in 1700. He afterwards married Margaret Keir, the heiress of Kinmouth, in Strathearn, when he added Keir to his name, and was the first of the Small-Keirs of Kindrogan. Margaret was the only daughter of John, son of William, son of Patrick Keir of Kinmouth. William succeeded in 1699, as we find in Perthshire Retours:—"1638—Jan. 4th, 1699. William Keir de Kinmouth hæres Patrick de Kinmouth, patris, in occident dimidio terrarum de Kinmouth cum salmonum piscatione super aquam Erne." William was only a very short time laird of Kinmouth, as he succeeded in 1699 and we find John laird in 1704.

William Small at once began building a new and much larger house at Kindrogan, about a hundred yards west from the site of the old house, and built what is now the back part of the present house. Afterwards the front part was built alongside of it, and the two side wings were built by later lairds. About the same time, William Small bought the estate of Wester Kindrogan from Baron Reid of Straloch, and along with it the summer sheiling of Ruid-nan-Laoigh, at the head of Glenfernate, which had for ages belonged to that estate, and which we have

Digitized by Google

seen so bravely defended in 1560, against the Earl of Atholl, by that warlike old "Lady of the Stair," Marjory, wife of Baron John V. of Straloch.

Though clan battles, cattle-lifting, and many of the old habits and ways of the Highlanders were gradually dying out, still there lingered in those dark, though not very distant, days many old beliefs and superstitions, especially about witches and witchcraft. Such was the case in Strathardle, as well as in all the wide district of Atholl, which we have already seen was ever famous for witches; and though now they were not so numerous that 2300 of them could gather at once on a hill, as they did in 1570 to wish bonnie Queen Mary good luck, yet many of these weird dames still carried on what they believed, or at least tried to make others believe, their uncanny "dealings wi' the Deil," in spite of all persecution, and though hundreds of them were tortured, drowned, or burnt to death. It is most extraordinary how this imaginary crime of witchcraft obtained such a wide and general belief, not only amongst the poor and ignorant, but amongst classes whose education, intelligence, and opportunities of judging the evidence aright for themselves ought, at least, to have made more careful inquiry before condemning hundreds wholesale, and often without any regular trial, to fearful tortures and lingering deaths. The then kings ordered and encouraged those trials; the Scots Parliament and the Privy Council passed Acts and laws without number for burning witches; whilst lords, lairds, sheriffs, and bailies of regality all did their share, and last but not least, the Presbyterian clergy were the most bigoted and merciless of the whole. At one sitting the Privy Council granted fourteen separate commissions to take trial of witches in different parts of the country.

About this time the Privy Council granted its last commission to Strathardle for a trial of witchcraft, which shows us very clearly how such trials were got up and carried out by the authorities as a means of private spite and revenge. This was the case in which our old friend, Lachlan Rattray, was accused by the Spaldings of Ashintully of betwitching David Spalding, son and heir of Ashintully, and for which Lachlan was condemned to death, and only escaped by the great efforts and influence of his friend, Lord Forglen, then one of the Lords of Session, backed up by his cousins, the lairds of Dalrulzion and Dalmunzie, who managed first to get the sentence of death delayed several times, and, after two years' imprisonment, got him slipped quietly out of prison and away abroad to the war in Flanders, where he served under Captain Alexander Ogilvie,

Digitized by Google

Lord Forglen's son, in Colonel Preston's Regiment, in which he served with great credit for about ten years.

Lachlan was of the Rattrays of Dalrulzion, being the son of Alexander, son of David, son of Alexander Rattray, laird of Dalrulzion in 1620. His mother had previously been married to Alexander Robertson of Dunie, and on his death she got the house and lands of Dalnagairn, near Kirkmichael, as her jointure, and where she afterwards married, lived twenty-seven years, and where Lachlan was born and brought up. Growing up together from infancy, it was only natural that Lachlan and Ashintully's two sons—David, the heir, and Andrew, afterwards 1st of Glenkilry—should become great friends, especially as they were all stalwart, athletic young fellows, equally at home in the ball-room or on the battlefield. Lachlan himself tells us in his MS.: —"I was not long home from school, when young David Spalding of Ashintully and I fell so intimate one with the other that there was no separation of us till the devil came in the ploy, which ye shall hear after. And who was like us both then for strength and manhood. And now I began again with my old acquaintance Spalding. We kept the old correspondence all this time. He still continued in his folly, but by this time my marriage, and the loss of my crop, and having a wife and four children to keep, made me some soberer." Lachlan tried farming in several places, especially at Tullochcurran and Minnoch, but a series of extra bad, late harvests kept him back, and ruined many of the Strathardle farmers. He says:—"And our corn being covered so long with frost and snow before it was filled, was entirely lost. I got no corn but what I pulled out of the snow with my hands, nor none in that glen, and in all the country a very bad, ill-filled crop, and famine, lasted six or seven years, that put many to the door that was in former times well to live." Lachlan afterwards settled at the farm of Alrick, in Glenisla. Here young Spalding came to him and told him that "he was betwitched by witches," and he wished Lachlan to go to these witches and intercede with them to release him from the witchcraft, but he would have nothing to do with them. Upon this, young Spalding falsely accused Lachlan to his father and his uncle, Spalding of Whitehouse, that it was Lachlan himself that had bewitched him. They believed him, and at once went to Edinburgh to get a commission from the Privy Council to apprehend Lachlan to be tried for this crime. A strong force of Spaldings went to Glenisla and apprehended Lachlan, took him to Ashintully, and kept him in the dungeon there for two days. Instead of sending him to his own county town of Perth to be

Digitized by Google

tried, where he might have friends, they took him north to Inverness all the way, where, of course, young Spalding's uncle, Mackintosh of Mackintosh, then reigned supreme, and where they were sure of a conviction. Lachlan tells us:—"After being two days under a strong guard in Ashintully Castle, the morrow before day they called for a power of men, bound my two hands behind my back, and they had a long piece of rope that tied me behind, and two men did hold a grip of me behind, till we reached Inverness. There they carried me into a change house (inn) where was one Mr John Mackintosh, an agent new come from Edinburgh, and he was appointed to examine me, and give me a terror. And I had now come amongst all young Ashintully's friends on the mother's side, she being a daughter to Mackintosh." Lachlan was advised to plead guilty to witchcraft, but refused, and so he was put in prison in the top of the town's steeple, there to live on two pence a day. Plenty fresh air on the top of the steeple to give him a good appetite, but two pence was but a small sum to satisfy that appetite. How different Inverness must have now seemed to Lachlan, looking down from his cage on the top of the steeple, to what it did only such a short time ago, when himself and his now mortal foe, young Spalding, as officers commanding, led their gallant company of 80 Spaldings, followed by the same number of Robertsons, under Wester Straloch, along the High Street of Inverness, and past the foot of that very steeple, when they accompanied Lords James and Mungo Murray, sons of the Duke of Atholl, to try and release the Lady Amelia Murray from the clutches of Lord Lovat. Then, no doubt, these young officers cast a great dash on the streets of Inverness, and cocked their bonnets as high as any chieftain in the North. Now it was changed times for Lachlan. However, his friends were able to relieve him a little, as he tells us:—"When my good friend Lord Forglen heard of my treatment, he wrote Provost Duff of Inverness, who, whenever he had read the letter that told him who I was, and how I was treat, I was taken good care of, and my room in prison cleaned, and a good bedding and clothes sent to me, and after that the best in town was very kind to me all my time, and I was a year in prison before I was tried. And when the time of my trial was come, the head of our family—George Rattray of Dalrillion—and Lachlan M'Pherson in Dalmongie, who was married to my cousin Dalmongie's sister, both came from Edinburgh with advices what to do at the trial. And he that sat high judge on me was the Laird of Grant, who was hired by the Spalding party to take my life, and would not allow an Inverness

Digitized by Google

Proctor to plead for me, so that Dalrillion was obliged to go to Elgin to hire Procters there."

The Spaldings, several of their servants, and, of course, the minister of the parish of Kirkmichael, Mr John Pearson, who was married to young David Spalding's sister, all appeared as witnesses against Lachlan. His proctors tried to speak for him, but Judge Grant would not allow them, so he was condemned to death unheard. Though the Laird of Grant had power to condemn to death, yet he had not power to appoint a day for execution; so Lord Forglen, who was then one of the Lords of Session, got the other Lords to take up the case, with the result that Lachlan was three times reprieved in the first year, and after being kept in prison for two years was set at liberty. He then went abroad with Lord Forglen's son, Captain Alexander Ogilvie, and joined Colonel Preston's Regiment in Flanders. As he says:—"For if I should stay at home, I was so proud and foolish that it would be very ready of them, out of revenge, or they kill me."

This was in 1706, and Lachlan saw much hard fighting in Flanders till the peace of 1713, when he returned to Scotland. On his way home, at Newcastle, he met the Jacobite Earl of Derwentwater, who not only made great friendship with Lachlan, but claimed that he and all the other Scottish Rattrays were descended from his family, the Ratcliffes of Derwentwater. This statement Lachlan seems to have firmly believed, and in proof of which he tells us that the Earl showed him many old letters and papers showing the old connection of the families. If the founders of the three ancient Rattray families of Craighall, Dalrulzion, and Kinnaird, or Ranagullion, really settled there in the reign of Malcolm I., in 945, it shows that they are a very ancient race indeed, and it is quite possible, as we have already seen that the Rattrays of Craighall were well established there only a century later, in 1057.

I may give Lachlan's own quaint version of this meeting, as recorded in his old MS.:—"And I was not long at Newcastle when the Earl of Derwentwater, and his brother Charles, and several others with them, lighted at my quarters. I was in pretty good habit, clad in scarlet, with a red cloak about me. He asked the landlord who I was, and he told him I had come from abroad, and that my name was Mr Rattray. Then he desired the landlord to bring me to him, that perhaps he be of that name, he would know better what I came off than I did myself. And the landlord told me that the Earl wanted to see me. 'Sir,' I said, 'I do not know the nobleman, but I have

Digitized by Google

heard of him; and you know I am not well with the ague, and bareheaded I cannot be, and stand too long I am not able.' So he told the Earl what _ said to have me excused. And when he heard this he said, 'Go and tell him from me that he shall not stand, nor yet be bareheaded.' And I went to the Earl's room, and upon my word I wist not how to behave amongst all the rest, but he took me by the hand and pulled me down beside him, and clapped my hat on my head, and that he would let me know that all the men of Rattray in the North of Scotland came off his family. That night he caused his douar hire a horse for me, and I went home with him to Derwentwater. And there I was informed by the Earl and his brother Charles how all we of the name of Rattray came of his family, in King Malcolm the First's time, by a slaughter that three brethren had committed in Newcastle. And they all three fled to the North of Scotland by sea, and where they landed in the north is by their landing called Rattray's Bridge to this day. The elder brother took place in Craighall, the second in Dalrulzion, and part of his holden of Pope Paul, in King Malcolm's reign. The third of them took place in Kinweed (Kinnaird), who is now this day Rannagullion. I could not remember till I called to memory that Ranagullion was the man that first sold Kinweed, and cofft (bought) Rannagullion from Crawford Lindsay, called Earl Beardie. Now all this I have seen, of what I said by old letters by the Earl. And more to prove what I have said he let me see a bond granted by the present Dalrulzion's grandfather, who was my granduncle's son, when he was pursued by Atholl before the lords of seat, and imprisoned at Edinburgh to forfeit his estate. But the hand of Providence was in it. Old Derwentwater being in town when he was panelled there, and when Derwentwater heard the thing immediate he called Atholl and got Dalrulzion relieved, but took his bond that he would never be gultie of such a fact as being a Covenanter in usurping Cromwell's time. This I saw."

Now, I do not for a moment doubt the existence of this bond, or that Lachlan saw it when at Derwentwater, as also many old letters from the Rattrays of the North, to which, of course, the services rendered to Dalrulzion by Derwentwater might have given rise; but I am very dubious of the story of the "three brethren" fleeing from Derwentwater and founding three families of Rattrays in Strathardle so early as the reign of Malcolm I., who began to reign 944, and reigned till 953. Lachlan also tells us that part of the lands of Dalrulzion were then "holden of Pope Paul." Now that could not be, as Pope Paul I. did not begin to reign for two and a half centuries after

Digitized by Google

that, in 1188, and none of the Pope Paul's were ever contemporary with any of the Scots King Malcolm's. But at that time, and long before, it had become a craze with almost every clan and family to discard a local or known origin and to claim descent from some famous foreigner whose name, title, or armorial bearings resembled their own. And certainly the names here are very similar, as we find in early times the name Rattray spelt "Ratheriff," which is very near Rattcliff. In any case, no doubt the Jacobite Earl of Derwentwater, who only two years after was beheaded for his share in the rising of 1715, and was even then plotting for a rising in favour of the Stuarts, thought it good policy to get such a gallant and experienced soldier as Lachlan, who had seen so much hard fighting under such able generals in Flanders, attached to his own side in the coming struggle. So he kept Lachlan for three weeks at Derwentwater, and, when he was leaving, he urged him very much to return there after he had seen his father and friends, and that he would keep him at Derwentwater for life.

Lachlan went on to Edinburgh and there saw his old friend, Lord Forglen, and told him all his adventures, and also the great kindness he had received from the Earl of Derwentwater, and that he wished him to go back to live with him at Derwentwater. Now, as Lord Forglen was a very staunch Whig, he did not at all approve of that, and would not allow it, but promised to get employment for Lachlan himself in Edinburgh; and, like a shrewd lawyer, the first way he set about doing so was to get Lachlan married, for the third time, to a well-to-do widow, who had a well furnished house and kept lodgers. It had so happened that some time before that it had come to be Captain Ogilvie, Lord Forglen's son, and Lachlan's turn to come over from Flanders to recruit for their regiment in Edinburgh. At first they had their quarters in Lord Forglen's house, and so intimate was Lachlan with the family that his Lordship's youngest son, James, asked and got permission to sleep with Lachlan, and all went well till the following incident happened, which I may give in Lachlan's own words:—"And when I went to my Lord's house at night, my room that I layed in was next to my Lord's and Lady's room, and coming in late at night, and I took my pipe as usual going to bed. And the Lady's gentlewoman told me that the Lady made her burn the cork of a bottle to put away the smell of my tobacco, and that my Lord said to her in a joke, 'My dear, how could you suffer the smell of powder in the day of battle?' And the lady being so very kind to me in the days of old, I thought I would remove my quarters; so I took a

Digitized by Google

room in the Blackfriars Wynd, and my landlady's name was Mrs Hay, a widow. And after this, James, Lord Forglen's youngest son, who before bedded with me, came again and bedded with me there also in Mrs Hay's house. And she was very kind to us both. And about a month after this Mr James said to his father, my Lord, that he would have him cause me marrie Mrs Hay, my landlady, since there was great tokens of the war being over. And my Lord says he must know better what she was, and what debt she owes her people. And my Lord causes his foreman to haunt her house, and inquire about her, and then that he should upon it ask me gif I were willing, or not."

But before his Lordship had satisfied himself as to the widow's worthiness the storm-call of war again came to Lachlan, and he had to start away at once with his recruits and rejoin his regiment at the front in Flanders, no doubt leaving the widow lamenting, and praying for a speedy peace and Lachlan's safe return. After some more hard fighting, he, as we have seen, again returned to Edinburgh, free of the army. During his absence, Lord Forglen and his foreman had made full inquiries about Mrs Hay, and kept a strict watch on her and her two bairns. So now, instead of Lachlan going back to the Earl of Derwentwater, Lord Forglen made him marry Mrs Hay, of whom he was now able to give the following good report:—"I have caused search her out gif she was in anything of debt, and find there is no danger in it; but only two weak children that is not likely to live long." Whether his Lordship thought the latter item of information would further encourage Lachlan or not, I know not; but he married Mrs Hay, "and they lived happy ever after"—for thirty years, when she died in 1743.

Very soon after this, when the great rising of 1715 broke out, Lord Forglen, true to his promise, recommended Lachlan to the Provost and Council of Edinburgh to train their Volunteers raised for defending the city. So he was appointed adjutant of the 400 Volunteers raised amongst the burgesses to defend the city.

1715.—We have now come to one of the most interesting periods of Strathardle history—the stirring times of the great rising of the '15, when most of the Strathardle men went out, under the Earl of Mar, to fight for the "Auld Stuarts." Little did these brave men think when they joined Mar when he raised the standard of King James on the historic bannerfield of Kirkmichael, after being joined by 500 Atholl men, under the Marquis of Tullybardine, and as many Strathardle men, under David Spalding of Ashintully and his brother Andrew of Glen-

Digitized by Google

kilry, that in two short months, on the fatal 13th of November, that one half of them would be taken prisoners at the surrender of luckless Preston, and most of the survivors of the other half at the terribly mismanaged battle of Sheriffmuir, all owing to the total incapacity of Mar as a leader, and the petty jealousies and quarrels of their other leaders. Neither Montrose, Dundee, nor Prince Charlie ever had the same chance as Mar had of winning back the crown for the Royal Stuarts; but ne lingered idly on in Perth when he might have won a kingdom. Well might the gallant old Gordon of Glenbucket cry out in despair, when he saw the fatal blundering at Sheriffmuir, "Oh! for one hour of Dundee."

The story of the rising of the '15 is so well known that I need only give what refers to Strathardle and its men, especially with the earlier events there, and the raising of the standard on the bannerfield of Kirkmichael, about which there is a very great deal of confusion as to places and dates. Even in such standard works as Browne's "History of the Highlands," Kellie's do., Constable's "History of the Rising of 1715," etc., we are solemnly told that Kirkmichael "is a village in Braemar," whereas it is thirty miles south of Mar, with Glenshee and two lofty ranges of mountains between. This mistake is caused partly by these writers following the accounts given by those arch-traitors, Patten, who acted as chaplain to Mr Forster, and Ebenezer Whittle, who was valet to the Earl of Mar, and who both turned traitor to him and his cause—turned King's evidence, which, after Sheriffmuir and Preston, was used against the prisoners, and caused the loss of many a fair estate, and the death of many a brave man, or what was even worse, being sold as slaves to the American planters.

Another cause of the confusion is the popularity of the well-known song, "The Standard on the Braes o' Mar," which mixes up the great "Tinchel," or hunting match, which took place at the end of August in Braemar, and at which all the chiefs named in the song were present, with the raising of the standard at Braemar on 6th September, and at which only 60 of Mar's own vassals were present, all the other chiefs having hurried home to gather their men, with orders to meet Mar at Kirkmichael.

The valet, who was present, says in his evidence (Original Letters, p. 20):—"That Mr John Paterson was the person that proclaimed the Pretender King James VIII. And the Persons of Note that were present at upsetting the Standard and Pro-

Digitized by Google

clamation were the Earl of Mar, General Hamilton, Dalmore (Mackenzie of, in Braemar), and his son."

Browne, in his "History of the Highlands," says:—"With 60 followers only, Mar proclaimed the Chevalier at Castleton in Braemar, after which he proceeded to Kirkmichael, where on the 6th September (should be 16th) he raised his standard, which was consecrated by prayer, in presence, according to some accounts, of a force of 2000 men, mostly consisting of horse."—(Annals of 2nd Year of George I., p. 28).

Of course, poets are supposed to be allowed a certain amount of licence, but in dealing with historical facts they are apt to mislead, as we have already seen in the case of the other well-known song, "The Burning of the Bonnie House o' Airlie," where the poet makes Argyll brave enough to go personally to war against Lady Ogilvie, and gallant enough to invite her to "Come doun frae her castle, come doun and kiss me fairly," when we know from his own letter of instructions to his cousin, "Dowgall" Campbell of Inverawe, that he remained safely at home in Argyll. So we see here also that none of the clans mentioned in the song were at the raising of the standard on the Braes o' Mar, and to be historically true the song should be—

"The standard on Kirkmichael Haugh
Is up an' streaming rarely;
The Atholl and Strathardle men
Are coming late and early."

I may here give the words of this song:—

"The standard on the Braes o' Mar
Is up and streaming rarely,
The gathering pipe on Lochnagar
Is sounding loud and sairly:
The Hielandmen, frae hill and glen,
Wi' belted plaid, and glitt'ring blade,
Wi' bonnets blue, and hearts sae true,
Are coming late and early.

"I saw our chief come o'er the hill
Wi' Drummond and Glengarry,
And through the pass came brave Lochiel,
Panmure, and gallant Murray,
Macdonald's men, Clanronald's men,
Mackenzie's men, Macgillvray's men,
Strathallan's men, the Lowland men
O' Callander and Airly.

Digitized by Google

"Our Prince has made a solemn vow
To free his country fairly,
Then wha would be a traitor now
To ane we love so dearly?
We'll go, we'll go, an' seek the foe,
An' fling the plaid, an' swing the blade,
An' forward dash, an' hack, an' slash,
An' fleg the German carlie."

We will now follow Mar's movements in connection with Strathardle, and the brave lads who followed him from there. The Earl left London on 2nd August, in disguise, on board a small coasting vessel, and landed at Elie, in Fife, accompanied only by General Hamilton and two servants—a valet and a footman. In the hurry of landing, the latter fell off a plank laid between the ship and a rock, and was drowned. One almost regrets that it was not the valet who met this fate, as we have already seen that he deserted at Logierait, went to Edinburgh, and, before the Lord Provost and Magistrates, sold his evidence to condemn brave men. Mar visited several of the Jacobite lairds of Fife, then pushed on to Dupplin Castle, the seat of his father-in-law, Lord Kinnoul, as we are told in the spies' evidence, preserved in the Record Office, London:—"From Fife, Mar travelled on foot, overland to his father-in-law, my Lord Kinnoul, his house, being supplied of horses by him for his journey to Braemar. He crossed the Tay, and through Scone and Coupar Angus towards the country of Mar, and the first night thereafter came to Thomas Rattray of Craighall, near to Blair of Gowrie, his house; and having communicated to him his design of taking up arms and serving for the Pretender, and concerting with him measures for the accomplishment, thence he passed from Craighall towards Strathardle, where the informer had occasion to see him by the way, being accompanied by 18 horsemen; and some of his vassals in Mar, having word of his approach, some waited on him to Spalding of Ashentulle his house; and knowing Spalding to be firm for the interest he was set up for, Mar talked very freely and in publishment of his designs; and knowing Spalding could raise some two or three hundred men, he promised him a colonel's commission in the Pretender's service; and withal told him whether the Pretender landed or not, General Hamilton and he were to lead an army south for the dissolution of the Union, and to have the grievances of the nation redressed. For Mar was at pains all the way as he passed to spread a false report of the Parliament

Digitized by Google

being designed to lay unsupportable taxes upon the nation, on lands, corn, cattle, meal, malt, not only so, but even on cocks and hens; and that this was no mean reason for him to take up arms, since otherwise, in a very short time, the nation would sink under such burdons. This took so heavily with the common people, and animated them to take up arms. Mar passed two days with Spalding in Ashentullie Castle in great jollity, and as they were merry together, told him that at every house he had touched by the way he had borrowed something, and he must needs borrow something of him also; and being demanded what that might be, he told him that it was Spalding's fiddler, which that gentleman readily granted. From thence he went to Spittal of Glenshee, where he lodged at a public house, and from thence to Mar. Mar's design tnen was to set up the standard at once at Braemar, and then to march south to Perthshire, through Glenshee to Kirkmichael, and then down Strathardle and encamp on the Muir of Blairgowrie; and they were to have a general rendezvous there, and from thence they were to send out detachments to Perth, Dundee, and Montrose, to go proclaim the Pretender."

As Mar had issued his invitations to all the principal Jacobite chiefs of the Highlands, and to many of the Lowland noblemen, there was a great gathering of them at Braemar, to the great "Tinchel," or hunting, such as we have already seen took place so often at that time of year on the hills of Atholl and Mar; but on this occasion the hunting was merely an excuse for meeting to arrange their plans of campaign. When all was settled, they returned home to raise their men; but many of them had not reached their distant glens when Mar again summoned them to meet him at Aboyne on 3rd September. Those who resided near Aboyne attended, and got instructions to at once arm their men, and meet Mar at Kirkmichael without delay.

On the 6th September, Mar raised the standard at Castleton of Braemar, on a small knoll or mound a few yards east of the Invercauld Arms Inn, on the south side of the road, now planted with trees. As we have already seen, he had only 60 of his own men there, mostly Farquharsons. He had dismissed 300 of his own men, who had come badly armed, with orders to get properly armed and return to join him as soon as possible.

Some of our historians say that after the raising of the standard at Braemar they marched over the Cairnwell, and encamped the first night at Spittal of Glenshee, then next day marched on to Kirkmichael, and raised the standard there on

Digitized by Google

the 9th September. That was not the case, however, as I find Mar still writing from Braemar on the 13th September to the Marquis of Tullybardine and Spalding of Ashintully, to meet him with the Atholl and Strathardle men on the 16th or 17th September. The Marquis's letter is preserved in "The Jacobite Lairds of Gask," p. 30, and is as follows:—

"Invercall, 13 Sept. 1715.

"My Lord,—I intend now, with the assistance of God, to begin my march from hence on Thursday morning next very earlie, and intend to quarter that night at the Spittle of Glenchie, where some more of the King's forces are to joyn us on Friday Morning, when we intend to proceed on our march to Atholl, and to quarter on Friday night at Moulin. These are therefore empowering and requiring you forthwith to get the men of Atholl, Rannoch, etc., in readiness to joyn us at Moulin on friday's night to attend the King's Standard, as they will be answerable to their King and country, for whose service it may so much contribute. I am my Lord, your Lors. most obedient and humble servant, "MAR.

"I'le expect to hear from your Lor. on our march to Atholl, as soon as you can, and you would endeavour to make some provisions at Moulin against we arrive.

"Since writing what is on the other side, I leave it to your Lor. whether you think it best to come yourself and meet us in Stratharle on friday morning, or wait our coming to Athol that night, or Saturday, which since writing I am affraid it will be, before we get there by an accident which has happened, which is too long to write now. You can judge best of it on the place, but at this distance I incline to think you had best come to Stratharle to us, and if not your Lor. should certainly write to your vassals thereabouts to joyn us at the Spittle on friday morning, and they must have the letter on thursday night at furthest, and have sent an order and also wrote now to Ashintilly. "MAR."

At last Mar got away from Braemar, and crossed the Cairnwell and encamped the first night at Spittle of Glenshee. Next day—Saturday, the 16th—they marched to Kirkmichael, and there encamped on the south bank of the Ardle, on the haugh that lies between the bridge and the Free Church manse. Here they were joined by 300 horse, in two companies, one under the Earl of Linlithgow, and the other under Lord Drummond; also by 500 Atholl Highlanders, under the Marquis of Tullybardine.

Digitized by Google

David Spalding of Ashintully also joined with a strong body of his men, and Mar, according to his promise, at once made him colonel, and his brother, Andrew Spalding, 1st of Glenkilry, was lieutenant-colonel. The rest of the Strathardle men—Robertsons, Fergussons, Farquharsons, and Rattrays—also joined, under Captain Peter Farquharson of Rochallie, who was killed at Preston; Rattray of Corb; also Lord Nairne and his son, the Master of Nairne, who then held the lands of Glenderby, Balnakilley, etc., in Strathardle, and their other clan officers, and under the special recruiting of their warlike parish minister, the Rev. John Peirsone, who was married to a sister of Spalding of Ashintully, and whose father and grandfather, both named Francis Peirsone, had been ministers of Kirkmichael parish before him, and whom we shall find, in 1717, deposed by the Government for his active share in raising the Strathardle men to join Mar in 1715. The charge against him was "for dissafaction to the Government, etc., as he had influenced his people to rebellion, prepared them to take up arms against the reigning family, and mounted his horse with that view."

What a stirring sight it must have been on Kirkmichael Haugh that day when, in presence of all these gallant men, the Marquis of Tullybardine, the Duke of Atholl's eldest son—"Tullybardine, the loyal and true"—unfurled the standard of King James VIII., just as thirty years afterwards he unfurled King James's standard for his gallant son, Bonnie Prince Charlie, in lone Glenfinnan.

The Rev. R. Patten, in his "History of the Rebellion," published in 1717, says, p. 4:—"This daring attempt began first about the latter end of August, 1715, in the shire of Perth, and in the Highlands of the shire or County of Mar, where they continued some days, gathering their People together till their Number increased; and then barefacedly they advanced to other Places, forming themselves into a Body, and particularly at a small Market-Town named Kirkmichael, where the Pretender was first proclaimed, and his Standard set up, with a Summons for all People to attend it. This was on the 9th September, where they continued four or five days, and then made their way to Moulin, another small Market-Town in the same Shire."

Of course it was the raising of the standard there that gave the place its name of Bannerfield, or, as it is known in Gaelic, Auch-na-brattaich.

The standard was made by the Countess of Mar (Frances, daughter of the Duke of Kingston), and was of a gorgeous bright

Digitized by Google

blue colour, having on one side the arms of Scotland, richly embroidered in gold; and, on the other, the brave thistle of Scotland, with these words underneath, "No Union," and on the top the ancient motto, "Nemo me impune lacessit."

All were in high spirits, and the clansmen shouted themselves hoarse; but in the height of their rejoicing an accident happened, which threw a visible gloom over the spirits of the superstitious Highlanders. This was, that owing to a high gale of wind the gilt ball on the top of the flagstaff fell to the ground, and this they considered an evil omen for the cause they were engaging in, which shortly only proved too true. The old song describes this occurrence:—

"But when the standard was set up,
Sae fierce the wind did blaw, man,
The golden nit, upon the tap,
Down to the ground did fa', man.

"The Hielandmen looked unca glam,
They didna like 't at a', man;
And Second-sichtet Sandy said,
We'd do nae guid at a', man."

This ominous prophecy of the old seer damped the proceedings for a time; but there were bolder spirits there than Second-sichtet Sandy, and someone having made a gloomy remark to Spalding of Ashintully, that worthy, with the reckless impetuosity so characteristic of his race, exclaimed: "Coma leibh sinn, cha thanaig ach rud math riamh e gu ard"—"Tuts, never mind that; nothing but good ever came from above"—and throwing his bonnet in the air, he shouted, "Gum bu fada beo Righ Semus"—"Long live King James"—which set them all in good spirits again. This old saying of the Laird of Ashintully's became a sort of proverb in Strathardle, and I well remember, when I was a boy, of an old friend telling me an anecdote of how he first heard it. It was in the early part of last century, when costly wars and bad seasons had made everything very dear, and, to crown all, an extra severe winter came on. The frost was hard, the snow lay deep for months, and the very poor people were really starving. Amongst them was a very honest man, with a young family, and it vexed his soul to hear his bairns cry for food, and none in the house. Near him lived a well-to-do farmer, with large flocks and a good farm, but so very miserly that though he had a large potato pit in his stackyard he would not sell them even for ready money, as he expected to get a

Digitized by Google

long price for them in spring. My friend and some cronies, knowing the hard case of the starving bairns, thought it no sin to go one dark night with a bag each and fill them at the farmer's pit. Not wanting, for fear of inquiry, to let the poor man know from whom or where the potatoes came from, they arranged to climb on to the low thatched roof of the house and pour them down the great open hanging chimney, common to all such houses then. When they reached the top and looked down the wide, open chimney, they were much struck to see the poor man and his family on their knees at prayer, and heard the father earnestly petitioning Providence for daily bread for his starving bairns. Never was any petition so quickly answered, as each man put the mouth of his bag to the chimney, and poured them down in a great stream that scattered all over the floor. The astonished man rose to his feet, took a survey of the unexpected mercies from above, and then quietly said—"Gu dearbh, is fior thubhairt Tighearna Easantuillich, 'La togail na brattaich,' nach tanaig droch rud riamh e gu h-ard"—"Truly did the Laird of Ashintully say, on 'The Day of the Lifting of the Standard, that no bad thing came from above." My friend was not then familiar with this old saying, but by calling on the man soon after, and leading the conversation back to the old Spalding lairds of Ashintully, he soon got it all. In those days the Highlanders seldom used figures for their dates, but always reckoned from some great event in their history, so that people dated their births, marriages, etc., so many years before or after "The Day of the Lifting of the Standard," or "The Day of Culloden." The last of these noted events from which dates were reckoned, and which was very commonly used in my youth in Strathardle, was the famous year 1826, "Bliadhna a bharr ghoirid"—"The Year of the Short Corn"—when the straw was so short it could not be cut, so was pulled up by the root.

After the standard was set up, Mar staid several days at Kirkmichael, during which time the Strathardle men were divided into three companies, and each of these was joined to one of the Atholl regiments, commanded by the Duke's three sons. The Spaldings were in Lord George Murray's regiment, as we see by the following letter from the Marquis of Tullybardine to Andrew Spalding of Glenkilry, brother to Ashintully, asking him to come out for Prince Charlie in the '45. It is in "Jacobite Correspondence of House of Atholl," No. III.:—

"Sir,—I have informed the Prince of your stedfast adherence, and good service done the King in 1715, when you was so

Digitized by Google

good as to join your brother's men to mine in the regiment commanded by my brother Lord George. I persuade myself that the same good principles do still remain in you, and that you'll forthwith raise all the men living upon the Barronys of Asshuntly, and Balmacruchy, with those on your interest (Glenkilry), and join the army commanded by the Prince, wherever the royall standard is, as most convenient for you. I am well informed since you have left the country you have always considered your interests joined with my family at all occasions; and therefore I hope you will do the same at this juncture. You served as Lieut.-Colonel in 1715, and now deservedly you need not doubt of having the Colonel's command, and of all other services I can render you, being with perfect esteem and consideration."

The second company, under the Master of Nairne and Lieuts. John and James Rattray, joined Lord Charles Murray's regiment. The third company, under Peter Farquharson of Rochallie (who was killed at Preston) and Captains Alex. and James Robertson, joined Lord Nairne's regiment. His Lordship was also a son of the Duke of Atholl, and having married Lord Nairne's only daughter, he succeeded to the title and estates. The two latter regiments crossed the Forth with Brigadier Mackintosh, and were mostly all taken prisoners at Preston. Lord George and his Spaldings remained at Perth, and fought at Sheriffmuir.

On leaving Kirkmichael, Mar marched up the strath by Tullochcurran and Kindrogan, and through Glen Brierachan, where, at the very head of the glen, at the famous well, "Fuaran-a-Clash-Domhain," at the road-side near the top of the hill, the Strathardle men halted, had a farewell drink from the well, gave three cheers for King James, and had, alas! for most of them, a long last look at the Strathardle hills, as most of those who were not killed in battle, or executed after, died as slaves on the West Indian plantations.

As we have now seen Mar and his army out of Strathardle territory, I need only say that they marched over Badvo, and halted at Moulin, again at Logierait, then Dunkeld, and finally in Perth, where they halted only too long.

When Mar decided to send 2500 picked men across the Forth, under old Borlum, we have already seen that two of the Strathardle companies went with the Atholl regiments. Most of these got safely across the firth, but some of them were amongst the 200 who had to take refuge on the Isle of May from the English

Digitized by Google

ships. These returned to Perth, and joined the other Strathardle men under the Spaldings, and fought at Sheriffmuir.

Most of the credit for successfully crossing the firth, in face of such a large hostile fleet, is due to a Strathardle man, Peter Farquharson of Rochallie, who had been bred a sailor, and therefore knew all about the winds, tides, and boats, besides being, what even the traitor, Parson Patten, in his evidence calls, "a gallant Gentleman, of an invincible Spirit, and almost inimitable Bravery," as we will see when we come to his death at Preston.

After the Highlanders took possession of Leith Fort, the Duke of Argyll advanced against them with 1200 men, amongst whom were the 400 Volunteers of which our old friend, Lachlan Rattray, was adjutant. Old Lachlan was very bitter against the Jacobites, and in his MSS. tells us:—"The rebels were in Leith Citidal, and we might at that time have burnt them all with bombs, and driven them all in the sea, had not the Duke been very merciful to his countrymen." But Argyll knew better, as Brown in his history tells us he simply "sent a summons to the citadel requiring them to surrender, under pain of treason, and declaring that if they obliged him to employ cannon against them and killed any of his men in resisting him, he would give them no quarter. To this the Laird of Kynnachin, a gentleman of Atholl, returned this resolute answer: "That as to surrendering they did not understand the word, which would therefore only excite laughter, and that if he thought he was able to make an assault, he might try." This was followed by a discharge from the cannon on the ramparts, which made Argyll quickly retire. I am afraid if the Duke had made an assault that Lachlan's much vaunted Volunteers would have been but of little service, as Rae, in his history, tells us:—"Before Argyll reached Leith Fort, many of the brave gentlemen Volunteers, whose courage had cooled at the prospect of a fight with the Highlanders, slunk out of the ranks and went home. While deliberating on the expediency of making an attack, some of the Volunteers were very zealous for it, but on being informed that it belonged to them as Volunteers to lead the way, they heartily approved of the Duke's proposal to defer the attempt till a more seasonable opportunity." As Borlum left the fort that night, it saved any further risk to the Volunteers.

The Highlanders, having got possession of the Custom House at Leith, helped themselves very freely to the brandy found there, with the result that forty of them were left behind, and next morning taken prisoners, and their arms sold in Edinburgh

Digitized by Google

as curiosities. Of these, our old friend, Lachlan Rattray, bought a very fine Highland target, which he presented to his cousin, Rattray of Dalrulzion, in whose family it remained till, at the death of the last direct descendent, it passed, along with the estate, to Mr Small of Dirnanean, who very kindly showed it to me lately. Lachlan tells us:—"Many of them drunk themselves to death that night in the King's custom house at Leith, and the rest marched south to England to get themselves hanged and banished. There was on the morn a deal of their arms sold through the city of Edinburgh, such as guns, swords, pistols, durks, and targes, of which I got ane targe and complimented it to the family I come off."

So they marched for England, to the doleful fate Lachlan tells us of; and the brave Strathardle lads were amongst "All the Blue Bonnets who went over the Border," and who, when they came to the black and swollen river Esk—

"Swam over to fell English ground,
And danced themselves dry to the piobroch sound."

On the march south, the Atholl and Strathardle men had the great advantage of being led by the sons of their feudal chief and their own clan officers, who, clad in Highland dress, marched on foot at their head, and partook of all their hardships and dangers, and which, as even their great enemy, the Rev. Mr Patten, is forced to say, "powerfully gained the affection of their men." In his history, describing the regiments on the march, under Borlum, he says:—

"The Fourth, the Lord Nairn's, Brother to the Duke of Athol; but by marrying an Heiress, according to the Custom of Scotland, he changed his own name for her's. He came over the Firth with a good many of his Men. He is a Gentleman well beloved in his Country, and by all that had the advantage of being acquainted with him. He had formerly been at Sea, and gave signal instances of his Bravery. He was a mighty stickler against the Union. His son, who was Lieut.-Colonel to Lord Charles Murray, took a great deal of Pains to encourage the Highlanders, by his own Experience in their hard marches, and always went with them on Foot through the worst and deepest Ways, and in the Highland Dress.

"The Fifth Regiment was commanded by Lord Charles Murray, a younger son of the Duke of Athol's. He had been a Cornet of Horse beyond the Sea, and had gained a mighty good Character for his Bravery, even Temper, and graceful Deport-

Digitized by Google

ment. Upon all the marches, he could never be prevailed with to ride, but kept at the head of his Regiment on Foot, in his Highland Dress without Breeches. He would scarce accept of a Horse to cross the Rivers, which his men at that season of the year forded above Mid-Thigh deep in Water. This powerfully gained him the affection of his men; besides his courage and behaviour at a Barrier at Preston was singularly brave."

It was with great difficulty that the Highlanders were induced to march into England, but, once there, they behaved like brave men, and fought desperately when shut up in Preston. Patten, in describing the attack on the barrier, in which Rochallie fell, says:—"Some were killed, and some also wounded, particularly two very gallant gentlemen were wounded here, and both died of their wounds. The one was Captain Peter Farquharson of Rochaley, a gentleman of invincible Spirit, and almost inimitable Bravery. This gentleman being shot through the Bone of the Leg, endured a great deal of torture in the operation of the Surgeon. When he was first brought into the Inn called the White Bull, the House where all the wounded were carried to be dressed, he took a glass of Brandy, and said, 'Come, Lads, here is to our Master's Health; though I can do no more, I wish you good success.' His Leg was cut off by an unskilful Butcher, rather than a Surgeon, and he presently died." Before leaving this brave man, I may give a short account of his descent. Finlay Mor Farquharson of Invercauld, from which the clan takes its Gaelic name of Clan Finlay, was the most renowned of the race. He fell carrying the royal standard of Scotland at the battle of Pinkie, in 1547. His seventh son, Lachlan, became 1st of Bruachdearg, in Glenshee, before 1590, as we find then George Drummond of Newton of Blair becoming cautioner for him not to harm Andrew Spalding of Ashintully, or his brother James. Lachlan's third son, George, of Easter Downie, bought Rochallie in 1663. He married Grizel, daughter of Baron Reid of Straloch, and by her had a son Paul, whom we find in Rochallie, 1696-1729. His son Peter, or, as he is sometimes called, Patrick, was our hero, who fell at Preston. In the Annals of Invercauld we find, on 6th June, 1710—"Contract of marriage between Patrick, son and heir of Paul Farquharson of Rochallie, and Ann, daughter of Finlay Fergusson of Cults. Their son, Finlay, was the last of his race. He married 1st Catherine, daughter of Lord James Murray, and sister of the wife of John Farquharson of Invercauld; and 2nd to Katherine, daughter of Paul Farquharson of Persie, but without issue by either marriage." We are told in

Digitized by Google

the Annals of Invercauld that the family of Rochallie were always very staunch Jacobites, and that their share in the '45 was the cause of their finally settling the estate on Invercauld in 1760. We find that Catherine Murray, daughter of Lord James Murray, was sister-in-law to John Farquharson of Invercauld, who was then her nearest male relative. She afterwards married Captain Finlay Farquharson of Rochallie, which marriage gave rise to the arrangement by which James of Invercauld became Rochallie's heir, as recorded in a deed of disposition and assignation of Finlay Farquharson to James of Invercauld, 13th May, 1760:—"The said Finla ffarquharson, failing heirs of his own body, disposes of his lands and estates to James ffarquharson of Invercall," etc. When Finlay married the Laird of Persie's daughter, he put the same agreement in the marriage contract, on 6th November, 1776. Finlay died in 1777, and we find:—"By virtue of the aforesaid documents the estate of Captain Finla ffarquharson has now devolved upon James ffarquharson of Invercauld, the said Finla having died without lawful issue of his body." Such was the end of so many of our old Jacobite families after the disastrous times of the '15 and '45.

But we must now return to the besieged Jacobites in Preston. At the time of the attack in which Rochallie fell, Browne tells:—"Whilst this struggle was going on near the church, a contest equally warm was raging in another part of the town, between Dormer's division and the party under Lord Charles Murray. In approaching the barrier commanded by this young nobleman, Dormer's men were exposed to a well directed and murderous fire from the houses, yet, though newly-raised troops, they stood firm and reached the barricade, from which, however, they were vigorously repulsed. Lord Charles Murray conducted himself with great bravery in repulsing the attack. Dormer's troops returned to the assault, but were again and again beaten back with loss. They did all that brave men could do, but it was a hopeless case, and they had to surrender." Of the 1468 prisoners taken at Preston, 930 were Scots, of whom 143 were noblemen and gentlemen. Lord Charles Murray, the Master of Nairne, and Ensign Nairne, his brother, were all tried by a court-martial, and all having been proved to have been officers in the Government service, were condemned to be shot, but afterwards, through the influence of their friends, were reprieved. Lord Nairne was also condemned to death, but was afterwards reprieved. But a worse fate awaited the common men. Burton tells us:—"A large number, found guilty, were distributed among the Lancashire towns for execution; and the public mind

Digitized by Google

was brutalized by scenes too closely analogous, in their external character at least, to Jeffrey's campaign. It is pitiful to see, on the lists, the many Highland names followed with the word 'labourer,' indicating that they belonged to the humblest class. Even more to be pitied than the victims consigned to the industrious hangman were those who, in the mercy of the Crown, were sent to the plantations, where, except a few who might be the accidental favourites of fortune, they lived in abject slavery." And Browne tells us:—"The remainder of the prisoners taken at Preston, amounting to upwards of 700, submitted to the King's mercy, and having prayed for transportation, were sold as slaves to some West India merchants, a cruel proceeding, when it is considered that the greater part of these were Highlanders, who had joined the insurrection in obedience to the commands of their chieffs." So ends the sad, sad story of the advance into England in the '15.

Little better was the fate of the Atholl and Strathardle men who remained behind at Perth with Mar. The Duke of Atholl, of course, was on the Government side, and, when the rising began, he at once sent to Strathardle, to the Baron Reid of Straloch, and his relation, Alexander Robertson of Wester Straloch, to send him all the men they could to serve the Government. As they were always very staunch Whigs, they at once complied, and sent a strong body of men, who no sooner got to Atholl than the Duke at once sent them off, under command of John, brother to Wester Straloch, along with a lot of his own men, to garrison Perth. How they obeyed the orders of their feudal superior, we see from the "Annals of Perth," p. 354:—"The possession of the city of Perth was now considered of great importance—forming, as it did, the communication between the Highlands and Lowlands. The citizens were divided in politics; but the Magistrates, who headed one party, declared for King George, took up arms, and applied to the Duke of Atholl for support. His Grace contributed a contingent of three or four hundred Atholl Highlanders, and the Earl of Rothes was advancing from Fife with 400 militia for the same purpose. This led the Hon. Colonel John Hay, brother of the Earl of Kinnoul, to muster 60 horse from the gentlemen of Perthshire, Fife, and Stirling, who bent their march towards the town. The Tory burghers assumed courage as these enemies advanced; and the Highland garrison, aware that though the Duke of Atholl still remained faithful to the Government, his eldest son, the Marquis of Tullybardine (and three younger sons), had joined the ranks under Mar, followed their own inclinations, and put themselves under Colonel Hay's command to disarm the Whig citizens,

Digitized by Google

whom they had come to assist. Thus Perth, on the 18th September, fell into the hands of the Jacobite insurgents, by which they obtained command of all the low country betwixt that and the east coast."

After wasting many weeks uselessly at Perth, Mar at last met Argyll at Sheriffmuir, a battle of which even such an experienced historian as John Hill Burton says:—"Of the rapid contest, called the battle of Sheriffmuir, it is extremely difficult to convey a distinct impression. The nature of the ground explains one source of confusion, in the two armies being unable to see each other until they almost met hand to hand." The strange sight was seen, at the first charge, of the right wing of each army being victorious, while the left of each was utterly defeated. By mistake of orders, the cavalry on Mar's left just before the charge left that position and joined the cavalry on the right, and so weakened the left wing very much. Browne tells us that at a council, held before the battle began, the Marquis of Huntly and several others advised a return to Perth; but all agree that the defeat of the left wing was mainly owing to the conduct of Rob Roy, who was there in command not only of a strong party of Macgregors, but also of the Clan Macpherson, and when ordered to charge, utterly refused, and kept his men on a hill till all was over and the time for plunder came. Of course he would not fight against Argyll, who had sheltered him so long, and backed him up so well in his feud with their mutual foe, the Duke of Montrose. In the "Annals of Perth," we read:—"Rob Roy, in particular, who was in some respects Argyll's dependent, as well as some others, manifested a reluctance to fight. It would appear that Rob and those others alluded to rather operated as a drag upon the rest. A strong party of Macgregors and Macphersons were under the freebooter's immediate command, and he declined to charge when ordered to lead them on. In the confusion of an undecided field of battle, Rob improved the opportunity to his own private interest, for he plundered the baggage and the dead on both sides." The very humorous song on the Battle of Sheriffmuir, by the Rev. Murdoch M'Lennan, of Crathie, very ably describes the strange result of the fight, Rob Roy's conduct, and the unwillingness of some of the others to fight:—

"There's some say that we wan, and some say that they wan,
And some say that nane wan at a', man;
But a'e thing I'm sure, that at Sheriffmuir
A battle there was, that I saw, man.
And we ran, and they ran; and they ran, and we ran,
And we ran, and they ran awa', man.

Digitized by Google

"Rob Roy stood watch on a hill, for to catch
The booty, for aught that I saw, man;
For he never advanced from the place where he stanced,
Till no more to do there at a', man.
For we ran, and they ran, etc.

"For Huntly and Sinclair, they baith played the tinkler,
With conscience black like a craw, man;
Some Angus and Fife men, they ran for their life, man,
And ne'er a Lot's wife there at a', man.
For we ran, and they ran, etc."

Burns, in his own inimitable way, gives us very good reasons for the Angus men running away—

"Their left-hand general had nae skill,
The Angus lads had nae guid will
That day their neebours' blude to spill;
For fear, by foes, that they should lose
Their cogues o' brose—all crying woes;
And so it goes, you see, man."

The Marquis of Tullybardine and Lord George Murray, with their Atholl men, and amongst them Spalding of Ashintully, and Glenkilry, and other Strathardle men, were on the left, amongst all the confusion and "running awa'"—and they had to "run awa'" after a desperate struggle, as they were left unsupported to the attacks of Argyll's cavalry. We are told that they rallied and faced about and made a new stand ten times before reaching the river Allan. That, however, only added to the list of captured and slain. In the list of 80 gentlemen captured at Sheriffmuir by Argyll, and sent prisoners to Stirling, over a score of them are gentlemen of Atholl, and many more of them were allowed to escape by Highland gentlemen on the other side. Amongst those captured at Sheriffmuir and sent as prisoners to Stirling, and afterwards to Carlisle for trial, we find John Robertson, brother to Alexander Robertson of Wester Straloch, and Donald Robertson, Wester Straloch. It was the former who was in command of the men belonging to the Baron of Straloch and Wester Straloch, sent by the Duke of Atholl to Perth with his Atholl men to protect the city, but who, seeing more in sympathy with the Duke's four sons than with himself, joined the Jacobites and disarmed the burghers on the arrival of Mr John Hay's troop.

Digitized by Google

If Mar, with his victorious right wing, had pushed on to the assistance of his left, instead of standing idle on the battlefield for hours, Argyll would have been caught between the two wings, and his small force must have been entirely cut up or captured.

1716.—Owing to the Earl of Mar setting up his standard and proclaiming King James at Kirkmichael, at the beginning of the Rising of 1715, and so many of the Strathardle men joining him, and proving so active and enthusiastic in the cause of the Stuarts, the Hanoverian Government, after Sheriffmuir, sent a strong body of troops into the district, with very strict orders to make prisoners of all who had been out under Mar, and to plunder their houses and lands, and, above all, to disarm the whole country, secure every weapon, and take the whole to Perth. This force arrived at Kirkmichael, from which parties were sent out all over the district, but as their arrival was well known, all the able-bodied men took to the hills and woods, and, of course, they carried all their arms with them. So well did the Strathardle men keep out of the way that the redcoats only came across a few aged men and boys, who, of course, had no arms. After many vain attempts, the disgusted soldiers returned to Perth, and reported their failure to capture either prisoners or arms to the authorities, who at once ordered the Duke of Atholl, the feudal superior, who was on the Government side, to see to the matter at once; so we find His Grace writing to his son, Lord James, who was then in London, as follows:—"That General Cadogan had acquainted him that he was to march north to reduce the clans. On the 26th March, the General went from Perth to Huntingtower and joined the Duke, and they travelled that day to Dunkeld, and next day they went to Blair Atholl. Also being informed that his vassals' men in Strathardle and Spalding of Ashintully's men had not submitted and delivered up their arms, he had accordingly sent fresh orders that they should do so on Tuesday and Wednesday last, and had desired General Cadogan to dispatch a hundred men to receive them. That he understood the orders were to disarm all Highlanders without distinction, but he hoped there would be an exception made in favour of those who had continued loyal to King George."

Though the Duke, by the strict orders of the Government, had to make some show of disarming his vassals, yet he, like all the other great Highland chiefs, was not very active in carrying out that policy, as can be easily seen by the latter part of his letter. In the then disturbed state of the Highlands, with old clan feuds, and so many broken men and caterans in every dis-

Digitized by Google

trict, and the Government utterly unable to preserve life and property, it was absolutely necessary to have arms for self-defence, especially on the Highland border, and in such a rich pastoral country as Strathardle, which, as we have already so often seen, had always been the happy raiding-ground of the more inland clans of the North and West, and so continued to be for many years after, till the Rannoch men lifted there the last creach ever taken in the Highlands.

Spalding of Ashintully, mentioned in the Duke's letter, was not a vassal, but generally formed part of the Atholl following, always on the Stuart side; whilst the most powerful family in Strathardle, the Robertsons of Straloch—the "Barans Ruadh"—were always on the Hanoverian side, though in 1715 John Robertson, brother of Straloch, and a lot of his clan, went out under Mar, and was captured, and he and his servant, Donald Robertson, were amongst the prisoners marched from Stirling Castle to Carlisle in September.

Every attempt to disarm Strathardle proved a failure, only a few old, useless weapons being brought in, with which the authorities had to be contented. All the serviceable arms were carefully retained, and frequently required for active service against marauding caterans from Lochaber and Rannoch, who, for nearly half a century after this, were a constant scourge to the district, and continually carrying off cattle.

1717.—The Rev. John Peirsone, minister of Kirkmichael since 1688, and whose father and grandfather, both named Francis Peirsone, had been ministers of the parish before him, was deposed, 4th June, "for dissaffection to the Government," etc., "as he had influenced his people to rebellion, prepared them to take up arms against the reigning family, and mounted his horse with that view." This warlike divine, who certainly should have been in the Army instead of the Church, took a very active part in the many stirring events of his time, and did a vast amount of good in his parish. A bold, fearless man, who always went about armed with claymore and pistol, he was a perfect terror to all evil-doers, from the poorest tinker to the proudest laird, and he is said to have been the only man that ever kept his brother-in-law, Spalding of Ashintully, in fear of the ten commandments. He was much missed, and the parish got into a very neglected state, as it was three years before his successor, Robert Bisset, was appointed to the parish, on 11th May, 1720.

1722.—In this year Lord and Lady Nairne built a new mansion-house in Glendérby, as we find Lord Nairne, on 27th

Digitized by Google

June, writing to his brother, the Duke of Atholl, saying that he and Lady Nairne were to set out the following day for Glenderby, but that their accommodation there would be but indifferent till they got up their new house. They comforted themselves, however, with the hope that it would be sooner finished when they were on the spot themselves. This house was afterwards accidentally burnt to the ground in 1744, after the estate had been acquired by Robertson of Straloch. Lady Nairne also enclosed and planted an orchard close to the house, the walls of which partly remain standing to this day.

The glen also at this time got its English name of Glenderby, its ancient name, and its Gaelic one to this day, being Gleanndion-aite—the sheltered glen—a very appropriate name, as the high hills to the north, and Strondionaite and the Blavalg range to the west, shelter it so very much. Lady Nairne changed the name as a compliment to her brother-in-law's family, the Earls of Derby, for the following reason. Lady Nairne's father was Robert Nairne of Strathord, near Perth, who, for his adherence to the House of Stuart during the civil wars, suffered ten years' imprisonment in the Tower of London. At the Restoration he was liberated, and rewarded by being made a Lord of Session and one of the Judges of the Court of Justiciary, being elevated to the peerage as Lord Nairne of Nairne, in Perthshire, with remainder to the husband of his only daughter, Margaret. His Lordship died in 1683, and was succeeded accordingly by his son-in-law, Lord William Murray (who assumed the name of Nairne), fourth son of John, first Marquis of Atholl, by Lady Amelia Stanley, daughter of the 7th Earl of Derby. He also was a staunch supporter of the Stuarts, and so refused to take the oath of allegiance to the House of Hanover or his seat in Parliament. He was one of the first to go out with Mar in the Rising of 1715, raised a regiment of Atholl and Strathardle men, crossed the Forth with Borlum, advanced to England, was taken prisoner at Preston, tried for high treason, convicted, and sentenced to death. But his mother at once set the great influence of her family to work at Court, so not only was his life spared, but the Earl of Derby got some of the Nairne lands, including Glengynate, transferred to his niece, Lady Nairne, in her own right. In gratitude to her uncle for this, she changed the old name of the glen into Glenderby, and in this quiet glen she spent the most of her time for many years, not always on the best of terms with her neighbours, as I have heard many curious stories about her from old people in the strath.

Digitized by Google

When she planted her famous orchard, she surrounded it with a substantial stone wall, part of which still stands. She also planted a piece of ground with forest trees, and only surrounded it with a poor fence of turf and birch branches, so that some goats belonging to one of her vassals, the Laird of Balnakeilly, easily broke through and destroyed all her trees. Not content with an admonition, or with threats of pains and penalties, her ladyship caused him to take out a new charter of confirmation, wherein the depredations complained of are all enumerated. Her ladyship also seems to have been bothered with foxes as well as goats, and she showed her usual energy in dealing with them also, as will be seen from the following letter from her to her brother-in-law, the Duke of Atholl, which I take from that magnificent work, lately published by the Duke of Atholl, "The Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullybardine Families":—

"Nairne, 1st April, 1723.

"My Lord,—Your Grace's shepherd, John Bennet, has importuned me to mention to your Grace, one Dun, who undertakes for a moderate sum to free the Bishoprick, Strathtay and Strathardle from Foxes. I told him whatever your G. appointed the other vassals to pay for his encouragement, he should have double for Glen Derby.—Is all from your Grace's obedient,

"M. Nairne."

I have no doubt the said Dun made a good thing out of his being double payed for foxes, as there would be plenty of them in those days, for, even in the present time, Glenderby is a most noted place for foxes.

1731.—At this period Atholl, Strathardle, and the Braes of Angus were very much infested with robbers and cattle-lifters, who carried off great numbers of cattle, and some of the natives seemed to have engaged in the raids also, as will be seen from the following letter to the Duke of Atholl from his factor, Bisset:—

"13 April 1731.

"Tho' all the countrys about have for some years past been peacably and free of thefts yet the countries of Atholl and Strathardle, have suffered more by theiving these two last years, than when that prevailed in the Highlands, in so far as that on the north side of Tay from Moulin to Dunkeld there have been no less than 60 cous and horses stolen within said space and proportionately in Strathardle and Glenshee, and the several other parts of Atholl have suffered in like manner. Untill of late thir thefts have thought to have been committed by the Highland

Digitized by Google

country above us, But at last we found all was committed by rogues amongst ourselves of whom we have discovered a list of no less than 16 persons. But we have not yet come the length of finding suffecient proof against all of them so as to punish them by death, except against one Duncan Robertson, a relative of Baron Reid's, against whom suffecient proof can be adduced of his stealing 8 cous at one time, and against one Stewart, alias M'Collie, who recepted the said cous, and sold them in Creiff, and now that the said Duncan Robertson and his recepter M'Collie are in custody, and that the cuntrie with one voice requests such examples to be made as would put a stop to this prevailing crime in the countrie, and in order thereto doe offer a voluntar contribution of a sixpence on the merkland to defray the expence of the charge, therefore its desired that Mr Anthony Murray would lay the case before the Duke of Atholl, and know from His Grace:—

"1st. Whether or not His Grace would have any of these malefactors prosecute to death, and if he inclines to the affirmitive.

"2ndly. Whether, or not, both Robertson and Stewart, should be put to death, or only one of them.

"3rdly. Whether Robertson, Baronne Reid's friend, who was principal actor, or Stewart the receptor be put to death.

"4thly. Mr Dundas of Arniston having proposed to be at Kincragie, all the month of May, to drink goats whey, Commisar Bisset suspected that Boronne Reid would embrace that opportunity of applying him, to witt, Mr Dundas, in favour of his friend Duncan Robertson, and therefore the Commisar his prevented the Baronne, by waiting on Mr Dundas and prevailing with him and procuring his promise not only not to concern himself in favour of the theives, but that he would be ane accessor to the Judge. Therefore, least the Barrone should employ a lawyer for his friend, and should not Mr Dundas as well as Mr Graem, and His Grace's ordinary lawyer be consulted for their advice and direction in a matter of this moment especially considering that the country will be at the charge of it.

"5thly. Whether would his Grace have this prosecution delayed until he return to the country himself, or should the same be done while we have the opportunity of Mr Dundas being in Atholl."

1742.—Again Commissary Bisset reports to the Duke of Atholl:—"The whole shire are infested with Rannoch men, who have broke all intirely louse, and are seen every day in little com-

Digitized by Google

panies in the hills. The other day some of them entered a tenants house in Balgowan, bound all the family, and carried off all the best effects upon the honest man's own horses."

To put a stop to these destructive raids, a strong company of men, under Macdonnell of Shandwick, was stationed on the hills north of Atholl and Strathardle, and who did good service, as Commissary Bisset again reports to the Duke:—

"Kincragie 14 June 1742.

"Shiandeck (Macdonnell of Shandwick) hath hepaned exceedingly well in our watch. Since he sett out the same about three weeks ago there that not since that time a sixpence worth stole out of Atholl, altho no less than 14 herschipps have been driven from the braes of Angus and Mearns through the Forrests of Marre and Badenoch, to Rannoch and Lochaber. Shiandeck having given a certifcatione that he'l sieze all of them that will darr pass or repass through any of the hills of Atholl. There was only one theif that he found stragling in the hills last week, who he seized, and I have him prisoner in Dunkeld till Logierait is repaired."

All this shows us what a terribly confused state the country was in at this time, when the old clan system was passing away, and the new mode of life only in its infancy. Before the Rising of 1715 every laird had to keep up so many fighting men, either for his own service or that of his superior. After the '15, so many Highland lairds had to flee abroad, and had their estates forfeited, or else hide amongst the hills, hunted and outlawed, that they could do nothing for their people; whilst the families of the men slain, or sold into slavery, were in absolute starvation, and dying of cold and hunger. There were then no industries in the country, and very little agricultural work, so the people had little to do, and lived at starvation point, their energies were deadened, and they gave way to idleness and cattle-lifting.

1745.—The gallant Black Watch, our oldest Highland regiment, had so distinguished itself on the occasion of its "baptism of fire" at the disastrous battle of Fontenoy, by covering the retreat and so saving the British army, that it drew the attention of the Government and the country to the value of the Highlanders as soldiers of the line; so it was at once decided that another Highland regiment should be raised by the Earl of Loudon, under the patronage of the chiefs and gentlemen of the country, whose sons and connections were to be appointed officers, on condition that they each brought a sufficient body of their respective clansmen to join the ranks, so as to qualify them for a

Digitized by Google

commission. Amongst the officers, seven were from Atholl, two of them being the elder sons of the two leading Strathardle lairds—John Robertson or Reid, younger of Straloch, as lieutenant, and David Spalding of Ashintully, as ensign. These Atholl gentlemen raised 500 men, who assembled at Perth, whilst 750 men were assembled at Inverness by the Northern gentlemen. As the Rising of the '45 began a few weeks after the regiment was raised, the Perth and Inverness divisions were not united till after Culloden. As the Straloch family were always staunch supporters of the Government since the Revolution, the young Baron stuck true to his regiment, and kept most of his men in it till they were taken prisoners at Prestonpans. But as the Spaldings had always been on the Stuart side, young Ashintully and his men at once left the regiment and went home to Strathardle, where he raised the rest of his men for the Prince, whom they followed to Derby. On the return to Scotland, Spalding had to go home for a time in bad health, and, on his recovery, he wrote to the Duke of Atholl from Ashintully Castle, on 22nd January, 1746, asking for a higher commission in the Atholl Brigade, in support of which he says:—"It is conterary to the Prince's manifesto to refuse me a commission, as I had one from the Usurper, besides the men I brought along."

After Culloden, Lord Loudon's Highlanders remained in Scotland till May, 1747, when they went to Flanders. After seeing some hard fighting there, they were, at the peace of 1748, ordered home to Scotland, and reduced at Perth in June of that year, when young Straloch and his Strathardle men were transferred to the Black Watch, in which gallant regiment he served for 23 years, and saw much hard fighting. He afterwards was appointed Colonel of the 88th Regiment, and died on 6th February, 1807, the last of the famous Barons Ruadh of Straloch. He married Mary, daughter of the Earl of Stirling, and had one daughter, Susanna, married to her cousin, John Stark Robertson, but they had no issue. His father, Baron Alexander, had got into difficulties, and his trustees sold the extensive estates, which his ancestors had held for centuries—their old home, which took its name from them, Balvarron, to James Stormonth (ancestor of the present proprietor) of Lednethie, in 1781; Inverchroskie and Wester Straloch, to Mr Buttar of Faskaly, in 1781; Glenfernate, to the Duke of Atholl, in 1786; Tarvie, Cultalonie, Ennoch, etc., were also sold then. All his ancestors were known as Reid-Robertsons, but he dropt the Robertson altogether. He was a famous musician, and when in the Black Watch he composed the famous air, "With the Garb of Old Gaul," which has ever since

Digitized by Google

been the regimental march of the 42nd Highlanders. He left his fortune to his daughter in life-rent, and, as she had no family, it went afterwards to Edinburgh University, by his will, to endow a Chair of Music, which was founded in 1839, at a cost of £80,000.

29th MARCH, 1900.

At the meeting on this date Dr Alex. Macdonald, Edinburgh; Mr Alex. Mackintosh, and Mr Farquhar Fraser, Inverness, were elected ordinary members of the Society. Thereafter Rev. Alex. Macdonald, Kiltarlity, read a paper, entitled "The Early History of the Parish of Kiltarlity." The paper is as follows:—

THE PARISH OF KILTARLITY AND CONVINTH.

Part I.—Its Early History.

The history of any person, place, or thing is never merely its own—it involves consideration of much of its environment, its position in the system of which it forms a part. Every individual thing has relations with other things, and only in their light does it become intelligible. Hence, in order fully to understand our subject, we must often go beyond it, glance at times across our own borders into the concerns of other parishes as well as our own.

If we were disposed to go back into the dim prehistoric past, which is still so largely the field of speculative theories, there are numerous so-called Druidical remains which might afford scope for learned discussion to be found in our parish. There are interesting circles to be seen at Bruiach, Boblainy, Ardrennich, Culburnie, and elsewhere, which might form fruitful texts for the man who finds sermons in stones; but into this somewhat barren field we do not propose at present to enter. Nor yet shall we perambulate the field of ethnology to consider the races which in prehistoric and early historic times occupied the North of Scotland—a theme little less nebulous and obscure.

The parish of Kiltarlity and Convinth forms a part of the ancient Mormaordom of Moray. The province of Moray, which embraces the main part of the parish—the minor part lying in

Digitized by Google

the Earldom of Ross—contained within its bounds the whole of the counties of Elgin and Nairn, the greater part of the mainland division of the county of Inverness, and a portion of the county of Banff. The northern boundary was the river of Beauly as far as Kilmorack, from which the line passed to the south along the water-shed between Glenfarrar and the stream flowing into Loch Ness. It is thus seen to have embraced most of the modern parish of Kiltarlity. The province of Moray, however, was destined to be absorbed into the larger national system of Scotland. On the north, the Mormaors of Moray were threatened by the Earls of Orkney, who had acquired territory and power in the north of Sutherland. On the south they were threatened by Scotland, which out of a number of smaller independent provinces had been consolidated into one kingdom. In the reign of David I., Moray, the last of the independent Mormaordoms on the mainland, was attached permanently to the Scottish Crown, and Angus, the last of the Mormaors, was killed in battle.

This attachment of the province of Moray to the Crown of Scotland had an important bearing upon the history of that region as a whole, and upon the Aird district in particular. In the twelfth century the feudal customs of Norman England began to penetrate into Scotland. The sons and grandsons of Malcolm Canmore and of his wife, the good Queen Margaret, were brought largely into contact with Anglo-Norman life, and in military characteristics were regular Norman Knights. A great part of Scotland came to be parcelled out among English barons upon the feudal conditions of military service. This system extended to the North after the province of Moray became a part of the Scottish realm. The native population would certainly be found troublesome and unwilling to conform to the new customs and rule, and the policy was adopted of banishing them to other parts, and introducing strangers from the South. This accounts for the frequent occurrence of such names as Bisset, Fenton, Boscho, Corbet, Graham, Christie, and others, while such names as Macrae, Maclean, and such-like are conspicuous by their absence from the oldest records. The territorial power had passed away from the Gael, and the stranger possessed the land. Those of the native population not driven from the province of Moray became vassals of the Lowland feudal barons. According to Mac Vurich, the Clanranald Seanachie, the Mackenzies, Rosses, Macleans, and Macraes were descendants of Gilleoin na h-Airde, while according to another authority they

Digitized by Google

were vassals of the Bissets in Clunes, Auchvaich, and Abriachan. If there is anything in these traditions, we can understand how, in view of the compulsory migration which took place under the successors of Malcolm Canmore, the Macleans should in after centuries be found so far from the nursery of their race. This, of course, conflicts with the received Irish genealogy—a discrepancy we only notice in passing without attempting to explain it.

In order to hold in check the native population of the North that had not been banished, strongholds were built, in which the Norman barons acted as Constables or landed Policemen on a large scale, and such castles we find to have been planted in centres like Inverness, Dingwall, Cromarty, Redcastle, Lovat, Downie, and others. A number of these were built in the reign of William the Lion, and it was in his time that we have record of the first Norman baron who possessed lands in the district of the Aird.

William the Lion was for a number of years prisoner in England, and when he returned from captivity in 1174, we find, on the authority of the Scalacronica (Maitland Club, p. 41, 1836), that he was accompanied by a number of young Englishmen of fortune, who settled down in baronial residences, and were well dowered with lands by their royal patron. Among these was one John Bisset, a member of a distinguished Norman family, supposed, according to some authorities, to be of Greek descent. His name first appears on record in 1204 in the Register of the Abbey of Newbattle, and at intervals thereafter he figures largely in the annals of the North of Scotland.

On the return of William from captivity, he found his kingdom, as might be expected, in a state of great anarchy, which took a number of years to reduce to anything like order. First of all, the insurrection of the Celtic population under Donaldbane's leadership in 1187, and afterwards the rebellion under his son about 1210, had to be in turn suppressed; and no doubt the chivalry of the King's Norman-French retainers was of material assistance in accomplishing this end. John Bisset doubtless took a leading part in quelling the disturbances, and probably it was as a reward for these services, as well as a guarantee for future order, that William bestowed upon him the important grants to which we are now to refer. It is certain that Bisset obtained a grant of the barony of the Aird, and as we afterwards find the castles and baronies of Redcastle or Eddirdor, in the Black Isle, and Kilravock, in Nairnshire, in the

Digitized by Google

hereditary possession of his granddaughters, we presume that these also were included in the gift. The lordship of Ardmeanoch, also in the Black Isle, is likewise said to have been in his possession. John Bisset thus received extensive territories from the Crown, both in the province of Moray and the earldom of Ross, or, as we would style the districts according to the more modern definition, the counties of Ross, Inverness, and Nairn.

The lands owned by John Bisset in the county of Inverness, according to the modern definition, are embraced in the parishes of Kilmorack, Kiltarlity, and Kirkhill, but, according to the ancient territorial delineations, Kilmorack belonged entirely to the earldom of Ross, while the other parishes—with the exception of the davoch of Erchless, in the parish of Kiltarlity—constituted the Aird district of the province of Moray. The reason why the parishes of Kiltarlity and Kirkhill were called in early times the Aird does not at first sight seem very clear. It has been supposed that the name was derived from the mountainous parts of these two parishes, which, somewhat in the form of a crescent, encircle the lower and richer lands. There are two objections to this view—(1) The noun "Aird" or "Ard" is almost always, if not always, used in the sense of a cape, promontory, or headland; and (2) these higher lands, as indeed the whole country of Kiltarlity, are known among the Gaelic community as "Braighe na h-Airde," not as the Aird proper. It is in the sense of point or promontory that we are to look for the meaning of the Aird in this connection. If we look at the map of this part of Inverness-shire, we see that the region with which the Bissets were probably first associated, namely, the part of Kirkhill lying on the Beauly Firth, is a headland, and it is from this fact that the whole region so called did by metonomy derive the name of "The Aird."

The present parish of Kiltarlity formed part of the barony of the Aird, but when the region first passes out of obscurity into comparative historical clearness there was no parish of the name as a distinct ecclesiastical entity. The saint after whom the parish is named belonged to the Celtic Church, and survived the great apostle of Celtic Christianity only by twenty years, if we are to identify him with the entry in the Irish Annals (vide Coll. de Reb. Alb.), which chronicle the event of his death as having occurred in 616 A.D. The modern parish of Portree, in the Isle of Skye, was anciently designated after the same saint. Probably there was in early times a cell or chapel in his honour

Digitized by Google

down by the river side, where the old Church lands of Kiltarlity lay and the ruins of a post-Reformation church stand. There was, however, no parish of Kiltarlity under the diocesan and parochial system by which David I., that "sair sanct to the Crown," created so important an epoch in Scottish Christianity. This system, though shorn of its diocesan character, and modified by the addition of more than four houndred new parishes, prevails in its main characteristics in our own time, surviving the storm and stress of seven or eight centuries.

When John Bisset acquired the barony of the Aird it contained, as now, two parishes; but these were at that time called, not Kiltarlity and Kirkhill, but Conway or Conveth, or, as it appears in some records, Conwich, and Dumballoch, or, as it was then styled, Dunbathlach. The site of the old Church of Dunbathlach was close by the modern farm-house, and was long occupied by a cemetery; but no trace of ruin or tombstone now remains. The place, however, is still pointed out: it contains a small clump of firs, and is enclosed by a wire fence. The old Church at Dumballoch was dedicated to Saint Mauritius or Maurice, and the new Church—according to Chisholm Batten—was dedicated to the same saint. In this case the Gaelic name should be Cnoc Mhorais, the hill of Maurice, rather than Cnoc Muire, the hill of Mary. The soundness of this view is rather doubtful. According to the author of the Wardlaw MS., the charter of transportation describes the site of the new church as Mons St Mariæ, the hill of St Mary, and the present Gaelic pronunciation favours the same view. The name Wardlaw was applied to the same parish because the hill on which the church was situated was also partly occupied by a watch-tower in the time of the barons and constables of Lovat.

The transference of the Church of Dumballoch to Wardlaw was carried out under the authority of a papal Bull, which issued from the Chair of St Peter in 1210 (Shaw's Moray, p. 361). It was not until a later date—1224, according to the author of the Wardlaw MS.—that the arrangement was completed. We are at present, however, mainly concerned with the other original parish of the Aird, namely, that of Conway, Conveth, or Conwich, but which for convenience sake we shall designate by the modern name, Convinth. The church of this parish lay in Glen Convinth, and a portion of the wall is still standing in the present place of sepulture. The parish included the lands of Guisachan, Buntait, Erchless, Comar, Convinth, Bruiach, Moy, Downie, and Phoineas (Reg. Mor.). All these names are still in

Digitized by Google

common use, with the exception of Moy, which, however, still survives in the compound name "Teanamoy." In one record we find the place-name "Bruthach Muy," apparently describing the higher part of the modern farm of Bruiach, and we cannot greatly err in supposing that "the two Moys," Bruiach Moy and Teanamoy, were the name for a tract of level country or plain, as the name indicates, lying adjacent to Bruiach proper. According to the ancient measurement, these lands of Convinth amounted to eleven davochs of six ploughgates each.

We have seen that the papal Bull ordaining the transference of the Church of St Maurice from Dumballoch to Wardlaw was probably dated 1210, the year of the Celtic rebellion in the North. How soon after this John Bisset's connection with the Aird commenced is not quite clear, but the interval was probably not long. He appears for the first time as Lord of the Aird in an undated agreement between himself and Bricius, Lord Bishop of Moray, which was confirmed by Alexander II. at Elgin, on 5th October, 1223. A controversy preceded the agreement concerning the advowson of the parishes of Convinth and Dumballoch and the teinds of the Crown rents, amounting to 10 shillings per annum. As a result, the Bishop quitclaimed to Bisset and his heirs the advowson of the parish of Convinth and the teinds of the Crown rents. But the teinds of the fishings and of the multures were to be equally divided and faithfully paid to each of the churches in question. Under this agreement, Bisset granted for the souls of his father and mother, their parents and posterity, seven acres of land to the Church of Dumballoch when it should be transferred to Fingask, to the place called Wardlaw, or in the Scottish tongue—which then meant Gaelic—Balabrach. As already stated, the transference in question took place three years later.

It was between the years 1221 and 1226 that the parish of Kiltarlity came into existence as a separate ecclesiastical district. Of the actual erection there seems to be no record, but in 1226 we find John Bisset acquiring a title to the patronage of Kiltarlity from Robert Bishop of Ross, showing that the parish had been founded in the interval. He at the same time renounced any right he had to the Kirklands of Kiltarlity, and as an atonement for his sins granted 15 merks of silver to the fabric of the Church of St Peter at Rosemarkie, and one stone of wax annually for the lights upon the altar of that church. At the same time the Bishop and the Dean and Canons of the Chapter of Rosemarkie gave John Bisset and his heirs an interest in the

Digitized by Google

prayers offered at that holy shrine. Rosemarkie or Rosmarkyn included what is now known as Fortrose, which was of old the Bishop's seat and the ecclesiastical centre of Ross. Among the witnesses to this deed are three other Bissets, probably members of the family of John Bisset. One of them is William Bisset, referred to as a brother of the founder, in other records, and here designed "persona" or parson. The same William appears in the Deed of Agreement between Bishop Bricius and John Bisset—the name being followed by the word "Gilletalargyn," meaning presumably the servant of Tharlagus or Talorcan. Before the erection of Kiltarlity William Bisset had probably a chapel there, afterwards becoming its first parson.

In the allocation of lands between Convinth and Kiltarlity, the former had Guisachan, Comer, Buntait, and Convinth, while the latter had Erchless, Bruiach, Moy, Downie, and Phoineas

The next intimation which the Records of the Diocese of Moray contain on this subject is the bestowal of the patronage of Kiltarlity in 1226 upon a pious and charitable purpose. The loathsome disease of leprosy has long been a stranger to our shores, thanks to improved conditions of life among all classes of the people. In the times of John Bisset the position of the poorer classes was wretched in the extreme, with the result that leper-houses were well-known institutions constituting a claim on Christian benevolence. One of these homes was in the parish of Rathven, in Banffshire, and to the lepers serving God there he made an important bequest, namely, the patronage of the Church of Kiltarlity. In addition, he gave of his means a sufficient fund to maintain a chaplain, and also to support seven lepers, with one domestic to attend upon them. Further, it was stipulated that when one leper died or left, a successor would be presented by John Bisset or his heirs. All this was done doubtless from motives of charity, but specifically it was also for the benefit of the soul of his Lord, William King of Scots, and for the salvation of his noble Lord, Alexander II., both of whom had been munificent patrons to the baron of the Aird. His own predecessors and successors were also included as spiritual beneficiaries from this benevolent gift. We are not informed what provision, if any, was made for the supply of ordinances at Kiltarlity after this gift to Rathven, as in the Taxation of the Bishopric of Moray there is no mention, as in the case of Convinth, of vicarage teineds. It is a fact, however, that as late as 1563 the Church of Rathven held its property in the parish of Kiltarlity, the following entry appearing in the Rathven valua-

Digitized by Google

tion of that year: "Item, the Kirk of Kintallartie set for xxiii. lib."

The year that this gift to the Church of Rathven was made —1226—there is evidence of a dispute having arisen between the Bishops of Moray and Ross, in which the position of Kiltarlity was concerned. The Bishop of Moray claimed diocesan rights over both Kiltarlity and Ardersier, and this was disputed by Andrew Bishop of Ross, who maintained that both were within his diocese. The claim of the Bishop of Moray to Ardersier—judging by locality and juxtaposition—certainly appears most reasonable. The claim of the Bishop of Ross to Kiltarlity could only be advanced on the ground that it contained the davoch of Erchless, in the Earldom of Ross. The controversy was submitted to his Holiness the Pope, who appointed as his commissioners or delegates with powers the Abbot of Deer and the Dean and Archdeacon of Aberdeen. By advice of the Court of Arbitration it was decided that the Bishop of Moray should retain Kiltarlity within his diocese, and the Bishop of Ross, Ardersier. The latter also agreed to convey to the Cathedral Church of Elgin—which by a Papal Bull of 1224 had been created the Cathedral Church of Moray—the stone of wax which John Bisset had bound himself to give to the Cathedral Church of Ross. If either party was to seek to overturn this agreement, a fine of £100 sterling money, payable to the other party, would be exacted, and this although the agreement continued binding.

The Crown of John Bisset's benefactions to the Church in the North was the founding of Beauly Priory in 1230. During that year three monasteries of the Valliscaulian order of Benedictine monks were founded: one at Ardchattan in Argyll, another at Pluscarden in Moray, and the third by John Bisset at the head of the Beauly Frith in Ross. The author of the Wardlaw MS. gives the name "Strathalvy" to the stretch of level country adjoining the estuary of the river Beauly, and the particular spot on which the monastery was built he calls "Insula de Achinbady." According to the same authority, a chapel of Saint Michael occupied the site on which the monastery afterwards stood, and the lands of Strathalvy, whatever their extent, were said to have been mortified to the establishment. The word "Insula" ordinarily meaning an island, is sometimes found not only as applied to land surrounded by water, but to low lands by a river side, or the sea side, to which we often find the term "Inch" applied. The lands of Achinbady, a corruption

Digitized by Google

probably of "Ach nam badan," the field of thickets or clumps, is partly or nearly insular, being bounded on the south and largely on the east and west by the river and a tributary.

We are informed by the Cartulary of Moray that Bisset's charter of mortification conveyed to the monks of Beauly the multures of several lands in Kiltarlity, including the davochs of Beaufort, Downie, Moy, and Bruiach. But perhaps the most highly prized of all the gifts bestowed by this pious patron was the salmon fishing of the Forne, the old name for the lower reaches of the beautiful stream formed by the union of the Glass and Farrar. The name Forne is no longer used as a place-name, but it probably survives in the compound word Alltfearn, a tributary of the Forne, sometimes also known as Allerburn. The river would be known of old as Amhuinn Fearn among the Gaelic-speaking natives, and the shortening into Fearn or Forne would be natural and easy, especially with writers and speakers of English. It was appropriately so called as its banks in many parts abound in the alder. The salmon fishings were of great value to the monks, who, by the rules of their order, must perforce abstain largely from meat, and were forbidden to breed cattle and sheep and cultivate arable land. Their fishing rights extended to a point a little above the ford of Dumballoch; and the part of the river that lay between that point and the sea was known as "Amhainn nam Manach."

The year following John Bisset's grant—1231—a Papal Bull was issued by which his Holiness took the monastery and its possessions under his protection. It was probably this same year that the erection of the Priory buildings commenced. There was at that time a quickening of interest in the North in the architectural phase of Latin Christianity, and the monastery at Beauly benefitted by this accession of zeal. The existing ruins, interesting relics of a long past age, do not of course go back to 1231. Being of the character of early second pointed, we cannot place them much prior to 100 years later. From the presence of the monastery the place came to be known in the Gaelic tongue as "A Mhanachainn." The first prior, "pater Jairmo," with his six monks, gave it the name "Boulu, a fair good place." We find also a latinized form of Beauly in the charter of 1231, in which William Bisset grants the Church of Abertarff to the monastery of Beauly, which latter place is called "Bellus locus." The Bissets, whose culture was largely Norman French, named the ancient castle, on whose site the modern mansion is built, "Beaufort," that is, the beautiful fort or place

Digitized by Google

of strength. Celtically this fort was always known as "Caisteal Dùnaidh," and we first find the name Beaufort applied to it by Andrew Bishop of Moray in a charter dated 1242.

It is probable that the original seat of Sir John Bisset of the Aird stood at Lovat, but Beaufort as well as Lovat was occupied as a stronghold from a very early period of his connection with the Aird.

About 1242 a curious change is said to have come over the fortunes of the founder of Beauly Priory. Some obscurity hangs over the story, but the main facts seem to be beyond dispute. John Bisset is said to have been compelled to leave Scotland through his having been accused of being privy to the murder of Patrick Earl of Athole, son of Thomas of Galloway. Walter Bisset, Lord of Aboyne, and uncle of Sir John Bisset, had been worsted by the Earl of Athole in a tournament at Haddington. Following upon this, the house in which the victorious nobleman slept was set on fire, and all its inmates destroyed. Suspicion at once fell upon Walter Bisset and his nephew John, Baron of the Aird. There was no direct evidence of their complicity, and they never forfeited the favour of the Crown, but both had to go into banishment through the intrigues of a powerful party, and they never afterwards returned. It is not the case, however, as some writers assert, that the Bisset estates in the North of Scotland were forfeited, for, as we shall see, the family continued powerful and important for many years after Sir John's exile. He first went to Ireland and afterwards to France, where he joined Henry III. in his invasion of that kingdom; but finally he settled in the Glens of Antrim. Being by this time a widower, he married a lady of that region, styled in records the lady Agatha, through whom, in all probability, he came into possession of those large estates which continued in the Bisset family for over 200 years. John Bisset was the progenitor of Marjory Bisset, through whom the seven Tuoghs came by marriage into the possession of John Mor Tanistear, second son of John Lord of the Isles, and founder of the family of Dunnyveg and the Glens, from whom also is descended in the female line the present family of Antrim.

After the exile of John Bisset of the Aird and his settlement in the North of Ireland, his son, John Bisset the younger, assumed his father's place as baron of the Aird. We have no distinct record of the date of his father's death, but there is no doubt that after a time his family by the second marriage enjoyed full possession of the Glens, to which the Scottish branch do not seem to have advanced any serious claim.

Digitized by Google

In 1258, towards the end of the second John Bisset's life, Archibald Bishop of Moray laid claim to certain lands and pertinents lying in the barony of the Aird, namely, the two davochs of Erchless and Convinth. The Bishop held that these constituted by right part of the mensal lands of his bishopric, or such as had been set apart for furnishing the episcopal table. This meant that the Bishop claimed to be parson or titular of Convinth, and employed a vicar or stipendiary to serve the cure. He also claimed the can or rent of the barony of the Aird, and the stone of wax which had been transferred to his diocese from that of Ross. On what ground he asserted a right to the lands in question we are unable to say, as the history of the district for many years prior to these negotiations is very obscure, while the rent of the barony, so far as our evidence goes, was a Crown due, and even the tithe did not belong to his diocese. The proof of the evident groundlessness of his contentions lies in the fact that they were not upheld in any one particular by those who were appointed to arbitrate in the controversy. The Bishop and Dean of Ross were appointed by the Pope as umpires in the case, and their award was eminently favourable to the Baron of the Aird. The Bishop, however, was not allowed to depart in entire discomfiture, nor did he make a bad bargain after all. Bisset retained the two davochs, which were his in fee and heritage, but in view of the expense and trouble of the suit, for the sake of peace and out of his own liberality, he agreed to give the Bishop a rent charge of 60 shillings a year out of the lands of Wester Moniack. The year following this agreement—1259—the second John Bisset of Beaufort died, and with him the family became extinct in the male line. The author of the Historical Notices of Beauly Priory infers that he left a son, also John, who died without issue; but it appears from an Inquisition by an Irish Jury, held nineteen years after his death, and relating to his father's successors in Antrim, that the estates of the second John Bisset were inherited by three daughters as co-heiresses—Cecilia, Elizabeth, and Muriel. The same record states that before his death he had provided a dowry for his father's widow, the lady Agatha. This second John Bisset was, like his father, a patron of the Church, if on a scale of less munificence. From a charter by Patrick de Grahame of lands in Kilmorack granted to the monks of Beauly long after Bisset's time, we learn that the latter had in his life-time given 1½0 merks towards the fabric.

Digitized by Google

Each of the daughters of the second John Bisset brought to her husband a share of her father's estates. William de Fenton, in right of Cecilia Bisset, his wife, the oldest of the three, became Lord of Beaufort, and frequently resided there, as well as on his hereditary domain of Fenton, in East Lothian. Andrew de Boscho, in right of his wife, Elizabeth, occupied the lands and Castle of Eddirdor, or, as the place is now called, Redcastle. A daughter of this Elizabeth married Hugh Rose, and the latter received in heritage from his mother-in-law the lands of Kilravock, which formed part of the possessions of Sir John Bisset, but since that time until now have been the patrimony of the Roses of Kilravock. David de Graham, in right of his wife, Muriel, was Lord of Lovat, and resided in the old Castle of Lovat, in the parish of Wardlaw.

The history of the old parish of Convinth, out of which Kiltarlity was erected, is in an ecclesiastical sense very obscure after the disjunction of 1226. It would appear that after the deed of arrangement, in 1258, Convinth Church and Church lands were bestowed upon Beauly Priory, for in 1275 we find it in the position of a vicarage under the Priory, and its vicar in the enjoyment of a stipend, whose munificence may be estimated from the fact that the tenth part of it was calculated at nine shilling and four pence. Silence prevails in the recorded annals of the district until 1280, when great and serious trouble arose between the baron of Beaufort and the ecclesiastical power as to the rights of salmon fishing on the Forne. These rights belonged to the monks from the sea to the ford of Dumballoch, where there were cruives of wood and stone as a division between the monks and the proprietors on the upper reaches. Above the cruives the fishings belonged to the riparian proprietors of Kiltarlity and Kilmorack respectively, and as the Church-lands of Kiltarlity were at that time by the river side, they carried with them all fishing rights. These Church lands were called the lands of "Ess," from the Gaelic word "Eas," or waterfall, and were so called because they lay close by the falls known to-day as the "Falls of Kilmorack." As we know, the Church and Church lands and the ecclesiastical property of Kiltarlity had been bestowed by the first John Bisset upon the leper-house of Rathven, and it does not at first sight appear on what grounds the Bishop of Moray, any more than the baron, claimed, as he did, this half davoch land of Ess, which, as Kirk-lands were devoted to that purpose. The explanation may be that the Church of Rathven was part of the prebend of the eighth canon of the Cathedral of Elgin, on which ground the Bishop may have claimed Kiltarlity, with its

Digitized by Google

fishings, for Rathven and the pious purpose for which it had been set apart. In any case, the Fentons of Beaufort, however much they may have coveted the lands of Ess with their "ex adverso" salmon fishings, had no legal right without the sanction of the Church.

Owing to the fact that some of the writs of the diocese of Moray are undated, it is not quite easy to place the successive stages of the dispute. The difficulty appears to have arisen in 1279, probably through William de Fenton, in right of his wife, Cecilia, asserting with the strong hand his claims to the fishings of Ess. The conflict became so keen that the intervention of Pope Nicholas III. had to be invoked. The Abbot of Deer, to whom his Holiness remitted the settlement of the question, did not act personally, but deputed three eminent Churchmen—the Bishop of Ross, the Dean of Ross, and the Prior of Beauly—to act for him. These three ecclesiastics met at the Church of Kiltarlity, which was then situated close to the "waters of strife," the Ess of the river Forne, on Wednesday, 26th September, 1279, and there inducted the Bishop of Moray into the possession of the disputed lands. They also warned William de Fenton not to interfere with the Bishop in dealing with these lands. The Lord of Beaufort continued calmly to ignore the ecclesiastical power, and to act in all respects as proprietor of the half davoch by the river side. The following year the Pope's delegates met at Kinloss, on the 26th of March, and ordered warning to be served upon de Fenton and his wife at the Castle of Beaufort. These were to the effect that if they resisted till the 21st April, they would be suspended from entering the church, and if by 2nd June they had not obeyed, they would be excommunicated throughout the district with pealed bells and lighted candles, and if they did not return to the bosom of the Church before the Feast of St Peter, on 30th June, sentence of interdict would be pronounced. The sequence of events is not very clearly indicated in the records, but we gather that the Lord of Beaufort and his wife were eventually obliged to give way to the powerful prelate, though many years were to elapse before the controversy was finally settled. This view is confirmed by the record of a further controversy between the same Archibald Bishop of Moray and David de Graham, baron of Lovat, the husband of Muriel Bisset. Whatever was the principle upon which the rest of the Aird was divided between the three heiresses of John Bisset, it would appear that they all had a joint right to the fishings of the Forne, and David de Graham, in right of his wife, Muriel, claimed a share of the fishings of Ess. This claim also was resisted by Bishop Archibald; but

Digitized by Google

the difference with the Baron of Lovat was amicably adjusted. An agreement was drawn up, by which Graham renounced all right to the salmon fishing of Ess on the river Forne, and the Bishop, in return for this concession, grants to him in feu-farm the Church lands of Kiltarlity and the fishings, thereby presumably securing the leper-house of Rathven in the feu-duty of the same. So far, de Graham was only successful in securing for rent what he formerly claimed as an heritable right. The Deed of Gift further provided that de Graham should possess not only what he renounced in favour of the Bishop, but also what the latter had evicted from William de Fenton, Lord of Beaufort. The feu-farm was to consist of one hundred shillings sterling money, payable at two terms, one moiety at the Feast of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin Mary, and the other at the Feast of the Purification. This arrangement appears to have lasted for probably seventeen or eighteen years, when still another phase of the controversy has to be recorded before it is finally set at rest. The transaction by which de Graham of Lovat became possessed of rights formerly claimed by William de Fenton, and wrung from him by the strong arm of the Church, must have been keenly resented by the Lord of Beaufort, whose castle stood in the near vicinity of the much coveted lands of Ess. What is described as a perilous controversy sprang up between the two houses of Beaufort and Lovat, till in the end both agreed to submit the question to the arbitration of the Bishop. Judging from the previous arrangement, as well as that which was now completed by the good offices of the Bishop of Moray, the feu-farm of 100 shillings was regarded by de Graham as a rather burdensome impost. The final settlement was to the effect that both de Fenton and de Graham should become joint tenants of the whole lands of the Church of Kiltarlity, with the pertinents and the whole fishings of the Ess, for six merks, or eighty shillings, to be paid at the Feast of Assumption and the Feast of Purification respectively. It may be remarked that the Bishop displayed considerable diplomatic skill in connection with this quarrel. By making de Graham tenant of Ess, he shifted the onus of the contention to a large extent from the Church to the Baron of Lovat, with whom de Fenton of Beaufort immediately was at variance.

It is to be remarked that in the second of the two agreements just referred to, the principal on the Lovat side is set down as David de Graham, while Patrick, his heir, is also spoken of as a party in the case, and at the end the document is attested by the seal of Patrick de Graham alone. This must

Digitized by Google

have taken place somewhere about 1297. Important historical events explain why David de Graham, who is still in life, does not appear "in propria persona," but is represented in the transaction by his son Patrick. At the battle of Dunbar, fought in 1296, in the Scottish War of Independence, Sir David de Graham, husband of Muriel Bisset, who in 1292 had been one of the nominators of Baliol in his competition for the crown of Scotland, was taken prisoner. He remained in captivity for at least a year, and it was during his enforced absence from Lovat that the deed in question was drawn up. Sir David was released in 1297, and died the following year. The same year also died Lord Archibald, Bishop of Moray. It was in 1298 that Patrick de Graham, Sir David's son, came of age, for on 17th May of that year Edward I. granted to Robert de Fulton the maritagium of the said Patrick de Graham, son and heir of the deceased Robert de Graham. The grant is dated at Canterbury.

The question naturally suggests itself, why do we find no claim to these lands of Ess, so greatly valued because of their salmon fishings, on behalf of Elizabeth, wife of Andrew de Boscho, the third of John Bisset's daughters? The answer obviously is that the de Boscho lands, lying to the north of the Moray Firth, were all within the Earldom and diocese of Ross, and, on the side of the river Forne, contained in the parish of Kilmorack. Being thus separated by the breadth of the river from the possessions of the de Fentons and de Grahams, no complications with the Church in Moray or with their kinsfolk on the opposite side were likely to arise.

The history of the de Fentons of Beaufort during the latter years of the 13th century and the early years of the 14th does not seem to have been eventful, judging by contemporary records. Yet there are indications, traditional and otherwise, that Beaufort and its castle were involved in the War of Scottish Independence. The author of the Wardlaw MS. falls into the mistake of considerably ante-dating the territorial connection of the Frasers with the Aird district in general, and the Castle of Beaufort in particular. Otherwise there is no reason to reject the place he gives the Castle in the history of the time. The army of Edward I. marched to the North of Scotland in 1303 for the final reduction of the country in subjection to the English Crown, and on its way demolished the Castles of Elgin, Forres, and Nairn. The Castle of Inverness is said to have been valiantly defended by the followers of Sir Simon Fraser, and siege was also laid to Castle Downy or Beaufort. Regular trenches were dug to enable the assailants to come with im-

Digitized by Google

punity to striking distance, while huge stones and leaden balls from mighty catapults were hurled at the devoted walls. The Castle was taken and dismantled, and the hollow in which the English army halted at the foot of the rising ground, and which is watered by a tributary of the Forne, continued to be called "Lag na longairt"—the hollow of the luggage or military impedimenta. If we discount the connection of Sir Simon Fraser with the Aird—an hypothesis for which there is no confirmation—the other circumstances detailed by the Wardlaw historian very probably embody genuine historical facts. The de Fentons were certainly barons of Beaufort during the period in question, and nothing is more likely than their adoption—like their kindred, the de Grahams—of the national and patriotic cause, and their resistance to English aggression. Traces of the camp and trench are still in evidence. These could only have been the work of a most formidable foe, nor can we with any probability associate them with any period of Scottish history other than this time of great national peril.

We have seen no record of the death of William de Fenton, but we know that he was succeeded by his son, also named William. Indeed, the hereditary predilection for this particular name has rendered it impossible for us to distinguish between a number of individuals who bore it, and who followed the one after the other for several generations. The first William de Fenton must have died before 1315, for in that year we find Cecilia Bisset, his widow, granting, for the salvation of her soul and the souls of her ancestors and successors to God and the blessed Mary and the blessed John the Baptist and the brethren of the Valliscaulians in Beauly, all the third part of the land of Altyr, which lay in the parish of Kilmorack. A witness to this charter is Master Henry, chaplain of Beaufort—private chaplain presumably to the de Fenton family, as the parochial endowments were not yet available for the support of religious ordinances.

In 1328, the second William de Fenton, son of Cecilia Bisset, gave to the brethren of the Monastery of Beauly two merks a year, to be provided out of the multures of the Mill of Beaufort. The charter was drawn out at Beaufort on Saint Valentine's day. After this we find no record of the de Fentons until 1359, when we find William de Fenton of Beaufort in the Chapter-house of the Cathedral of Moray paying homage for his share of the half davoch land of Ess and Kiltarlity, which he held of the Diocese of Moray. We find another de Fenton, the third or fourth of the name, in a marriage contract between his sister,

Digitized by Google

Janet de Fenton and Hugh Fraser of Lovat, drawn up at Beaufort in 1416, in which the Lord of Beaufort is burden-taker for his sister. Not many years after this the male line of the family appears to have become extinct with the death of Walter de Fenton without male issue in 1438.

The marriage contract just referred to throws a certain light upon a somewhat obscure point in the Church history of the district. It is known that after the parish of Kiltarlity was disjoined from Convinth a third parish, or more correctly, perhaps, what would in modern phrase be styled a mission station, was erected in the Strathglass district of Convinth, namely, the parish of Comar. There is nothing on record regarding it until the 16th century, with the exception of a reference in the Fraser-Fenton marriage contract of 1416. There it is stated that the bride was to bring to her husband as a marriage portion, among other lands, those of "Kyrkomyr," evidence that there was a church with lands attached to it in that region, though apparently now diverted from their sacred purpose. In view of the remoteness of the district from the Church of Convinth, and from whatever place of worship existed at Kiltarlity, the mediæval Church must be admitted to have had some sense of the spiritual needs of the population. The marriage contract settles the antiquity of this ecclesiastical foundation, at any rate so far as to prove that it existed prior to 1416, the date of said contract. How long prior to that date it was founded, it is impossible to say. Who the founder of Comar Kirk was is a point equally obscure; but the lands in connection with this ancient mission or chaplaincy appear to form part of the farm of Kerrow. Comar, however, was not the only church in those upper regions of the parish. The place-name "Achadh na h-eaglais," appearing in some records under the corrupt form of "Achnaglassie," but well known in its proper form to the present generation of Gaelic speakers, testifies to the existence of a church in the district of Guisachan at some period more or less remote, but impossible now to specify.

The family of de Boscho does not seem to have possessed any lands in the region of the Aird proper—that is, in the modern county of Inverness—and they nowhere appear in the controversies regarding the lands of Ess or the fishings of the Forne. Yet it is by no means certain that they had no possessions in the old parish of Convinth, any more than that the families of de Fenton and de Graham had no landed property in the region of Ross. Certain lands are found conveyed in "thirds," apparently based upon a division among the three heiresses of John Bisset.

Digitized by Google

In a charter by Cecilia Bisset, already referred to as being given early in the 14th century, she granted to the monks of Beauly a "third" of the lands of Altyr, in Kilmorack parish and Earldom of Ross, stated to be hers by hereditary right. Again, Patrick de Graham gives a charter of another "third" of the same lands of Altyr to the monks of Beauly in 1325. By implication the remaining "third" would have belonged to the third heiress, namely, Elizabeth, wife of Andrew de Boscho. But as shewing the probability that the de Boschos had landed rights beyond their lands in Ross, we find in a feu charter by the Prior and Convent of Beauly to Lord Lovat in 1584 traces of the ancient threefold division among the Bisset heiresses in the third of Meikle Culmill and the third of the Easter Glen of Convinth, one of the thirds belonging—"ex hypothesi"—to the wife of Andrew de Boscho. Whether any more of the lands of John Bisset were hereditarily transmitted upon the same principle of division we are unable to say. However this may be, as the preponderating interest of the de Fentons and de Grahams was in the Aird that of the de Boschos was in Ross, including the parish of Kilmorack, which embraces a considerable portion of the district of Strathglass. Their chief interest in the parish of Kiltarlity probably lay in the davoch lands of Erchless, part of the Earldom of Ross. The de Boscho family seems to have died out, at anyrate in the male line, early in the 14th century. Andrew, the husband of Elizabeth Bisset, died about 1290, and was succeeded by his son, John, who is said to have engaged in the Irish wars conducted against the English by Edward Bruce. He seems to have left no male successor, and the name soon ceased to have territorial significance in the North.

Just about the time that the de Boscho family disappeared from Ross another family styled "Del Ard" or "of the Aird" comes into view. It was in those ages the fate of the baronial families of the Aird to die out in the male line, and for new families, through the marriages, to come into existence. It was probably through marriage with a de Boscho that the family Del Ard came first into the Aird, and the subsequent history of the Ross-shire portion of Kiltarlity seems to support this view. We find the Del Ards connected with other parts of the Inverness district at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries; but in the latter half of the 14th century his family ended in a female. Who the family Del Ard were, what their tribal as distinguished from their territorial designation—which, of course, they acquired after coming to the Aird—may, though not quite clear, be arrived at by reasonable inference.

Digitized by Google

We know that the Chisholms were the immediate successors of the Del Ard family in Strathglass, while it is the unhesitating tradition of that district that the Chisholms displaced the Clan Forbes as the ruling family in that region. We are not, however, left entirely to the voice of tradition as to the identity of the family of Forbes with Del Ard. In the charter of William de Fenton, Lord of Beaufort, in 1328, we find Christian Del Ard signing as witness. Several years before that date—in 1322—we find Christian Del Ard, knight, in the list of Robertson's Index as receiving a charter of the lands of Deskford; but the actual charter was not given until 1325, and it is printed in full in the "Collections Relating to the Shire of Banff," where the same individual is named "Sir Christian de Forbes, knight." This seems to be conclusive as to the identity of the family de Forbes with that of Del Ard, which took the place of the de Boschos in the Strathglass portion of their domains early in the 14th century.

As already stated, the Del Ard line ended in a female. This was Margaret Del Ard, a lady who had a twofold connection with the district in which her estates lay. Her father was Weyland of the Aird, and, as has been suggested, a Forbes, and her mother, Matilda, daughter of the Earl of Strathern, was a descendant of Patrick Graham of Lovat. Margaret married Alexander, second son of Robert de Chisholm, Constable of the Royal Castle of Urquhart. In this way the family of Chisholm, whose nursery in historical times was Roxburgh and Berwick, became possessed of the lands of Strathglass. As portioner of the third part of the Aird, we find Alexander de Chisholm, in 1368, in the Episcopal Chapel at Spiny, in presence of a multitude of canons and chaplains, doing homage to the Bishop of Moray for the lands of Ess and Kiltarlity. Alexander de Chisholm died in 1389, in which year we find his son, Thomas of Chisholm, acting as head of the house, while in 1391-2 he appears as Constable of the Castle of Urquhart. In 1401 Margaret Del Ard, the last of the Forbeses of the Aird, and mother of Thomas de Chisholm, still living, and acting as proprietrix of the lands of Strathglass. This she does in a marriage contract between her daughter, Margaret, and Angus Macdonald, son of Godfrey, Lord of Uist. This deed, which is printed among the Inchaffray Papers, was drawn up at Dumballoch, and it provided that the lands of Crochell and Comar Kirkton should be bestowed upon Angus and his wife, and also that, in default of heirs of the marriage, these lands should go back to Margaret and her family.

Digitized by Google

ANNUAL ASSEMBLY.

The annual assembly in connection with the above Society was held in the Music Hall, on Thursday evening, 13th July, and proved one of the most interesting and successful entertainments ever held under its auspices. There was a crowded audience, and those present were more representative of the Highland counties than is usually the case, a considerable number of farmers and others having arrived for the Wool Fair. In the unavoidable absence of the Chief, Mr J. E. B. Baillie of Dochfour, the chair was occupied by Mr Arthur Bignold of Lochrosque, who discharged the duties with singular ability and verve. He was accompanied to the platform by Sheriff Scott-Moncrieff, Provost Macbean, Dr Alex. Ross, Captain Wimberley, Mr William Mackay, Mr Kenneth Macdonald, town-clerk; Mr A. C. Mackenzie, Mr A. F. Steele, banker; Mr Watson, Royal Academy; Surgeon-Colonel Macdonald, Rev. Mr Connell, Rev. Mr Macdonald, Killearnan, Father Bisset, Mr Cameron, Balnakyle; Mr Mackintosh, H.M. Customs; Mr A. M. Ross, Dingwall; and Mr D. Mackintosh, secretary to the Society. The platform and balcony were decorated on a minor scale with tartans. Before the programme was entered upon, Mr Roddie's Select Choir, on the call of the Chairman, sang the National Anthem.

Mr Bignold, who was received with loud applause, said:—Ladies and gentlemen,—I trust I may be pardoned for the pride I feel to-night in presiding over this national reunion. Little dreamt I, in boyhood's breezy hour, when the "Damh mhòr na Monadhliath" was to me little short of an idol, and my favourite air was "Ho ro mo nighean donn bhoidheach," that I should ever be honoured with the presidency in the premier county of the North. The object of our Society is to honour and perpetuate the Gaelic language, and, in doing so, to preserve, through that language and its teachings, our respect for our country and its glorious past. Preservation of its language is part of the patriotism of every land. Though the Greek loves to guard the Gulf, the Rock of Salamis, he cherishes the letters of Cadmus; the Roman's heart may be in purple Appenine, and even where Atlas flings his shadow far o'er the western foam, but there is a place in it for the scroll of the past. I have known the song of the Lorelei to bring tears to German eyes on the wide and winding Rhine; but the record of Scotland, which we preserve, is a picture, in its Gaelic setting, which time can never tarnish: Scotland the unconquered and unconquerable—(applause). I cannot appear to you other than presumptuous in attempting to put before a representative gathering like the present—a gather-

Digitized by Google

ing of the very backbone of the North, and its practical intelligence—views of a man like myself, whose only claim for a hearing is his reputed desire to have the welfare of the Highlands at heart. It is because you are good enough to credit me with that desire that I can venture to ask you to-night to hearken to my theories of the great question which is not only the subject of local discussion, but which figures annually as an amendment to the Address to the Throne—I mean the present condition of the Highlands and Islands. I will deal with our enemies one by one. First, let me take, perhaps, the worst enemy of all, the capitalist, whose position is: "I care nothing for anybody or anything as long as I keep within the law, and as it is my good pleasure to spend my money in clearing ground of human beings who interfere with my selfish pleasures, I intend to do so to any extent I may think proper." Now, surely, because one or two capitalists have abused the power which the possession of money may have placed in their hands, that is no fair ground for moving in the direction of the extermination of the deer. Next comes the extremist: he would hail with satisfaction the disappearance of the deer; he would delight in seeing the holiday trippers eating their sandwiches and sucking their oranges on the top of Ben Slioch, and he would welcome the application to Scotland of the French law of primogeniture, under which, in a few years, its summit would be divided between a dozen different proprietors. With the realisation of the extremist's programme would disappear the charm with which nature has so richly endowed this glorious land. To me there is something almost sacred in the rock where the snowflake reposes, and if it is true, as I believe it to be, that "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin," then you will, like myself, shrink in horror from lending your support to schemes and legislation which can only tend to the conversion of the Scottish Highlands into a sort of Rosherville Gardens for the Sassenach—(applause). For me a far different opponent (though they are both grinding the same axe) is the hard-headed, practical man, who knows nothing whatever about the matter, but who, with plausibility, presents his case that the rich man, for his own selfish objects, does not hesitate to depopulate the North, convert it into a solitude for sport, and so the individual withers that the stag may become more and more, whilst the so-called sportsman drives the people from the glens, and the sheep from the mountain tops. This opponent, to enforce his arguments, does not hesitate to refer to the cruel Sutherlandshire Clearings, whereby were created sheep grounds, not forests, as if they were the work of yesterday, and boldly to assert that every single one of the deer forests of Scotland have

Digitized by Google

been created by cruel and bloody evictions. That statement in the House of Commons was accepted as a fact by scores of members of Parliament, whose ignorance was their best excuse. Such an advocate fills the public eye as the champion of Highland rights against Highland wrongs, and in that character he obtains the support of philanthropists, who have neither the time nor the inclination to master the full facts. But in this extraordinary situation there is one hopeful feature, and it is this, we all would be delighted to find some solution by which not only were the rights of the people respected, but, at the same time, the large amount of money annually spent in the North remain undiminished—(applause). You have tried Deer Forests Commissions in vain: the dust is a quarter of an inch thick over the last report. Northerners are shrewd people, and remind me of the Turkish proverb, "The fox does not sit down twice on the thorns"—(laughter). The owner of hill grounds obtains his return through utilising it as a sheep farm, or as a deer forest. Its value as a sheep farms turns on its capability of wintering the sheep without transporting them south by rail. Its value as a deer forest is governed by the richness of the pasture, the altitude of the ground, and the winter feeding in the strath below. The enemies of the stalker are hostile crofters and squatters, made hostile by bad landlords. Now, I contend that the unwarrantable rentals to which the sheep farms have attained in recent times has caused the ruin of many a good man, and thereby driven proprietors to seek salvation by afforesting; but what our legislators will not recognise is that the creation of the forests need not necessarily entail the removal of the crofters. Given a sufficient portion of low ground for winter grazing, and three-quarters of every strath below a forest can remain in the undisputed possession of the crofters; thereby the hill tops which will not carry the sheep in the winter time are utilized for the deer, the proprietor gets his rent for the forest, and the crofter can abide where his fathers did before him. The fact that no land once afforested is ever again remitted to sheep proves that the sheep-farmer recognises that he cannot profitably pay such a rent as would induce the proprietor to let him the land. Deer foresting, like everything else in this world, more or less depends upon reciprocity and good feeling, and where they exist the forest to the people has been a blessing and not a curse. I shall not deny that you have the power to exterminate the red deer, as the Irishman has the elk, but I do believe that if your efforts in that direction were crowned with success, they will in the hereafter be mingled with regret, and you will never hear "Ben Dorain" again, and the famous minstrelsy of Duncan Ban, without some-

Digitized by Google

thing like a sense of guilt. Therefore, to sum up, this high ground which will not carry sheep in winter shall hereafter be afforested, conditionally that a fraction of the strath be fenced off for winter feeding, and the remainder assigned to the crofter population. With afforesting comes planting, with planting comes employment, and a return in the future in Scotland, as in Norway, from the sale of the pines—(applause). I will not believe that Professor Blackie has lived in vain; he pointed the road which we should tread in order to become better friends with each other, and reap the benefits of mutual good-will. Our Society has borne fruit, and I like the pride with which the Highlander of to-day says, "Tha Gaelic agam"—(applause). So great is my reverence for the memory of Professor Blackie, that I will read you his words on deer forests, agreeing in the main as I do with him; they were uttered in this hall:—"It is in the school of deer-stalking that our best military men and great geographical explorers have been bred. It is only when deer-stalking is conducted on commercial principles that it interferes with the proper cherishing of population in the country, and is to be looked upon with suspicion by the wise statesman and the patriotic citizen. Certain extensive districts of the Highlands are the natural habitation of the deer, and no man objects to hunting them or shooting them there. But when extensive tracts of country are enclosed and fenced round, and sent into the market as deer forests, the State has certainly a right to enquire whether this is done in such a way as not to interfere with the well-being of the human population, who have for centuries inhabited happy dwellings along the green fringes and sheltered nooks which belong to these wild districts." Professor Blackie was one of our greatest members; he has passed away, but has left us the memory of his name and the inspiration of his example. He always enjoined on us to insist that a Gaelic return be ordered to be included in the schedule on the taking of the census, and I hope that some Northern member has already insisted upon this. My reason for claiming it for Scotland is that in Sutherlandshire 11 parishes out of 13, in Ross 28 out of 36, in Inverness 27 out of 32, and in Argyll 41 out of 48 have a large majority of Gaelic-speaking inhabitants, while as to the whole of Scotland the majority is overwhelming. In face of these statistics, I hold that the exclusion of separate Gaelic instruction in our national schools is tyrannical and unnatural—(applause). It is almost as indefensible as the act of Paul Kruger in forbidding the English language in the Transvaal. I say let there be a Lyceum for Gaelic in every school—(applause). I wish that a commission could be appointed, who could interrogate the poorer inhabitants

Digitized by Google

in our lands in the Gaelic tongue, ascertaining from them their grievances, and formulating the same for legislative redress. My ideal for the North is the restoration of the relations of ancient Rome—

> "When none were for a party,
> But all were for the State,
> And the rich man helped the poor,
> And the poor man loved the great;
> When lands were fairly portioned
> And spoils were fairly sold,
> The Romans were like brothers
> In the brave days of old"

—(loud applause). The call to arms last year, when 94 per cent. of the Reservists came to the colours, found Scotland ready, and Scottish names and valour, always a tradition of the past, to-day are a present reality on every tongue. To-day Scotsmen can meet each other with conscious pride. The dauntless spirit of the past is strong as of yore in the breasts of her sons, and we feel of our country that, great as has been her past, greater yet shall be her future. You remember the words of the aged Highlander as he clasped the claymore in his rugged hand—"I have but my Donald, and brave young Clan Ronald, but if I had ten they should follow Glengarry"—(applause). It is their descendants of to-day who have taken Pretoria, our Hector and his Highlanders, the bravest of the brave. Our own people have as good a right as any others to possession of all uncivilised portions of the world that are waiting to profit by civilisation. Though I, for one, have ever preached 'Scotland for the Scotch," and striven to retain her sons in the glens of the North, yet I cannot close my eyes to the brilliant prospect now opening out upon the rolling veldt, when, by means of a Government grant, those who care to will have the opportunity of settling with their wives and families in one of the most healthy spots of the globe—(applause). Now, ladies and gentlemen—men, brethren, and sisters of the Comunn Gàelig of Inverness—I will stand no longer between you and the attractive programme our Committee has provided. He concluded by calling upon the Select Choir to sing "We'll hae nane but Hielan' bonnets here," a song which he thought beautifully appropriate to the circumstances under which they were gathered—(cheers).

Mr Bignold varied the usual routine of the concert by introducing a number of the songs in a few apposite sentences. Mrs Munro gave a fine rendering of "Cam' ye by Atholl," and was much applauded. The next song was "Macgregor's Gathering,"

Digitized by Google

which was artistically given by Mr D. Miller. Miss Jessie Maclachlan introduced herself with a Gaelic song, and received a flattering welcome, which her singing more than justified. After "Turn ye to Me," by the Choir, who sang this and other pieces in faultless combination, Mr D. G. Brown varied the proceedings with a sword dance, to which Pipe-Major Mackenzie played. Miss Kate Fraser also selected a Gaelic subject, "Hi horo," the tune of which is better known as wedded to Burns's "Ae fond kiss." A fantasia on Scottish airs by Mr Whitehead, who played very spiritedly, was followed by a couple of English songs by Miss Maclachlan, "O, can ye sew cushions?" and "A hundred pipers," the latter of which roused the audience to a high pitch of appreciative enthusiasm. The Misses Watt and Cameron, and Messrs Macleod and D. Munro, sang the quartette "Glencoe," which led Mr Bignold to observe that the name had acquired a special significance since last the song was given in that hall. It now reminds us of the first Highland victory of the war. Who was it who, when morning broke on far away Glencoe, rushed up the hell-swept heights? The Highlanders; "with the pipes of their regiments so gallantly playing, the victory was won by the Highland Brigade." A short interval was now filled in by Pipe-Major Mackenzie, who played a march, Strathspey, and reel in his usual spirited fashion. "You may not know," remarked the Chairman, "but is is a fact that the red deer will follow the pipes over the hill." The next song was Mr Miller's favourite, "The Lass o' Ballochmyle." Mrs Munro contributed to the latter part of the programme "It was a dream," and "Will ye no come back again?"; Miss Maclachlan sang "Mo dhachaidh"; and Mr Watt delighted the house with his capable bowing in popular violin selections. Mr R. Macleod proved himself one of the favourite soloists of the evening in "An t-Ailleagan." The rendering of "Scotland yet," by the Choir, reminded the Chairman that the modern version is—

> "Fill to the brim your glasses,
> And shoulder to shoulder stand,
> With a ringing cheer for the land so dear—
> Scotland, the mother land."

The dancing of the Reel of Tulloch ended the programme; during which Miss C. Fraser, Mr Whitehead, and Mr R. Buchanan, Glasgow, acted as accompanists.

The Gaelic speech was delivered by Mr W. J. Watson, rector of the Royal Academy. Mr Watson said:—Fhir na cathrach, a bhaintighearnan agus a dhaoin'-uaisle,—Cha mhór nach fhaod mi radh mar a thubhairt am bard Conanach—

Digitized by Google

" Ged 'tha mis' a nochd 's a ghleann
Cha 'n e bhi ann a b' fhearr leam."

Cha 'n e idir nach math leam bhi iarnair ann an coinneachadh Gaidheal cho mór 's cho cridheil 's tha ann an so, ach gu 'm bheil cinnteas agam gu'n d' thigeadh e moran na b' fhearr do iomadh fear seachad orm fhein, oraid Gàidhleig a labhairt do 'n chuideachd a tha 'n so cruinn air iarradus Comuinn Gàidhleig Inbhirnis. Ach coma co dhiubh, cha chum mi fada sibh. 'S tric a chual sinn gu bheil a Ghàidhleag dol as air feadh a Ghàidhealtachd, agus cha ghabh aicheadh air nach 'eil sin mar sin. Theid, a reir coslais, a Ghàidhleag as, agus is mór am beud gun d' théid, ach cha d' théid i as ceart cho cabhagach 's a tha cuid an dòchas. Thainig mi fhein an diugh bho àite nach 'eil deich mile bho Inbhirnis, agus anns an àite sin cha chuinnear ann an cainnte chumanta an t-sluaigh diog ach a Ghàidhleag. Agus air sràidibh Inbhirnis fhéin air latha féile, nach cluinnear a Ghàidhleag ceart cho tric ris a Bheurla? Dheth aon ni tha dearbh chinnteas agam, nach d' théid i as ri ar linnse, agus faodaidh luchd caithris leabaidh bhàis na Gàidhleig bhi nan caithris nis fhada na tha iad an dùil. Tha cuid ag radh, agus mo thruaigh 's mo naire gum faighear Gaidheal nam measg, gur ann mur is luaithe a leigeas Gaidheal na h-Alba di-chuimhne air an canain fhéin, 's ann is fhearr 'bhios iad dheth: oir, deir iadsan, ged a chaillear a chainnte, mairidh spiorad nan Gaidheal mar a bha e bho shean, agus thig iad fhéin air an aghairt 's an t-saoghal dh' easbhuidh na Gaidhleig nis fearr na leatha. Cha chan mi fhéin riuth sin ach an aon fhacal. Riamh cha 'n fhaca mi Sasunnach gun Bheurla na Frangach gun Fhraingis, agus ged a tha sinn cluinntin gun urrain iad a nis cais a dheanadh gun bhainne agus ìm gun bharr, cha 'n 'eil e an comas doibh Gaidheal a dheanamh dheth truaghanan aig nach 'eil Gaidhleag, agus an latha 'chuireas ceann air a Ghaidhleag cuiridh e ceann air na Gaidheal. Gu mo fada as an latha sin! Gu mo fhada as an latha sin a bhasaicheas a chainnte 'bha air ar n-athraichean bho shean, a chainnte sin

" A labhar Pàdruig 'n Innis-fàil nan righ,
'S am faidh naomh sin, Colum caomh an I."

Tha e mar fhiachaibh, iomadh sin, air na h-uile fear aig am beil spéis do na Gaidheal, a dheanamh na 's urrainn dha airson an cainnte. Tha sinn faicinn cuid a deanamh sin. Tha uachdarain fearainn ann a tha 'g ionnsachadh do 'n clann canain an tuath a labhairt, agus faodaidh mi ainmeachadh nam measg Diuc Athuill agus Mac an Tòisich. Cha 'n 'eil sin ach mar bu choir, ach, saoil sibhse, nach daingean am bann e eadar tuath is tighearna? Tha paipearan naigheachd a tha 'cuir a mach gach seachduin

Digitized by Google

earrannean de Ghaidhleig. Tha dhà againn ann an Inbhirnis, agus tha aon eile anns an Oban. Tha Comuinn Gaidhleig anns gach cearnaidh dheth 'n duthaich, agus cha 'n e bhàin sin ach ann an tiribh céin, agus tha cuid dhiubh, mar a tha Comunn Gàidhleag Lunnanach a toirt seachad gach bliadhna leabhraichean agus duaisean eile do sgoilearan a Ghaidhealtachd airson eòlas na Gaidhleig. Tha àrd fear teagasg Gaidhleig ann an Oll-thigh Dhun-éidin, chaidh chuir anns a chathar sinn tre dian-saothar an t-Ollamh Blackie nach maireann. Tha iomadh fear a nis ag obair gu dichiollach a rannsachadh eachdraidh agus teangaidh nan Gaidheal, an cuid is mo dhiubh, agus is beag nach naire a radh, nan Sasunnaich agus nan Gearmailtich, ach tha triuir na ceathrar a bhuineas duinn fhéin, agus cha beag an uaill do Chomunn Gàidhleag Inbhirnis gu'm beil am fear is àirde cliù dhiubh na bhaill do 'n chomuinn so, tha mi ciollachadh Maighstear Alasdair MacBheathain. 'S fhada bho 'm bu choir dha 'bhi na Ollamh, is cha ruig mise leas a mholadh, oir labhraidh obair air a shon. Is maith na comharraidhean sin a dh' ainmich mi, agus tha iad nan obair misnich, oir tha iad leigeil ris gu bheil a Ghaidhleag ag eiridh a slochd an dearmaid anns an robh i ro fhada na laidh. Ach mu choimhideas sinn mu 'n cuairt oirnn, chith sinn ann an duthaich bheag eile eisimpleir, agus cha mhór nach d' thubhairt mi achmhasan. Bha mi uair greis ann an Sasunn, agus an sin bha mi eòlach air aireamh a bhuineadh do Wales, no mur theireadh iad fein ris, an Cymru, agus b' e an aon ni a chuir mór iongantais orm nach robh gin dhiubh sud nach b' urrainn an canain aca fhein a labhairt agus a sgriobhadh ceart cho math ris a Bheurla. A bharrachd air so, fhuar mi fios gu bheil paipearan naigheachd anns gach cearnaidh dheth an duthaich sin a tha air an cur a mach nan cainnte dhuthachasach. Agus fhuair mi mar aon aobhar air so gu bheil an cainnte sin air a teagaisg 's na sgolaibh, cha 'n e mar gu'm b' ann gu suarach agus a dh' aindheoin, ach gu cumanta agus le mor thoil inntinn. Nis nach bu chòir sin naire chur oirnn? Tha sinn air fas cho meagh-bhlath anns a chùis so, 's mur nach b' airidh cainnte nan gleann air a bhith air a cumail air cuimhne. Nis, a chairdean, cha 'n 'eil mise dol a radh dad an trath so mu thimchiill teagasg na Gaidhleig 's na sgolaibh, thuilleadh air so; cha 'n 'eil dad an rioghailtibh nan sgol 'tha bacadh na Gaidhleag 'bhi air an aon laidh ri Laidinn na Fraingis, agus, a thuilleadh, tha e na ni 'tha uile gu leir nur comas fein. Mu tha sibhse 'ga iarraidh, agus mu their sibh gu bheil sibh 'ga iarraidh, gheibhear e. Ach aon ni their mi, agus 's e so e, tha sinn cluinntin nis leòir air cho teirce 's 'tha na ministirean, agus gu h-àraidh na ministirean Gaidhleag, agus

Digitized by Google

cha 'n 'eil acheadh nach e aon aobhar air son sin gu bheil e cho duilich do ghillean as a Ghaidhealtachd, aig nach eil' ma dh-fhaoidhte, leithid cothroman 's 'tha aig an co-leibhreach anns na bailtean mura gu deas, air faighinn a steach do 'n Oll-thighean. Tha mi féin a smuaineachadh gun gabhadh leasacadh air so, nam biodh teisteanas air fagail sgol, no mur 'their iad ris anns a chainnte choimheach, "Leaving Certificate," air a thabhairt airson eolas na Gaidhleig, agus gun cunntadh sin dhoibh airson an Oll-thigh maille ri Laidinn airson riarachadh na cursa. Nan tachradh sin, tha mi deimhin as gun d' rachadh moran nis mo air an aghaidh as a Ghaidhealtach. Agus a nis, aon fhacal tuilleadh. Tha e air cuimhne mu thimchioll a Ghaidheal ainmeal sin a thog na Camshronaich, Alan an Earrachd, gur e abradh na h-oifigearan Gallda ris, "an Coirneal cia mar tha sibh." Tha againn an diugh thar na reismidean Gaidhealach fear eile 's urrainn, cia mar 'tha sibh a radh ri dhaoinibh. Gu robh buaidh is piseach air! Agus gum b' ann 's nach tig an latha nach bith na reismidean Gaidhealach fo leithid! 'S gu mo fada as an latha air nach cluinnear fuaim a Ghaidhleig air sraidibh Inbhirnis!

The proceedings, which were protracted over three hours, were brought to a close with the usual votes of thanks. In thanking the Chairman, Provost Macbean said the duties of the chair had never been more happily discharged than they had been by Mr Bignold, a sentiment which the meeting heartily endorsed.

Mr Bignold, in reply, said:—My most difficult duty is now before me, to acknowledge a vote of thanks to the artistes and to the President. For a moment, only for a moment, let me dissociate myself from my friends; it is only to say that, as it is for the first time in my life that I find myself coupled with real talent, I mean to stay where I am. We are most gratified for your kind appreciation, and it was only on account of the structural conformation of the stage that we did not "take our curtain," as we call it, in a regular way. We were obliged to bow, or bob, as you observed us doing—(laughter). It is said that there is never a cloud without a silver lining, and so I suppose there is never a silver lining without a cloud. Our cloud is that we haven't had a reel. May I tell you now, in strict confidence, that if there had been one, Pipe-Major Mackenzie would have given us "Mrs Macleod of Raasay," and it was the firm intention of our gifted prima donna to open the ball with your venerable President. We live in the future, and hope next vear to persuade the Committee for the sake of auld lang syne—(cheers).

The arrangements for the entertainment were carried through by the secretary, Mr Duncan Mackintosh, in a manner that gave every satisfaction.

Digitized by Google

29th NOVEMBER, 1900.

At this meeting, Mr David A. Macritchie, C.A., 4 Archibald Place, Edinburgh; Mr Donald Cameron, Ardlarach, Culduthel Road, Inverness; Mr Thomas Fraser, 82 George Street, Edinburgh; Mr J. R. Burnett, Romford, Crown Drive, Inverness; Rev. John Dow, M.A., The Manse, Munlochy; and Mr George Lawson, Beaufort, Beauly, were elected members of the Society. Thereafter the following paper, contributed by the Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair, Nova Scotia, and entitled "The Gaelic Bards and the Collectors of their Works," was read:—

THE GAELIC BARDS AND THE COLLECTORS OF THEIR PRODUCTIONS.

The Heroic Ballads.

By the heroic ballads, or "dàin gaisge," are meant such poems as refer to events which are supposed to have taken place in the time of Cuchullainn, Fionn, and other ancient heroes. They introduce us to wars and battles, the chase of the wild boar, the wonderful doings of magicians, the courtships and jealousies of fair women and brave men, the death of heroes, and the deep grief of parents and wives over those slain in battle or cruelly murdered.

The Book of Leinster was compiled about 1125 A.D. It contains five poems which are ascribed to Fionn Mac Cumhail, and two poems are ascribed to Ossian. The Book of Ballymote was compiled about 1390. It contains one poem which is ascribed to Fearghus Finnbheoil, and one which is ascribed to Caoilte Mac Ronain. The Book of Lecain was compiled in 1416. There are three poems in it which are ascribed to Fionn. Dean Macgregor's book was compiled about 1527. There are thirty heroic ballads in it. Of these, one is ascribed to Conall Cearnach, eight to Ossian, two to Fearghus Filidh, one to Caoilte Mac Ronain, one to the Caoch O Cluain, one to Gillecalum Mac an Ollaimh, and two to Allan Mac Rory. Fearghus Filidh, or, as he is called in Irish MSS., Fearghus Finnbheoil, was a brother of Ossian.

According to the legendary history of Ireland, Conall Cearnach, the sons of Uisneach, Fraoch, Cuchullainn, and Conlaoch flourished during the first half of the reign of Conchobar Mac Nessa, King of Ulster. It is said that Conchobar began to

Digitized by Google

reign seventeen years before the birth of Christ, and that he died in 33 A.D. He was thus King of Ulster for fifty years.

The Fianntan, or Fenians, were professional warriors. They received a thorough military training. They had a commander-in-chief, and were bound by oath to obey him. They spent their time hunting deer and wild boars, doing the work of policemen, and fighting the battles of the King in whose service they were employed. Cumhall, Fionn, Diarmad, Caoilte, Ossian, and Oscar belonged to the Clanna Baoisgne, or Fenians of Leinster; whilst Goll, Conan, Garaidh, and Aodh Caomh belonged to the Clanna Morna, or Fenians of Connaught. As a general rule the Clanna Baoisgne and Clanna Morna fought on opposite sides. Cumall, Commander-in-Chief of the former, was slain by Goll, Commander-in-Chief of the latter, at the battle of Cnucha, about 210 A.D. Fionn, son of Cumhall, was for a long time Commander-in-Chief of the Clanna Baoisgne. He was the ablest Gaidelic general of his day. He was murdered by a fisherman named Athlach in the year 283. He was an old man at the time of his death. Athlach killed him with a salmon gaff. Caoilte Mac Ronain beheaded the worthless Athlach shortly afterwards.

The battle of Gabhra was fought in 284. The contending parties were Cairbre Lifeachair, supreme-king of Ireland, and Mogh Corb, King of Munster. The Clanna Morna supported Cairbre, whilst the Clanna Baoisgne supported Mogh Corb. So furiously did these two Fenian bands fight against each other that they were both almost wholly exterminated. Among the slain were Oscar and Cairbre. Ossian was one of the few that escaped.

Patrick seems to have been born at Kilpatrick on the Clyde. According to the chronology usually received, he began his missionary work in Ireland in 432, and died in 493. Columba was born at Gartan, in Donegal, in 521. He was the son of Felim, son of Fergus, son of Conall, son of Neil of the nine hostages, King of Ireland. Columba began his missionary work in Iona about the year 563. He died on June 10th, 597.

The Scandinavians began to make predatory excursions to England in 793 A.D., to Scotland in 794 A.D., and to Ireland in 795 A.D. There were no battles fought between themselves and the inhabitants of the British Islands prior to these dates.

In one of the poems ascribed to Fionn in the Book of Leinster we find that famous commander predicting the coming of St Patrick to Ireland. It is clear that this poem was not composed by Fionn. It is possible that he was a poet; but it is certain

Digitized by Google

that he was not a prophet. In four of the poems ascribed to Ossian in Dean Macgregor's Book we find St Patrick referred to. It is evident, then, that these poems were not composed by Ossian.

It is impossible to determine, except in a very few instances, when the heroic ballads were composed. It may be assumed, however, with tolerable certainty, that a ballad which represents Cuchullainn and Fionn as contemporaries could not have been composed before the year 500, that a ballad which represents Ossian and St Patrick as discussing the comparative merits of Paganism and Christianity could not have been composed before the year 700, and that a ballad which represents Fionn as fighting against the Scandinavians could not have been composed before the year 1000.

There are four heroic ballads in Dean Macgregor's Book which were undoubtedly composed between 1400 A.D. and 1500. These are: "Bàs Fhraoich," by the Caoch o Cluain; "Bàs Chonlaoich," by Gilliecallum Mac an Ollaimh; and "Bàs Dhiarmaid" and "Bàs Oscair," by Allan Mac Rory. Indeed, the probability is that the most of the heroic ballads in existence at the present day were composed between 1200 A.D. and 1500.

The Caoch o Cluain, or blind man of Cluain, begins his poem with these words: "Osna caraid an Cluan Fhraoich." It is thus evident that the author was at Cluan Fhraoich when he composed the poem. He may, indeed, have lived there. Now we find it stated in an Irish MS. that "Tomaltach, son of Owen, son of Hugh, son of Dermot, son of Rory Caoch, died in 1594 in his own home in Cluain Fhraoich." Rory Og, son of Rory Caoch, and lord of Moylurg, died in 1486. It seems to me extremely probable that Dean Macgregor's Caoch o Cluain and Rory Caoch Mac Dermot of Cluain Fhraoich are one and the same person. Rory Caoch flourished about the year 1450. It is probable, then, that this poem on the death of Fraoch was composed about that time.*

The materials from which the heroic ballads were formed were the common property of all the Gaidels. The stories about Cuchullinn and Fionn were known in Scotland as fully and as well as in Ireland. There were bards among the Scottish Gaidels from the earliest period of their history, and there were learned men among them from the time of Columba. It may be taken for granted, then, that some of the heroic ballads were

* O'Curry's Lectures on Irish MSS., p. 109.

Digitized by Google

composed in Scotland and some in Ireland. Still, it is a matter of no consequence where they were composed. We should be interested in them, not as Scottish or Irish poems, but as products of the Gaidelic intellect.

The Gaelic Bards from 1400 to 1525.

Fionn Mac Cumhaill, Ossian, Fergus Filidh, and Caoilte Mac Ronain were Irish Gaidels. There may possibly be a few short heroic ballads in existence which were composed in their time. The Albanic Duan is said to have been composed in the time of Malcolm Kenmore, who reigned from 1058 A.D. to 1093. It is merely a list of ...e early Scottish Kings. The name of the author is not given. The poem was preserved in the Mac Firbis MS., which was written about the year 1650. It is not certain that it was composed in the time of Malcolm Kenmore. Neither is it certain that the writer was a native of Scotland. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to point to a single poem, long or short, written by the Scottish Gaidel prior to the year 1400. Of course we have a Gaelic hymn by Patrick; but Patrick may have been a Briton, not a Gaidel.

Among the composers of verses who flourished in the Highlands between 1400 and 1525 were the following:—Lachainn Mor MacMhuirich, Mac-Eachaig, Gilchrist Taylor, Duncan Mor from Lennox, Effric MacCorquodale, Gillecalum Mac an Ollaimh, Allan Mac Rory, Duncan MacCabe, John MacEachern, John of Knoydart, Phelim MacDougall, Duncan Og, John MacVurich, Donnachadh Mac a Pharsain, Andrew MacIntosh, Ewen MacCombie, the Bard MacIntyre, MacGillfhionnaig, Dughall MacGilleghlais, Finlay Roy, Maoldomhnaich Mac Aonghuis Mhuilich, a third MacVurich, Sir John Stewart of Appin, Sir Duncan Campbell, the Countess of Argyll, Iseabal Ni Mhic Cailein, two Earls of Argyll, the Mull Bard, and Duncan MacGregor, the Dean's brother. Some of these authors were good poets, others merely versifiers.

Lachlan Mor MacVurich is the first prominent Highland bard whose name is really known to us. He was undoubtedly a man of ability and influence. His address to the Macdonalds when about to engage in the battle of Harlaw in 1411 is the only one of his poems that has been preserved. It is published in A. & D. Stewart's collection.

Effric MacCorquodale heads the list of our Highland poetesses. She seems to have been the wife of MacNeill of Castle

Digitized by Google

Sween, Chief of the Clan Neill. Gillecalum Mac an Ollaimh, author of "Bàs Chonlaoich," was a very able poet. He was probably a son of one of the Beatons who were physicians to the Lords of the Isles. Allan Mac Rory was also a poet of ability. He seems to have lived near Glenshee, in Perthshire. His "Bàs Dhiarmaid" and "Bàs Oscair" are both excellent poems. It is fairly certain that the Bard MacIntyre was born near Loch Rannoch, that he went to Badenoch about 1497, that he settled near Loch Inch, and that he was the progenitor of the MacIntyres of Badenoch. It is just possible that Calum Dubh nam Protaichean inherited his poetic genius from him. The third MacVurich mentioned composed a long elegy on Allan Mac Rory of Moydart and Ranald Ban, his son. The former was executed in 1509, and the latter in 1514.

Probably the ablest poets who flourished between 1400 and 1525 were Lachlan Mór MacVurich, Gilchrist Taylor, Gillecalum Mac an Ollaimh, Allan Mac Rory, Finlay Roy, and the Mull Bard, by whom I mean the author of the poem known as "An Duanag Ullamh."

The Gaelic Bards from 1525 to 1645.

Among the authors of poetic pieces who flourished between 1525 and 1645 were the following:—Hector Maclean of Coll, Dòmhnall Mac Fhionnlaidh, Bishop Carswell, Gregor Macgregor's wife, Neil Mor MacVurich, Marion Macfadyen, Malcolm Garbh Macleod of Raasay, Cathall Macvurich, Macculloch of Parke, Murdoch Macaulay's wife, the Rev. Alexander Munro of Duirinish, John Grant, John Whyte, Ferchar Macrae, and Murdoch Mor Mackenzie of Achilty.

John Carswell was born in the parish of Kilmartin, Argyleshire, in 1520. He translated John Knox's Liturgy into Gaelic, and published it in 1567. This was the first Gaelic book that was ever printed in Scotland. Bishop Carswell composed a few hymns, but cannot be called a poet. He died in 1572. Gregor Macgregor's wife was a daughter of Duncan Campbell of Glenlyon, Donnachadh Ruadh na Féile. Neil Mor MacVurich was the author of two of the poems in the Book of Clanranald. Cathall MacVurich composed four of the poems in that work. John Grant, Iain Mac Eoghain, was a native of Glenmoriston. He composed an elegy on John Grant of Glenmoriston, who died in 1637. John White lived near Kilmun, in Cowall. He was known as Forsair Choir an t-Sìth. According to one account he

Digitized by Google

died in the time of Montrose. According to another account he was living in 1691.

The Gaelic Bards from 1645 to 1725.

Among the poets, poetesses, and versifiers who flourished between 1645 and 1725 were the following:—John Lom Macdonald, Hector Bacach Maclean, Dorothy Brown, Archibald Macdonald (an Ciaran Mabach), Paul Crùbach Macleod, Mary Macleod (Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh), Nighean Dhomhnaill Ghlais, Gregor Og Macgregor, Archibald Macdonald of Keppoch, Mac Ithich, Niall Mac Mhuirich, Capt. Andrew Maclean, Lachlan Maclean of Còll (Lachainn Mac Mhic Iain), Catherine Maclean of Coll, Duncan Macrae of Inverinate. Alexander Macrae (Alasdair Mac Mhurchaidh Ruaidh), Nighean Mhic Gillechaluim Raasaidh, Duncan Stewart (Donnachadh mac an Dubhshuilich), Ranald Macdonald of Glencoe, Aonghus Mac Alasdair Ruaidh, Alexander Macdonald of Bohuntin, Donald Donn Macdonald, John Lom's son, Am Bard Mucanach, Roderick Morrison (an Clarsair Dall), the Rev. Angus Morrison, Lachlan Mackinnon, the Rev. John Beaton, John Maclean (Iain Mac Ailein), John Macdonald (Iain Dubh Mac Iam Mhic Ailein), John Beaton of Dùn an Eirthirich, Angus Odhar Macdonald, Julia Macdonald (Sìle na Ceapaich), Kenneth Macrae, Norman Ban Macleod, John Macdonald (Iain Mac Dhughaill Mhic Lachainn), John Mackay (am Piobaire Dall), Ruari Breac Mac Dhonnachaidh Bhain, Murdoch Matheson, the Rev. John Maclean, James Shaw of Crathinard, Donald Macintyre, Mary Macdonald (the Aigeannach), Mairearad Nighean Lachainn, Domhnall Ban Bard, William Mackenzie (an Ceistear Crùbach), David MacKellar, and Donald Ban Maclean. Some of these were merely versifiers, and cannot be classed as poets; others, however, such as John Lom, Hector Bacach, Dorothy Brown, Mary Macleod, am Bard Mucanach, Roderick Morrison, Lachlan Mackinnon, Iain Mac Ailein, Iain Dubh Mac Iain Mhic Ailein, Sìle na Ceapaich, Norman Ban Macleod, John Mackay, Murdoch Matheson, the Aigeannach, Mairearad Nighean Lachainn, and the Ceistear Crùbach were persons who possessed poetic gifts of a high order. The poetesses who flourished between 1645 and 1725 were especially remarkable for their talents. I do not know where we are to look among our Highland poetesses for better composers of songs than Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh, Dorothy Brown, Sìle na Ceapaich, the Aigeannach, and Mairearad Nighean Lachainn.

Digitized by Google

Paul Crubach Macleod was a son of Alexander Ban Og Macleod of Lynedale. He was a tall, strong and handsome man. He composed an elegy on John Macleod of Dunvegan, who died in 1649. Mac Ithich is the author of a good elegy on Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyll, who was beheaded in 1685. I can give no further information about him.

It is probable that Sìle na Ceapaich was born about 1660, and that she died about 1739. She was married to Gordon of Beldornie. Her husband died in 1723.

The MacVurichs were hereditary family historians and bards to the Macdonalds of Moydart. They were of Irish origin. Their progenitor, Muireach O'Daly, settled in Scotland about the year 1200, and came to be known in Ireland as Muireach Albannach. He seems to have been an ecclesiastic. He was evidently a pious man. There are several of his poems in Dean Macgregor's Book. Lachlan Mor MacVuirich, author of the battle address of 1411, must have been born about 1380. He was apparently the seventh in descent from Muireach. Donald MacVuirich was a great-grandson of Lachlan Mor. He was the eleventh in descent from Muireach. Neil Mor MacVuirich was the son of Lachlan, son of Donald. Neil Mor was born probably about 1550. He was the author of "Seannachas Sloinneadh na Pioba." He was quite a prominent man in his day. He had a son named Lachlan, who had a son named Donald, who had a son named Neil. Neil was born probably as early as 1640. He was a good poet. He was the writer of a large portion of the history in the Book of Clanranald. He died shortly after 1715. He left two sons, Donald and Lachlan. Donald succeeded his father as seannachie and bard. Donald died without issue, and was succeeded by his nephew, Neil, son of Lachlan. Neil was the eighteenth in descent from Muireach. He gave the Red Book (ăn Leabhar Dearg) to James Macpherson. He also gave several parchments containing poems to Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair and Ranald, his son. He was the last seannachie of the MacVuirichs. He left a son named Lachlan, who was born in 1741, and who was alive in 1800.

The Gaelic Bards from 1725 to 1830.

Among the poets and song-writers who flourished between 1725 and 1830 were the following:—Alexander Macdonald (Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair), the Aireach Muileach, Zachary Macaulay, the Rev. Donald Macleod of Greshornish,

Digitized by Google

Malcolm Maclean (Calum a' Ghlinne), Catherine Ferguson, Col. John Roy Stewart, the Rev. John Macdonald (Iain Mor Mac Dhugaill), John Cameron (an Taillear Mac Alasdair), the Rev. Alexander Macfarlane, John Maclean (Iain Mac Thearlaich Oig), the Rev. John Morrison, John MacCodrum, Hector Macleod, Archibald Macdonald (Gilleasbuig na Ciotaig), Donald Matheson of Attadale, Rob Donn, Duncan Campbell (Donnachadh Mor a Chlaidhibh), Mrs Campbell of Barr, Mrs Fraser of Culbokie, John Macintyre, Dugald Buchanan, Lachlan Macpherson of Strathmashie, William Mackenzie of Lochcarron, Alexander Donn Mackenzie, Duncan Ban Macintyre, James Macintyre of Glennoe, the Rev. James Maclagan, Duncan Lowden, John Macrae (Iain Mac Mhurchaidh), Duncan Macrae (Donnachadh Glas Mac Dhomhnaill Bhuidhe), Allan Macdougall (Ailein Buidhe), James Macpherson of Badenoch, Donald Chisholm (Domhnall Gobha), Duncan Mackay (Donnachadh Gobha), Malcolm Fletcher, of Mull; John Mackay, of Rum; Neil Macnab, of Skye; Angus Campbell; Somerled Cameron, of Rannoch; Michael Mor Macdonald; Roderick Mackenzie, of Applecross; the Rev. Charles Stewart, D.D.; the Rev. John Smith, D.D.; Captain Patrick Campbell, Alexander Campbell (Alasdair Buidhe Mac Iamhair), Mora Cameron, Catherine Forbes, Margaret Macgregor (Mairearad Ghobha), Allan Macdougall (Ailein Dall), Malcolm Macintyre, James Shaw, Kenneth Mackenzie, of Castle Leathers; the Rev. James Macgregor, D.D.; John Macgregor, Murdoch Mackenzie (Murchadh Ruadh nan Bò), Kenneth Mackenzie, of Monkcastle; William Ross, Angus Shaw, Ranald Macdonald (Ranald Mac Iain Mhic Eoghain), Archibald Maclean, of Tiree; the Rev. Robert Macgregor, Archibald Macphail, Alexander Mackinnon, Alexander Grant, Ewen Maclachlan, Donald Macdonald, of Tiree; Allan Livingston, Angus Fletcher, Dr Macdonald, of Ferintosh; Peter Grant, the hymnologist; Donald Macdonald, of Strathconan; Donald Maclean (Donald Ban an Lioba); John Macdonald, of Scoraig; Alexander Maclean (an Cubair Colach); George Campbell, of Kinabus; John Maclean (am Bard Macgilleain), Dougald Maceachern, John Morrison (Iain Gobha), John Macgillivray, the piper; the Rev. Angus Macdonald, and John Macintosh, of Lochaber. That all these authors were poets, it would be absurd to assert. Some of them were simply persons who composed a few songs that were fairly good. The most of them, however, were really good poets, whilst some of them were poets of really great ability.

Digitized by Google

Alexander Macdonald (Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair) was a son of the Rev. Alexander Macdonald of Ardnamurchan. He was born about the year 1700. He studied for some time at the University of Glasgow. He entered upon his poetic career about 1725. In a short time he struck out a new course, and began to sing about the beauties of nature and the changes of the seasons. He joined Prince Charles in 1745, and exerted his magnificent powers to the utmost in stirring up and rallying the clans to arms. He published a Gaelic-English vocabulary in 1741. He exerted a powerful influence upon the Highland bards who succeeded him. He was one of the ablest poets that Scotland ever produced.

Ramsay's "Gentle Shepherd" appeared in 1725, Thomson's "Winter" in 1726, and Thomson's "Summer" in 1727. Alexander Macdonald was not an imitator of either Ramsay or Thomson; still it is pretty certain that both of them, especially the latter, had some influence upon him in turning his attention to the realities of life and natural objects. Thomson, like himself, was a son of the manse, and was born in 1700.

Mrs Campbell of Barr composed both songs and hymns. Of her songs I have never seen any. It is indeed probable that there is none of them in existence. "Tha mo rùn air a' ghille" has been incorrectly ascribed to her; it was composed by Kate Munn, in Mull, and about the year 1820. It is thus a song of comparatively recent origin. John Macintyre, of Camus-na-h-Eireadh, was the author of a few songs. He died in 1755. James Macintyre of Glennoe was born about 1725. He was chief of the Macintyres. He was a man of high culture, and an excellent Gaelic scholar. There are three poems by him in Gillies's collection, all attacking Dr Johnson. He died in 1799. Duncan Lowden was born in Glenlyon about 1730, and died about 1812. He was the author of some excellent verses, which will be found in the supplement to Nicholson's Gaelic Proverbs. Neil Macnab was born at Waternish, in Skye, about 1740. He was the author of a very good poem on Martainn Mor a Bhealaich. He died about 1818. Captain Patrick Campbell served in the Black Watch. On retiring from the army he took up his residence at Fort-William, in Lochaber. He was one of the best deer-stalkers of his day. He was a very good poet. He died in 1816. Mora Cameron was the authoress of "'S meallt' an cridhe 'tha nan com, aig na fearaibh oga," which is given in full in MacCallum's collection. She lived at Cille-Chonnain, in Rannoch. She died about 1815. Catherine Forbes also lived in

Digitized by Google

Rannoch. She died at an advanced age about 1826. She was the authoress of "Tha mo chridhe ciurrte, 's neo-shunndach mi 'n drasd." Alexander Maclean (an Cubair Colach) was born in 1776, and died in Coll in 1838. John, his son, settled in New Zealand.

The family to which George Campbell belonged settled in Oa, Islay, about the year 1620. They were tacksmen f the farm of Kinabus. George was born in 1766. He was in very comfortable circumstances. He parted with Kinabus a few years before his death, and retired to the village of Port Ellen. He had a son and a daughter, and willed his money to them. He was the author of "Chunna mi 'n oigh a's boidhch' air thalamh," and was evidently a real poet. Unfortunately, however, most of his songs have been allowed to perish. He died on April 28th, 1858. His son was a doctor.

The Rev. Angus Macdonald was born in the Isle of Eigg. He was for some time priest of Barra. He died in Rome in 1833. He was at the time of his death Rector of the Scots College. There are four poems, which were composed by him, in Dr Henderson's "Leabhar nan Gleann."

Ewen Maclachlan died in 1822; James Shaw, between 1823 and 1829; Allan Macdougall, in 1829; the Rev. Dr James Macgregor, in 1830; John Maclean, in 1848; and John Morrison, in 1852. All these bards composed in the same style as Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair and Duncan Bàn. They wrote long and stately poems, either "orain mhora" or "laoidhean mora." It is true that the most of them wrote some "orain bheaga," or rather "orain aotrom"; but they seem to have looked upon these songs with some contempt.

The Gaelic Bards from 1830 to 1900.

I do not intend to give a list of the Gaelic poets who have flourished during this period. Neither do I intend to discuss the merits or demerits of their compositions.

The first number of Dr Macleod's "Teachdaire Gàidhealach" appeared in May, 1829, and the first number of his "Cuairtear nan Gleann" in March, 1840. James Munro's "Ailleagan" appears in 1830, Evan MacColl's "Clarsach nam Beann" in 1836, and James Munro's "Filidh" in 1840. It is evident from Dr Macleod's publications and the other works mentioned that a new school of Gaelic poets had come into existence; the "orain aotrom," or light songs, had come to the front, the "orain mhòra" were no longer popular.

Digitized by Google

Several things had tended to bring the new school of poetry into existence. In the first place, the social condition of the Highlands had undergone a very great change. The landlords, with a few honourable exceptions, had become Saxonized, and had also become selfish and tyrannical. Between 1760 and 1830 they expelled a large portion of the best men in the Highlands from their native glens, or compelled them by exorbitant rents to leave their homes, to seek food and shelter in distant lands. In 1826 the inhabitants of the Isle of Rum were all driven away without mercy, except one man, Kenneth Maclean. The landlords had no use for poets; they could make more money out of sheep and deer. They seem to have forgotten that there is a God who hears the cry of the oppressed. Of course they had no interest in the Highland Brigade. It was a matter of no consequence to them how the gaps to be made in it in the year 1899 should be filled up. In the second place, the period between 1815 and 1830 was a time of peace. The battles of Montrose, Prince Charles, Moore, Abercromby, and Wellington had a powerful influence upon the poetic feelings of the Highlanders; but Waterloo was the last battle of which those living in 1830 had heard. The Highlanders were cast down by oppression and poverty, and there was nothing going on to call forth great poets. In the third place, the songs of Burns and other Lowland bards had become very popular among educated Highlanders. This is evident from the number of translations to be found in Dr Macleod's "Teachdaire," "Leabhar nan Cnoc," and "Cuairtear nan Gleann," and in James Munro's "Ailleagan" and "Filidh." The aim of the young poets who admired the Lowland songs—the songs which they heard the girls they loved play and sing—would naturally be to produce songs of the same kind. In the fourth place, the last seventy years have been a period of great commercial activity in the British Empire. At the present day every one is trying to make money, and every one is in a hurry. Hence it follows that the poems wanted now are pretty poems or amusing poems; at any rate, short poems—short as the telegraphic despatches from South Africa, and capable of being read and digested by any clear-headed merchant whilst eating his breakfast or going to his place of business. "Birlinn Chlann Raonaill" or "Moladh Beinn Dórainn" for a nation of shopkeepers! That would never do!

A few of the poets who have flourished since 1830 belonged to the old school. The most notable of these was William Livingstone, who was born in 1808, and died in 1870. But

Digitized by Google

William Livingstone lived in the days of the past, and, like Homer, Virgil, Shakespeare, Milton, and Tennyson, went back to the days of old for his subjects. He was a good poet, and a loyal Briton. Thomas Campbell could sing of the "Mariners of England," and ignore the existence of his own countrymen, but William Livingstone could no nothing of this kind.

Collectors and Collections.

1. James Macgregor was born at Tullichmullin, in the vale of Fortingall, Perthshire. He appears as a notary-public in 1511, and as Vicar of Fortingall and Dean of Lismore, Argyleshire, in 1514. He resided at Fortingall. He was a patriotic Highlander, and took a deep interest in the literature of his country. He collected a large number of Gaelic poems between 1512 and 1527. He died in 1551, and was buried in the choir of the old church at Inchadin. His collection of poems was transcribed, rendered into correct Gaelic spelling, and translated into English by the Rev. Thomas M'Lauchlan, LL.D. The work was published in Edinburgh in 1862.

We owe a debt of gratitude to Dean Macgregor for his valuable collection. We have also reason to feel thankful to Dr M'Lauchlan, and respect his memory for his labours in connection with it. His work has imperfections; but, in spite of these imperfections, it reflects credit on his scholarship and ability, and especially on his patriotism and patience. Then, we must remember that he took hold of Gaelic poetry and held it up as something that possessed real value, when it had very few friends among those who should have been its friends. He had the manliness of the true Highlander, and dared to tell his countrymen that their legends, songs, and music should be kept alive. He was a good man, and did a good work for the Highlands.

2. Duncan Macrae was born at Inverinate, Kintail, about the year 1635. He was the chief of his clan, and was known as "Donnachadh nam Pìos." He was a man of fair scholarship, real genius, and good poetic gifts. He made a collection of hymns and songs about the year 1688. He died about 1693. His work is known as "The Fernaig MS." It was published in Dr Cameron's "Reliquiæ Celticæ" in 1894.

3. Dr Hector Maclean was the only son of Lachlan Maclean of Grulin, in Mull. He resided during the latter part of his life on the farm of Erray, near Tobermory. He married Catherine,

Digitized by Google

daughter of Donald Maclean, twelfth laird of Coll, and had by her a daughter named Mary. He collected a number of valuable poems between 1768 and 1773. He died about 1785. Dr Johnson spent a night at his house in 1773, and pronounced his daughter Mary the most accomplished lady he had met in the Highlands. Mary took as much interest in Gaelic poetry as her father, and assisted him in the work of collecting. She presented her father's collection to John Maclean, the poet, who brought it with him to Nova Scotia in 1819. The "Coille Ghruamach" was written on some of its blank leaves.

4. Ranald Macdonald was a son of Alasdair Mhac Mhaighstir Alasdair, the celebrated bard, and was known as Raonall Dubh. He was a schoolmaster in the Isle of Eigg. He published a collection of poems in 1776. Turner published a new edition of it in 1809. It is a very valuable work.

5. John Gillies was a bookseller in Perth. He published a collection of Gaelic poetry in 1786. The poems were sent to him by Sir James Foulis of Collington, the Rev. James Maclagan, James Macintyre of Glennoe, and other enthusiastic Gaelic scholars.

6. The Rev. John Smith, D.D., published his "Sean Dana" in 1787. This work contains a large amount of excellent poetry.

7. Alexander and Donald Stewart published a large and valuable collection of Gaelic poetry in 1804. They were both well-educated men. Alexander was for some time a schoolmaster in North Uist. He was the author of "A Mhairi bhoidheach 's a Mhairi ghaolach," one of our best love songs.

8. John Young, a bookseller in Inverness, published a collection of Gaelic poems in 1806. It contains only seven or eight poems which had not appeared in previous works.

9. Donald Macleod, the Skye poet, published a collection of 428 pages in 1811. It contains about 47 poems which had not appeared in previous works. Of these, 21 are by himself and 26 by others. The last 170 pages are devoted to heroic ballads, copied from Gillies's collection and Dr Smith's "Sean Dana."

10. Peter Turner seems to have been a native of Argyleshire. He published a collection of Gaelic poetry in 1813. It is a work of 384 pages, and contains 128 poems. It is an excellent collection. Turner was the author of "Altachadh Dhàil-na-càbaig."

11. Peter MacFarlane published a collection of 216 pages in 1813. It contains 14 songs which had not previously appeared in print. It contains also a translation by Ewen Maclachlan of the third book of Homer's Iliad.

Digitized by Google

12. Hugh and John MacCallum published an excellent collection of heroic ballads in 1816.

13. John MacLean (am Bard MacGilleain) made a large and valuable collection of Gaelic poetry between 1814 and 1817. There are 641 pages of foolscap in his MS. It contains 18 poems by himself and 119 poems by others. The principal authors represented in it are John Lom, Hector Bacach, Mary MacLeod, the Blind Harper, Catherine MacLean, Mairearad nighean Lachainn, the Aigeannach, Anndra Mac-an-Easbuig, Archibald MacPhail, Archibald MacLean, the Coll Cooper, and Alexander MacKinnon. Poems which had appeared in former works are excluded. In 1818 John MacLean published a volume of 256 pages. It contains 22 of his own poems and 33 of his collected poems.

14. The Rev. Duncan MacCallum was born in Cowall in 1784. He studied for the ministry. He married Catherine Ferguson in 1808, and had a large family by her. He was one of the leading spirits in a Gaelic society in the University of Glasgow in 1810. He was schoolmaster at Glassary for some years. He became minister of the mission station of Arisaig in 1818. He edited a collection of Gaelic poetry which was printed by James Fraser, Inverness, in 1821. He published a history of the Christian Church, in Gaelic, in 1845. He died at Arisaig on January 29th, 1863. His collection contains the three books of Mordubh, Collath, and a number of songs which had not previously appeared in print. Collath was composed by himself. The author of Mordubh is unknown. They are both poor poems.

15. James Munro published the "Ailleagan" in 1830 and the "Filidh" in 1840. These works contain songs and translations by himself and others. "Bha claidheabh air Iain san t-searmain" is given in the "Ailleagan."

16. John Mackenzie was born at Mealan Thearlaich in Gairloch in 1806. He published William Ross's poems in 1833. He became book-keeper in the printing office of the University of Glasgow in 1836. He published "Sar Obair nam Bard Gaidhealach, or The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry," in 1841. He translated several English works into Gaelic. He compiled the English-Gaelic part of MacAlpine's Dictionary. He died at his father's house in Lon Dubh, Poolewe, in August, 1848. He deserves the highest praise for his loyalty to Gaelic literature, and for his indefatigable labours in behalf of it. His "Beauties of Gaelic Poetry" has been an exceedingly useful work. It was the first collection which gave an account of the authors of the poems

Digitized by Google

given. John Mackenzie's aim was not to collect poems, but to publish in one large work the best poems to which he had access. All the poems in "Sar Obair nam Bard" were copied from previous publications, except the following:—"Curam nam Bantraichean," by Lachlan Mackinnon; "Banais Chiostal Odhar," by Archibald Macdonald; "An Dubh Ghleannach," by Alexander Mackinnon; "Oran do Bhonipart," by Donald Macdonald; "Ailein, Ailein, is fad an cadal"; "Fhir ud tha thall mu airidh nan comhaichean"; "Thainig an gille dubh 'n raoir an bhaile so"; "Fear an leadain thlaith"; "Failte dhuit is slainte leat"; "Iorram do Sheumas Peutan"; and two songs by John Munro.

17. Donald C. Macpherson was a native of Bohuntin, in Lochaber. He received a good education, and was an excellent writer of Gaelic. He published a collection of 202 pages in 1868. It contains only poems which had not appeared in previous works. Mr Macpherson died in Edinburgh on June 23rd, 1880.

18. Archibald Sinclair was born in Glasgow in 1851. He published the "Oranaiche," a large and valuable collection of popoular Gaelic songs, in 1879. He died on February 1st, 1899.

19. "The Uist Bards" was published by the Rev. Archibald Macdonald, of Kiltarlity, in 1894. It contains poems by John MacCodrum, Gilleasbuig na Ciotaig, and other bards. It would be a good thing if the people of other districts would imitate the people of Uist, and collect the poems of their bards.

20. "Leabhar nan Gleann" was published by Dr George Henderson in 1898. Dr Henderson deserves well of his countrymen for his interest in Celtic literature.

I have referred only to the collections that I possess. There are a few small collections that I have never seen. I have not included in my list of collectors the names of the men who collected the heroic ballads published in Campbell's "Leabhar na Feinne" and Dr Cameron's "Reliquiæ Celticæ." These works are well known, and can be easily procured.

Tha Mo Run air a Ghille.

Oran do Dhomhnall Donn, mac Fhir Bhoth-Fhiondainn,
Le Nighinn Tighearna Ghrannda.

Luinneag—Tha mo rùn air a ghille,
'S mor mo dhùil ri thu thilleadh;
'S mi gu 'n siubhladh leat am fireach
Fo shìleadh nam fuar-bheann.

Digitized by Google

Tha thu 'd mhac do dh-fhear Bhoth-Fhionntainn,
'S mise nighean tighearna Ghrannda,
'S rachainn leat a null do 'n Fhraing
Ged bhiodh mo chàirdean gruamach.

Gur h-e m' athair 'rinn an do-bheart,
Mise chumail gu 'n do phòsadh;
Shiubhlainn leat ge b' ann do 'n Olaint,
Ach do chòir a bhuannachd.

Rachainn leat thar cuan do dh-Eirinn,
Rachainn leat air chuairt do 'n Eipheit;
'S aig a mheud 's a thug mi spéis dhuit,
B' eutrom orm an t-uallach.

Nàile, 's e mo cheist am fiuran,
Domhnall Donn, mac fhir Bhoth-Fhionndainn;
'S fad is farsuinn a tha cliu
Air muirnein nam ban-uaisle.

Nàile, 's e mo ghaol an t-oigear,
Domhnall Donn an leadain bhòidhich;
Tha thu 'n fhìne àrd gun fhòtus,
Domhnallaich a chruadail.

'S iomad nionag a tha 'n tòir ort,
Eadar Inbhirnis is Mòrair,
Ged bhiodh tu air crùn de stòras,
'Phòsadh anns an uair thu.

Tha do phearsa cuimir dealbhach,
'S math thig éideadh dhuit is armachd;
Bu tu 'n curaidh treun, neo-chearbach,
'S meanmnach anns an tuasaid.

'S math thig féile dhuit 's an fhasan,
Boineid ghorm is còta breacain,
Osan gearr is tri chuir ghartan,
'S glas lann air do chruachan.

Cha 'n fheil òganach cho ainmeil
Riut 's a chearna so de dh-Albainn;
'S mairg a dhùisgeadh suas gu feirg thu
'N am nan arm a bhualadh.

Digitized by Google

Ged a gheibhinn-sa gu m' òrdagh
Na tha dh-fhearann aig Diùc Gòrdan,
'S mor gu 'm b' annsa leam nan stòras
Sin làn chòir air m' uaibheachd.

LAOIDH.

Le Dòmhnall Bàn a Bhòcain.

Fonn—"Iorram na truaighe."

Dùisg a dhuin' as do chadal,
Oir air chìnnt cha teachd fhad 's tha tu 'd shuain,
Cluinn an saoghal ri bagradh
Le fuaim gaoithe ga spadadh a nuas.
Is e Turcach gun nàire
Nach dean ùrnaigh 's an am so gu cruaidh,
Agus cumhachd bho 'r Slànaighear
'Tigh'nn thoirt brosnachaidh ghàbhaidh do 'n t-sluagh.

A Dhé iochdmhoir nan aingeal,
A tha stiùradh gach anma le d' laimh,
Thoir dhomh daonnan 'bhith 'm chaithris
'S cùm gach smaoineachadh carach a m' cheann.
Cairich ceart ann am ìnntinn
An creideamh 'dh' fhàg Criosd aig a chlann
A fhuair Spiorad na firinn
Ga 'theagasg 's ga 'mhìneachadh dhaibh.

Cha 'n 'eil an saogh'l s' ach diomain,
Thig an t-aog ort, a dhuine, gun taing.
Ged bu rìgh thu 's a chruinne,
'S an Roinn-Eòrp' a bhith uile fo d' laimh,
Gu 'n liùbhradh tu uait e
'Nuair a thigeadh ort cuaradh a bhàis.
'S beag a b' fheairrd' thu bhith uasal
'Nam biodh t' anam 's an uair sin air chall.

Ma 's a léir dhuit an ceartas,
Dean daonnan a chleachdadh dhuit féin.
Iarr do Dhia ri am laighe,
Is bi cuimhneach air gabhail do chreud.
Thoir bhuait déirce le faoilte,
'S na dean eucoir air aon neach fo 'n ghréin;
'S nuair a ghairmeas an t-aog thu
Gheibh thu oighreachd le aoibh o Mhac Dé.

Digitized by Google

Na biodh gamhlas ad chridhe,
No àrdan sam bith ann ad chreubh,
Ma thig earchall no bròn ort,
Gabh gach aon nì gu sòlas na 'dhéidh,
Cuir do dhòchas an Criosda
'Nuair a bhios tu ga d' phianadh o d' chéill:
Eisdidh e-san ri t' ùrnaigh
'Nuair a ni thu bho d' ghrùnnd i gun bheud.

Cuir suas urnaigh ri 'r n-Athair,
A tha buan ann an cathair na gloir',
Bho 'n 's e 's urrainn ar fuasgladh
Anns gach cunnart 'tha fuaighte ri 'r feoil
Is nan tionndamaid uile,
Agus cùl 'chur gu buileach ri 'r dòigh,
Dheanadh Iosa làn bhàigh ruinn,
'S bhiodh ar n-anam na 'àilleagan mòr.

'N duine bochd a bha taingeal
Is a chleachd a bhith 'ghnàth air a ghlùin,
Nach tug ìnntinn do dh-àilgheas,
'S 'bha gun uabhar, gun àrdan, na 'ghnùis,
Bheirear dha-san deagh phàigheadh
'Nuair a ruigeas e Ard-rìgh nan dùl,
Glacaidh Criosda air làimh e,
'S bheir e staigh e le fàilte na 'chùirt.

Ged is stràiceil gun iochd thu,
Thig am bàs ort, gun fhios gu de 'n uair;
'S ged is làidir do mhisneach,
Théid do chàileachd 's do thuigse thoirt bhuait.
Théid do chàradh 's a chiste,
Agus t' fhàgail fo lic anns an uaigh;
A Dhé, sàbhail le t' iochd mi,
'S leig do ghràsan am measg do chuid sluaigh.

Bha thu measail aig daoine,
Fhad 's a bha thu 's an t-saoghal so beo;
Ach, théid do chàradh fo leacan,
'S bi'dh na daolan an taice ri t' fheoil.
Thig do chinneadh 's do chàirdean,
'S bi'dh iad uile 's an am sin fo bhròn;
Ach cha 'n fhuirich iad làimh-riut;
B' fhearr dhuit cobhair bho d' Shlanaighear gu mòr.

Digitized by Google

Cha 'n e airgiod no iunntas
Anns an am tha mi 'g ionndraichinn bhuam;
Ach buan ghràsan bho 'n Tighearn'
'Ghabhail tàimh ann am chridhe bochd, truagh.
Tha an saoghal so carach,
Bi'dh e daonnan a mealladh an t-sluaigh;
'Nise cuireamaid cùl ris,
'S sinn ri faire air ar n-ùrnaigh chur suas.

Gu bheil mise fo mhulad,
Ged is fheudar dhomh 'fhulang an dràsd;
Mi a leughadh mo chunnairt,
'S mi làn chreuchdan bho m' mhullach gu làr.
Fhad 's a bhios sinn na 'r spionnadh
Cha bhi suim againn cuin thig am bàs;
'S ann bu chòir dhuinn le bunailt
A bhith 'g iarraidh ar n-uireasbhuidh tràth.

'Fhir 'thug Maois as an Eipheit,
'S 'dh' fhag a naimhdean na 'n éigin ri port,
A sgoilt a mhuir na clàr réidh dha,
Glan-sa m' anam bho chreuchdan gach lochd.
A Mhic Athair na féile,
'Thi a dh' fhuiling do cheusadh gu goirt,
Bi ga 'r stùiradh 's ga 'r riaghladh,
'S ga ar cumail bho ghiomhannan olc.

'S beag an t-ionghnadh dhomh fein
A bhith gun aighear, gun éibhneas an nochd;
'S tric a smaoinich mi 'n eucoir,
Bha mi daonnan an déidh air an olc.
Mur a cuidich Mac Dé mi,
Cha 'n 'eil leigheas aig léigh air mo lot,
Guidheam m' anam gu Criosda
'Nuair thig m' anail a nios as mo chorp.

6th DECEMBER, 1900.

At this meeting the following paper, contributed by Mr Alex. Macpherson, solicitor, Kingussie, and entitled "Incidents in the '45, and Wanderings of Prince Charlie in Badenoch after Culloden," was read:—

Digitized by Google

INCIDENTS IN THE '45, AND WANDERINGS OF PRINCE CHARLIE IN BADENOCH AFTER CULLODEN.

I.

"I think of the days of Prince Charlie,
When the North spent its valour in vain,
And the blood of the brave and the loyal
Was poured at Culloden like rain.

"O, thoughts of the past! ye bring sadness,
And vain is the wish that once more
The great grassy glens that are silent
Were homes of the brave as of yore."

—Nicolson.

The three volumes forming "The Lyon in Mourning" recently issued by the Scottish History Society, under the able editorship of Mr Henry Paton, M.A., are to all students of Highland history —especially to those inheriting Jacobite sympathies—intensely interesting, and add to our knowledge of the troublous and eventful times which followed the Rising of the '45. The Rev. Robert Forbes, the author or compiler of the work, was for some time Episcopal minister at Leith, and latterly (titular) Bishop of Ross and Caithness. The full title is "The Lyon in Mourning, or a Collection of Speeches, Letters, Journals, etc., relative to the affairs of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, by the Rev. Robert Forbes, A.M., Bishop of Ross and Caithness, 1746-1775."

The formation of the collection is stated to have been to a great extent the life-work of Bishop Forbes, who was one of the most ardent Jacobites of his time. But for the continuous energy and single-eyed purpose of the Bishop, much (says Mr Paton in his preface to the collection) of what is now known in connection with the '45 "would never have come to light." "Why he called his collection by the name it bears he nowhere explains. It has been suggested that it was in allusion to the woe of Scotland for her exile race of Princes—the Lyon being the heraldic representation of the nation."

Let the origin of the name, however, be what it may, no reader of these volumes can fail to be impressed with the anxious desire of the worthy Bishop—devoted Jacobite though he was—to ensure, as far as possible, the most scrupulous accuracy re-

Digitized by Google

garding the truth of the facts related by him. There are numerous letters to correspondents scattered throughout the volumes in which his anxiety to have "a precise nicety in all narratives of facts" is very apparent. In a letter dated 25th February, 1748, written by him to Captain John Macpherson of Strathmashie, one of the captains of Cluny's Regiment in the '45, he says:—

"I earnestly beg that every narrative you favour me with may be well vouched, for I would not wish to advance a falsehood upon any subject, no, not even on William the Cruel himself, for any consideration whatsomever. It is a most base and flagitious device, and can proceed only from the father of lies, to endeavour to promote even the best of causes by wrong meanes; and, therefore, let who will take up with the fashionable way of managing matters, it will always be the constant care of every honest man to scorn the dirty employment."

The collection was one of the Bishop's most cherished treasures, and he guarded it, we are told, with the most jealous care. He could never be persuaded to publish it, judging, as he rightly did, that the publication would be regarded as a strong censure of the Government at the time, and might probably lead to still more merciless persecution of the most prominent adherents of the ill-fated Prince Charlie.

The original volumes in manuscript are, Mr Paton tells us, "bound in sombre black leather, and have their edges blackened, while around each title-page is a deep, black border." Some relics, which are, or have been, attached to the volumes for preservation, call for some notice. They are most numerous on the insides of the boards of the third volume. First, there is a piece of the Prince's garters, which, says Bishop Forbes, "were French, of blue velvet, covered upon one side with white silk, and fastened with buckles." Next there is a piece of the gown worn by the Prince as Betty Burke, which was sent to Bishop Forbes by Mrs Macdonald of Kingsburgh. It was a print dress, and from this or other pieces sent the pattern was obtained, and a considerable quantity of print similar to it was made. Dresses made from this print were largely worn by Jacobite ladies, both in Scotland and England, for a time. Thirdly, there is a piece of tape, once part of the string of the apron which the Prince wore as part of his female attire. Bishop Forbes secured this relic from the hands of Flora Macdonald herself, who brought the veritable apron to Edinburgh, and gave the Bishop the pleasure of girding it on him. To keep company with these, another relic has been

Digitized by Google

added to this board by the late Dr Robert Chambers, and which, consequently, Bishop Forbes never saw. It is a piece of red velvet, which once formed part of the ornaments of the Prince's sword-hilt, and was obtained, as that gentleman narrates, in the following way. On his march to England, the Prince rested on a bank at Faladam, near Blackshiels, where the sisters of one of his adherents, Robert Anderson of Whitburgh, served him and his followers with refreshments. Before he departed, one of the young ladies begged the Prince to give them some keepsake, whereupon he took out his knife, and cut off a piece of velvet and buff leather from the hilt of his sword. Up till 1836 at least, this was preciously treasured at Whitburgh; and it was from Miss Anderson of Whitburgh, of a later generation of course, that Mr Chambers at that time obtained the scrap which he placed with the Bishop's relics. On the inside of the back-board of this volume are pieces of tartan, parts, respectively, of the cloth and lining of the waistcoat which the Prince received from Macdonald of Kingsburgh, when he relinquished his female garb. This he afterwards exchanged with Malcolm Macleod for a coarser one, as it was too fine for the role of a servant, which he was then acting. Malcolm Macleod hid the waistcoat in the cleft of a rock until the troubles should be over; but, when he went to recover it, as it had lain there for a year, he found it all rotted, save a small piece, which, with two buttons, he forwarded to Bishop Forbes:—

"On the inside of the back-board of the fourth volume the Bishop has had two small pieces of wood, one of which has now disappeared. The remaining piece is about one inch long, less than half-an-inch broad, and about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. These, says the author, are pieces of that identical eight-oared boat, on board of which Donald Macleod, etc., set out with the Prince from Borodale, after the battle of Culloden, for Benbecula, in the Long Isle. The bits of wood were obtained and sent by Macdonald of Glenaladale. Then, finally, there are pieces of the lugs of the brogues or shoes which the Prince wore as Betty Burke, stuck on the inside of the back board of volume fifth. But the Bishop seems to have had the brogues themselves, and he and his Jacobite friends were wont to use them as drinking vessels on special occasions. This was reported to the Prince, who heartily enjoyed the idea, and remarked concerning Bishop Forbes, 'Oh, he is an honest man indeed, and I hope soon to give him proofs how much I love and esteem him.'"

Digitized by Google

After the Bishop's death, in 1775, the original volumes continued as a treasured possession in the hands of his widow. Falling into very straitened circumstances in her old age, she was constrained, in 1806, to sell the collection to Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton. That gentleman had acquired the volumes with the view of preparing a history of the various attempts made from the Revolution in 1688 downwards in the way of restoring the unfortunate Stewarts to the throne of their ancestors, but in consequence of ill-health his design was never carried out. The "Lyon in Mourning" was accordingly laid aside, remaining "unknown and unheeded at Allanton until it was unearthed by Dr Robert Chambers," by whom it was purchased from Sir Henry Steuart. As is well-known, Dr Chambers made use to a considerable extent of the papers and narratives in the Bishop's collection in his popular history of the '45, which originally appeared in "Constable's Miscellany" in 1827. He also issued a volume of "Jacobite Memoirs," made up of selections from the Bishop's manuscripts. In 1847 Mr Chambers bequeathed the ten manuscript volumes to the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh, by whom they were recently placed at the disposal of the Scottish History Society for publication.

II.

"O awake on your hills, on your islands awake
Brave sons of the mountain, the firth, and the lake!
'Tis the bugle—but not for the chase is the call;
'Tis the pibroch's shrill summons—but not to the hall.

"Tis the summons of heroes for conquest or death,
When the banners are blazing on mountain and heath
They call to the dirk, the claymore, and the targe,
To the march and the muster, the line and the charge."
—Scott.

One of the most prominent of the correspondents of Bishop Forbes, the author of "The Lyon in Mourning," whom he describes as "Highland Worthies," was Captain John Macpherson of Strathmashie. The Bishop, in one of his letters, characterises the Captain as "by far the exactest and most expeditious correspondent I have had to do with as yet in the course of this affair." The brave and worthy officer belonged to a very old family, the oldest cadet of the "House of Pitmean," or Second Branch of the Macphersons, who for a long time possessed Strathmashie in

Digitized by Google

heritage. Captain John's mother was a daughter of Mackintosh of Mackintosh, and his maternal grandmother a daughter of Keppoch. It is rather remarkable that Strathmashie and his son Lachlan were both, from the outset, officers in Cluny's Regiment, which, under the active command of their heroic young Chief, took such a distinguished part in the gallant but ill-fated attempt of Prince Charlie to regain the crown of his ancestors. In this connection it may be of interest to give a list of the officers in that regiment, so far as ascertained, viz.:—

Colonel—Ewen Macpherson, yr. of Cluny. Lieutenant-Colonel—Macpherson, yr. of Dalwhinnie (farmer). Major—Lewis Macpherson, Dalraddy (farmer). Captains—John Macpherson of Strathmashie, Malcolm Macpherson of Phoness, Donald Macpherson, Breakachy (farmer); John Macpherson, Garvamore (do.); Kenneth Macpherson, Ruthven (merchant); Andrew Macpherson, yr. of Banchor. Lieutenant—John Macpherson, Ettridge. Officers—Duncan Macpherson, yr. of Breakachy; Lachlan Macpherson, yr. of Strathmashie; Malcolm Macpherson, son of Phoness; Ewen Macpherson, Laggan of Nuide; Hugh Macpherson, Coraldy; John Macpherson, Pitchurn. Volunteer—Donald Macpherson, Ruthven (merchant). Quartermaster—Alex. Macqueen, Brae of Ruthven (smith).

Young Strathmashie was a famous Gaelic bard and performer on the violin. He composed the tune called the "Dance of Spey," and, as is well known, assisted his more famous clansman, James Macpherson, in the collection and translation of Ossian's poems. He was married to a daughter of Archibald Butter of Pitlochry, whose son, Henry, was factor to the Commissioners on the forfeited estates of Lochiel and Cluny.

Writing to Captain John of Strathmashie on 25th February, 1748, the Bishop says:—

"Some very extraordinary Events of different kinds have happened in this island of late; Events that truly may be termed Prodigies, and which loudly call upon the attention of Every honest man for a strict and imperative examination, that so they may be carefully recorded and transmitted to posterity according to truth and justice.

"Among the several Enquiries I have made I have been particularly mindful to ask about the action at Clifton, but have never yet been so lucky as to meet with any person that could give me a true and exact account of it. And therefore it is that this subject is not so much as mentioned in my collections as yet, for I chuse not to take things imperfectly and at second hand

Digitized by Google

when I have any the least probability of getting them from those who were Engaged in them. What makes me the more desirous to have an exact history of this affair, is that the printed accounts of it are but very lame and imperfect, to say no more of them. To you, therefore, sir, I beg leave to apply as a proper person to furnish me with what I so much desire. Be so good then as to converse with those that were immediate actors in the affair of Clifton, and to favour me with as full and circumstantial an account of it as possible, that so justice may de done to the brave Cluny Macpherson and his clan, who behaved themselves in that attempt with so much resolution and with such a sogerly spirit. There is one circumstance I beg to be particularly informed about, which is that either Cluny himself or one of his following did take a fine broadsword belonging to the Duke of Cumberland; for this particular is always mentioned when the action at Clifton happens to be the topick of conversation.

"May I likewise importune you, sir, to exert your endeavours to procure me as exact an account as you can of the several pillagings and plunderings, the burnings and other cruelties committed in the Highlands of Scotland after the 16th of April 1746? In doing of this be particularly inquisitive about the names of places and of persons, whether perpetrators or sufferers; but where the names cannot be got (as indeed it is not an easy matter to discover all these exactly in such a confusion), still let the facts be impartially narrated. The burning of Cluny's house has been often mentioned to me, but I have never yet taken any account of it in writing, as all I could have about it was only at second-hand, and repeated sometimes with different circumstances. I could wish to have the true account of this. Let me know what number of men might be in the party who executed the fiery orders, and under whose command they were, etc."

The Skirmish at Clifton.

In the first portion of the remarkable narrative received by the Bishop in response to his letter, Strathmashie gives a graphic account of the skirmish at Clifton, in which he had taken an active part, and where Cluny's regiment, with the famous "Bratach Uaine," and the devoted young Chief himself at their head, put two regiments of Cumberland's dragoons to flight. As is well known, there is a short account of the skirmish given by Sir Walter Scott in "Waverley," extracted from the memoirs of Cluny of the '45, written about the year 1760 in France, where, as stated by Sir Walter, "that gallant Chief resided in exile."

Digitized by Google

The narrative of Strathmashie, however, enters more fully into interesting detail, and it is accordingly here given as contained in the second volume of the Bishop's Collection, published by the Scottish History Society. Under date May 10th, 1748, the Bishop records that he "had a visit of Mr Duncan Macpherson, Presbyterian preacher at Laggan, in Badenoch, who had come up to the General Assembly. He delivered to me a paper inclosed in a sealed cover, without any direction upon it, from Captain John Macpherson of Strathmashie, who had writ it all with his own hand." Here follows an exact copy of the said paper, which has no date or subscription :—

"Sir,—As you desire me give as full and circumstantiall ane account of the affair at Clifton, &c., as I possibly can, notwithstanding that I know there were many engaged that could to much better purpose satisfy you; yet as I take it to be the duty of every one who loves truth, of those who had the honour to follow the Young Gentleman you mention (which and the good of their country, I'm persuaded, was what all the thinking part of them had at heart, to show their willingness at least), especially when you take the trouble to require it of any one of them; rather than suffer any reproach on that head I have, in obedience to your desire, presumed to offer you an account (such as it is) of that affair, being myself therein immediately concerned.

"Please know then, sir, that on the 18th December 1745, our regiment (I mean that commanded by Cluny Macpherson) being at Penrith preparing to be reviewed with the rest of the army, excepting the Glengarry Regiment and the Huzars, who had not come up with the army, but were escorting a part of the train and some covered waggons that were obliged to fall behind, there arrived an express from them certifying that if they were not speedily succoured they would be all destroyed. On which alarm Appin's, with Lochiel's Regiment and ours, were ordered to their relief. In obedience to that order we all marched from the town of Penrith to the bridge betwixt tnat and Clifton, where we were met by the waggons, and told that all was quite safe and calm in the rear, and that the escort would be up immediately. Being thus stoped, and there being a fine plain peece of ground, the Colonels sent back to the army to be asked to be reviewed on that ground. However, this was not granted, and we were ordered back to be reviewed with the army, who were convened on the Carlisle side of Penrith; on which we immediately directed our march to Penrith, on our beginning to enter which there came one Huzar up with us at the gallop, who told that if

Digitized by Google

those of the Escort llately mentioned were not immediately supported, they would be infallibly cut to pieces. To prevent which (if it could be) our Colonel instantly ordered his regiment to front from the rear and march directly towards Clifton. To which place I cannot say we marched, but run like hounds; but on our arrivall, to our great contentment, found the Glengarry Regiment safe; at the same time that we observed the main army of the Enemy all drawn up in form on a small Eminence about canon shot of us. Lord George Murray, who allwise since the beginning of the retreat from Derby commanded in the rear, was alsoe in Clifton. However, when the Glengarrie Regiment and we met, and that all was safe, thinking as it was soe late that there would be noe play till the morning, and that the whole army join'd, we began a march towards Penrith again, the Glengarry Regiment then taking the front, Stewarts of Appin the center, and ours the rear. But this march was not much more than begun when there came express orders to us from Lord George to return to Clifton immediately, he himself haveing remain'd there all the time. But the position we were then in, in marching back towards Clifton, our Regiment had the front, the Stewarts, commanded by Ardsheal, the centre as formerly, and Glengarry, the rear, and thus we marched till we joined his lordship at Clifton, when we found that the enemy continued in the same order as when we had the first view of them; only, my lord, it seems judged they meaned to advance towards Clifton. Upon which he, on foot, together with the Colonel at the head of our Regiment, marched from Clifton towards the enemy a little to the left, untill he planted us at the back of ane hedge not quite a gunshot, I think, from Clifton, the Appin battalion in the center betwixt us and Glengarrie's, who lined a stone dyke to the right of Appin's. In this posture we continued for some minutes, prepared to receave the enemy, and by this time it was quite night upon us; and the Generall, finding it proper that we should break our then situation by penetrating through our hedge, and advancing therefrom to another that was situate in a hollow half-way betwixt us and the enemy, we being both on eminences, and this hollow interjected, through the hedge we made our way with the help of our durks, the prictes being very uneasy, I assure you, to our loose tail'd lads. But before we broke through, his lordship, suspecting that we might be met with in our way to the other hedge, said to our Colonel, 'Cluny, if such will happen, I'll attack on the right of your Regiment, and doe you the same on the left of it, and we'll advance soe, if you approve of it.' To which Cluny readily answered, he was very well satisfied to attack when

Digitized by Google

his lordship pleased. The disposition thus made, when with great rapidity we were makeing our way towards the other hedge. The advanced parties of the enemy, being dismounted dragoons, met us full in the teeth, who fired upon us, which they scarcely did when they were answered with the little we had without ever as much as stoping to doe it, but goeing on in our rapid way; by which it soe happened they soon turned their backs to us. The General, how soon we had given our little fire, ordered us to draw our broad-swords, which was readily done, and then we indeed fell to pell-mell with them. But the poor swords suffered much, as there were no less than 14 of them broke on the dragoons' skull caps (which they all had) before it seems the better way of doing their business was found out. Among those swords there was one given by the K——g in 1715 to a gentleman of this country with this inscription:—

> 'With this good sword thy cause I will maintain,
> And for thy sake, O James, I'll breathe each vein.'

"The gentleman's son, who got it, left it at Clifton, excepting the hilt and less than a foot of the blade, which I believe he takes care still to keep for the sake of the giver. However, as for broad-swords, we got plenty, as, in place of 14, the broken ones, our men took noe less than 50 from the dead dragoons in their return, which, it seems, was all the plunder they regarded. What the number of their slain might have been, I cannot really say that any of our side can with any exactness account for, as the affair happen'd upon the night, and that the enemy themselves and their friends were the only persons who had access to see the field afterwards. But this I can say, and will avouch, that we saw them in great plenty, flat as dead in our return, after puting the survivors into the heart of the main body of their army. I can assure you there lay heaps of them in a ditch they were made to pass, and as for the field it was pretty well covered, and at the time we believed the carnage to have been pretty considerable. However, they have their own way of telling stories, and even let them be doing with ——. On our side, indeed, we may say that God Almighty Himself covered our heads, haveing lost none but one sergeant and two private men. It's true that among the hedges, or somehow or other that we cannot account for, 10 or 11 of our men lost us that were next day taken up by the country people, as we are told, and delivered up to the enemy, who sent them to York Castle, where they remained prisoners for many months, and were in the end sent to the Plantations, and

Digitized by Google

are now in France. What I think, indeed, must naturally have contributed much to this, our safety, was the great hurry with which we went down towards the hollow upon them, by which means they were so suddenly mistaken of us that much of their fire went over our heads, and were at their muzzles with our swords before they got all their fire given, which thereafter they got noe time to give, and with their swords, tho' they were all appointed with such, they did not in the least annoy us, as heels seemed then to be of more use to them than hands. There was also a detachment of them sent from their main body, in order to have flanked us on the right; but it haveing being their luck to pass by the stone dyke which the Glengarrie regiment lined, they got such a smart fire from that brave corps that such as outlived it were fain to the best of their way back to their army; by which means we got none of their trouble, and to which our safety was in a very great measure oweing. After we had chaced the swiftest of those with whom we had to doe in amongst the heart of their friends, we retired to our first hedge, where we charged our pieces, meaning to maintain that post till daylight, when we expected the whole army would have been up with us for disputing the main point. But soon we receaved orders by ane aid-de-camp from the army to return to Penrith to join them there, which was accordingly done, and from thence all marched for Carlisle, where we arrived by daylight, being the 19th of December.

"I observed to you before that we had got noe less than fifty of their swords (and I assure you we might have taken many more had it been adverted to). In the morning we found they belonged, not to those of one Regimentt, but to detachments from all the dragoon Regiments there, and Cluny himself was possessed of one that was really a very valuable pretty sword. Who the master of it was noe one of us can tell. But sure I am that he that brought it there was left there, as I'm sorry the gentleman you mentioned it to have belonged to was not, or, if he was, it seems he found a way to sneak of when all was quiet, as I make noe doubt but more of them have done.

"This, sir, please accept of as the most circumstantiall account (according to how my memory just now serves) I can give of the affair of Clifton. Only, as I am very certain, our brave Highland lads, when it came to action, did their parts most manfully; our General and Colonel charged and acted with conduct, prudence, valour, and resolution."

The "very valuable pretty sword" taken by the young Chief himself at Clifton, and referred to by Strathmashie, belonged, not

Digitized by Google

to the Duke of Cumberland, as supposed by Bishop Forbes, but to a Colonel Honywood, one of the Duke's chief officers, and is still preserved at Cluny Castle. From other sources of information we learn that that officer received four sword cuts at Clifton, and that the poor beggar had only a short time before that event recovered from no less than twenty-three sword cuts and two musket-ball wounds received two and a-half years previously at Dettingen.

The sword given by King James, also referred to in Strathmashie's narrative, was presented to Robert Macpherson of Dalraddy for distinguished services in the '15. That sword was carried at Clifton by his son, Lewis Macpherson, who was married to a sister of his Chief, Colonel Ewen of Cluny. The family, which had originally sprung from that of Invereshie, had acquired a heritable right to Dalraddy some generations previously, and are styled "of Dalraddy" in the County Valuation Rolls for the years 1644 and 1691. Sir George Macpherson-Grant, Bart., the present representative of the Dalraddy family, now possesses that property, as well as that of Invereshie; and the hilt of the sword in question, with the small portion of the blade remaining, after the sword was broken on the "skull-cap" of one of Cumberland's dragoons, was taken home at the time, and is preserved as an heirloom at Ballindalloch Castle.

III.

"Direful Drummossie! Charles, o'ercome!
Base William, victor thou!
Albion's true sons to quit the field!
It kept by William's crew!
Is mystery all. And what the cause
Is hid from human ken.
Perhaps the darken'd why may clear,
Charles, at thy return.
Weak mortal do in vain attempt
The ways of Heav'n to scan,
Our twilight reason sees small part
Of the Almighty's plan.
Who knows but Heav'n has will'd it thus,
The blood, by ill men spilt,
Shall heal those sores for which it stream'd,
And wash away our guilt."

Alluding, in the course of his narrative, to the Battle of Falkirk, in which the Macphersons, led by their gallant young

Digitized by Google

Chief, took such a prominent part, Strathmasnie refers to "how ane opportunity was lost by some fatal mistakes that might really be termed noe less than the very ruine of the cause," but he does not explain what these mistakes were. In accordance with their usual custom, the Hanoverian horsemen at that battle wore iron skull caps under their hats, which, during the attack, some of the Macphersons had not apparently realised. From other sources we learn they afterwards declared that, although they wielded their swords with all their might, the skulls of the Englishmen were so thick that they could scarcely cut through them—and no wonder!

Capture of Posts Held by the Royalists.

In January, 1746, a series of attacks were made on several posts in the Athole country, garrisoned at the time by the Hanoverian forces. So well were the plans of attack concerted that, although the operations lay in a rugged mountainous country, the different detachments punctually met at the place of rendezvous at the appointed time. The attacking parties were entirely composed of a body of the Athole men, led by Lord George Murray, and a body of the Macphersons, under the command of young Cluny. Within two hours of the night no less than twenty detached, strong, and defensible posts, previously held by the enemy, were successfully surprised and captured. Of this exploit, General Stewart of Garth, in his "Sketches of the Highlanders," says—"I know not if the whole of the Peninsular campaigns exhibited a more perfect execution of a complicated piece of military service." In giving the following account of the capture of these posts, Strathmashie explains, it will be seen, the special purpose for which Cluny's regiment had been left in Badenoch after the battle of Falkirk:—

"When the rest of the army marched to Inverness, we were left in Badenoch to intercept or prevent any incursions of the enemy the Highland way, which, if not taken care of, might be of bad consequence. Some time after the army lay at Inverness, Lord George Murray wrote from thence to Cluny, showing that he intended to surprize the Athole garrisons, and in order thereto would march to Badenoch with the Athole men, from which, joined by Cluny's regiment, he was resolved to make his attacks. Upon receipt of this letter, Cluny found a very principall obstacle likely to obstruct the success of the enterprise, which was the communication betwixt Athole and Badenoch, and which, if not secured so as to stop the least notice from goeing to Athole, the

Digitized by Google

whole design must prove abortive; and, to secure that communication for noe less than a fortnight, that must have been taken before the design could be ripe for execution, seemed no less than impracticable, considering the long, wide, and open tract of hill that lay interjected betwixt both countries; and as noe country sure enough wanted their Achans, the matter was still the more impracticable. However, to work, he (I mean Cluny) went in planting of his guards, and taking all possible precautions he cou'd think of, and he verily had need of all his prudence and vigilance in managing his affairs, let him have what numbers he might. At length Lord George arrived in Badenoch, where they must have been two nights (which rendered what I have said with respect to the security of the communication still the more difficult). Towards Athole on the second day after Lord George with the Athole men arrived in Badenoch, he with them and us marched: and that same night after travelling, most of us, thirty miles through hill and storm, being regularly divided and detached, the Athole men and we mixed in every party at one and the same time, if I well remember, betwixt 12 at night and 2 in the morning, made our attacks at five different places, namely, Bunrannoch, Kynachan, Blairphettie, Lood, and Mr M'Glashan in Blair, his house, betwixt which and Bun-rannoch there is no less than 10 miles. Kynachan will be six from it, and Blairphettie 3. In all of which attacks we had the good fortune to succeed to our minds, excepting Mr M'Glashen's house, those therein having deserted it before our party ordered there had come up. We killed and wounded many. I doe not, indeed, now remember their number, and made about 300 prisoners, without loseing one man, tho' briskly fired upon at the three first-mentioned places. In short, they were all, to a man, taken dead or alive, tho' well covered and fortified. This was, indeed, a cheap and not to be expected success, considering their advantageous situation besides ours, and was no doubt principally owing to the extraordinary care taken in securing the communication I have been speaking of before, by which means we took them, indeed, much at unawares. All the prisoners were of the Campbell Militia and Loudoun's Regiment, excepting a few of the regulars that were taken at Lood."

Orders by "The Bloody Duke" to give no Quarter.

"I must observe to you"—continues Strathmashie—"that amongst some papers found with the officers at Kynachan there was ane order subscribed (if I well remember) by General or

Digitized by Google

Colonel Campbell, setting forth that it was the D—— of C——d's peremptor orders if they could meet any party of the rebels (?) whom they could at all expect to overcome, to engage them and to give them noe quarter as they would be answerable. That of Kynachan was the attack assigned me, and this order I saw upon the word of ane honest man and coppied, which copy I kept, but had the bad luck since to lose it by the iniquity of the times, as I did many more things. But it is possible it may come to my hands yet. The principall Cluny kept."

On the Eve of Culloden.

In the second of the published volumes of Bishop Forbes's collection (page 278) we are told that matters looked so gloomy on the eve of the Battle of Culloden that "the Prince call'd a short general Council of War, in which some propos'd to retreat a little to the hills till Clunie, the Macdonalds of Glengarie and Barrisdale, the Mackenzies, Frasers, and the other absent Highlanders shou'd conveen, these being a great part of the flower of the Prince's army. It was argued, that engaging with regulars so advantageously posted, and compleatly form'd, and so far superior in numbers, was a very desperate and unadvisable attempt. That there were not above 5000 of the Highland army on the field, whereas the other army consisting of 15 regiments of foot and of horse, besides a part of Loudon's regiment, the Campbells, and other volunteers could not be much under 10,000, and was given out to be 15,000 strong. That their whole cause depended on the issue of this battle, and therefore that they ought not to engage without some probability of success. It was likewise proposed to continue the cannonading for some time, untill a detachment which Roy Stewart offer'd to lead shou'd march privately about by the Water of Nairn, and attack the enemy in the rear, whilst the main body advanc'd and attack'd them in front; that this wou'd not only distract the enemy, and be apt to throw them into confusion, but wou'd likewise deprive them in some measure of the great advantage they had by having the wind and weather in their backs, which at that time was exceeding stormy. But notwithstanding all these overtures and arguments it was carried to attack without hesitation, to leave their cannon behind, and to rush in, sword in hand, as the only chance they had to discomfit the regulars, whom they had so often defeated in that way."

It is related that, notwithstanding the many expresses that had been sent to hasten their joining the Prince at Inverness,

Digitized by Google

" the clans were at that time so scatter'd that it was Monday night, the 14th, ere the Camerons arriv'd at the camp, and of them came only half the number that had appear'd at Falkirk, it being impossible to get such of them as liv'd in the neighbourhood of Fort-William to turn out till that place shou'd be reduc'd. On Tuesday Keppoch's MackDonalds came up as much reduc'd in proportion as the former. Clan Ranald had but a mere handful of his people. Cluny was still in Badenoch with about 800 men. The Mackenzies were with Lord Cromarty in Sutherland, as were the M'Greggors, the M'Kinnons, and a party of the M'Donalds with Barrisdale; and the half of the Frazers were only on their march with their young Chief at the very time of the engagement; so that 'tis certain the Prince wanted upwards of 2000 of his very best Highlanders, ev'n upon Tuesday evening, when his army was at the best."

The March of the Macphersons to Culloden.

After alluding to the siege of Blair Castle, following immediately upon the capture of the posts referred to, Strathmashie proceeds:—

" In end we were called to Inverness with the army on which we left it (Blair Castle), and marched back to Badenoch, where our regiment was left for the reasons formerly given till the Munday nixt before the fatall Wednesday; on the evening of which Munday we receaved orders by express from our Colonel, who was at Inverness, to repair with utmost expedition to the army, as an engagement with D—— of C——d was hourly expected. Tho' this express arrived only on Munday, and the men were quite scatter'd, we got together, and marched with such expedition as to arrive at Dullmagerry be 12 a'clock, the 16th April, with 2 or 300 more of a force than we brought to the field since the commencement of that affair: this Dullmagerry being noe more than 'twixt 5 and 6 miles from the fatall Culloden. There we met our colonell, who had prepared a refreshment for the men, after taking of which, and beginning to march forward, the dismal news of the fate of that day met us."

It was in consequence of the battle having been—so unfortunately for the cause of Prince Charlie—precipitated, as already mentioned, that Cluny's regiment, notwithstanding their rapid march from Badenoch, were, like other Highland clans, not able to be present at the engagement. Hence the poignant regret expressed by Colonel John Roy Stuart, the famous warrior poet of the '45, in his " Oran eile air latha Chuilodair ":—

Digitized by Google

"Clann-Mhuirich nam buadh!
Iad-san uile bhi bhuainn,
Gur he-e m' iomadan truagh ra leughadh":

which may be feebly rendered—

Clan Vourich of might!
When dire was our plight,
Would you'd been there to aid us!

IV.

"Bereft of owner's care, these flocks
Now stray from hill to glen,
And mourn, but want the tongue of man
To speak their loss and pain.
Their lords, alas! no more are seen;
No pastor them to guide;
The one half's banish'd far away,
The other half lie dead.
In field of battle those that fell
(Men for fair fame renown'd),
To witness 'gainst thee, there their bones
Lie still above the ground.
Forbid was sepulchre to them
Who stood for the just cause,
For King, for country—all that's dead—
For liberty, for laws."

AFTER CULLODEN.

Here is Strathmashie's reference to the cruelties perpetrated by Cumberland, and his minions, after Culloden:—

"Oh heavens! In what characters will what follows be writ! Murders, burnings, ravishings, plunderings! Ane army of fiends let loose from Hell, with Lucifer himself at their head! Barbarities unheard of—no distinction of sex or age—cruelties never as much as named among any people who made profession of or pretended to Christianity, and all not only with impunity, but by command. Oh!"

In a rhyming letter, dated Drummossie, June 10th, 1746, quoted by Bishop Forbes, Cumberland is thus addressed:—

Digitized by Google

"William, to thee this letter comes.
Read, impious man, and say,
Don't thy foul doings rack thy breast,
And tear thy rest away?
All ages yet to come will curse,
Tyrant! thy hated name.
Rome had some heroes such as you,
Like theirs shall live thy fame.
Did'st thou not, base and Nero-like,
Laugh o'er the bloody scene?
How could'st thou, with a savage joy,
Behold the pris'ners slain?
Thus, Vulturine, thou gav'st the word,
Raze, raze, root out, destroy,
'No pity show to either sex,
Kill man, maid, wife, and boy.
Make bay'nets wean the sucking child
(Who dares controul my will?)
Hear, Mally! Husk! my orders are—
Go burn, spoil, waste, and kill;
Break down their altars, slay their priests,
To eternize my name,
Let those in child-bed laid be burnt,
And ravish'd ev'ry dame.'"

In a letter, dated 16th November, 1748, addressed to Bishop Forbes, Bailie John Stewart, of Inverness, thus alludes to Cumberland's inhuman cruelties:—

"But by all I can learn I may say, without exagerting, that I doe not think there were ever greater inhuman barbaritys and cruelties of all kinds perpetrat in anie countrie, either Christian or Infidel, than was in this at that period, and all by order of the commander, as some of the officers then in that service have since told me, and those that comitted the greatest barbaritys, whither by murders, rape, rapin, or fire, have since been most liberally rewarded and preferred."

Epitaph on Cumberland.

The following epitaph on "The Bloody Butcher," as given by Bishop Forbes—composed, it is stated, "in imitation of Dr Arbuthnot's upon Charteris"—may appropriately be quoted here:—

Digitized by Google

"Here continueth to stink
The memory of the [Duke of Cumberland],
Who, with unparallel'd barbarity,
And inflexible hardness of heart,
In spite of all motives to lenity
That policy or humanity could suggest,
Endeavour'd to ruin S——d
By all the ways a T——t cou'd invent.

"Nor is he more infamous
For the monstrous inhumanity of his nature
Than fortunate in accumulating
Titles and wealth;
For,
Without merit,
Without experience,
Without military skill,
He is created a Field-M——l and Captain-General
Has the profits of two Regiments,
And a settled revenue of 40,000 a year.

"He is the only man of his time
Who has acquir'd the name of a heroe
By the actions of a butchering Provo't;
For having with 10,000 regular troops
Defeated half that number of famish'd and fatigu'd militia,
He murder'd the wounded,
Hang'd or starv'd the prisoners,
Ravaged the country with fire and sword,
And having rioted in cruelty, posted off at last in triumph
With the suppos'd head
Of a brave unfortunate Prince.

"O! loyal reader!
Let not his success tempt thee to despair!
Heaven that punisheth us for our sins,
Cannot overlook such crimes as these.
Having once fill'd up the measure of his iniquity,
His glory will vanish like the morning dew.
And they who now adore him as a hero and a god,
Will at last curse him
As a madman and a devil."

Digitized by Google

THE BURNING OF CLUNY CASTLE.

In response to Bishop Forbes's request, Strathmashie gives the following account of this incident:—

"As you desired I shou'd give a particular account of the burning of Clunie's house, know then that in June 1746, after all was quiet of our side, arms delivered and submission to the prevailing power given, the Earl of Loudoun, who lay at Shirroemore (a place about three miles distant from Cluny) with 1000 militia, detached about 300 of them, under the command of Captains Hugh and George Mackay, with orders to burn the house, &c., of Cluny, which orders they did faithfully execute. For they not only burnt the house itself, with such office houses as were near it, but all the houses that they apprehended belonged to it at a good distance from it. It was a most pretty, regular, well-contrived house as any benorth the river of Tay: double built in the new way, only about two years before, pavilion roof'd, with two pretty pavilions joined to it by colonades, and consisted of eighteen fire-rooms."

The two captains who executed Cumberland's fiery orders were sons of Lord Reay of the time. Fighting on the side of the alien Hanoverians, the Mackays thus assisted in burning "the devoted Ewen of Cluny" out of hearth and home, simply because he and his clan fought under the standard of him whom they considered their rightful King.

V.

"In the land of the Macphersons,
Where the Spey's wide waters flow,
In the land where Royal Charlie
Knew his best friend in his woe."

—Blackie.

Under date 23rd February, 1750, Bishop Forbes records that he "dined in Edinburgh with John Macpherson of Benchar and Donald Macpherson, younger of Breackachie, in Badenoch. The said Mr Macpherson of Breackachie having been provisor for the Prince during the time of his skulking in Badenoch (which was between two and three weeks), he narrated several remarkable particulars about the Prince while in Badenoch." In view of the frequent allusions by the Bishop in the narrative given in this paper to "Benchar" and "Breackachie," it may not, perhaps, be out of place to make brief references in passing to the Macpherson families to which these gentlemen belonged.

Digitized by Google

The Macphersons of Banchor.

Benchar, or Banchor, as it is now termed, was long the seat of a family of Macphersons, of the first branch of the clan, who prominently figure in the history of Badenoch. The family acquired Banchor from the Mackintoshes, who held it of the Gordons, and are designed "of Benchar" in the Valuation Roll of 1691. "Jo Macpherson, Benchar, yr.," and "Jo Macpherson, elder, of Benchar," were among the Macphersons who signed the Clan "Covenant" on 28th May, 1628. William and John Macpherson, "in Benchar," were two of the Macphersons who joined in the expeditions of Montrose, and were (among others) appointed by the Synod of Moray in 1648 "in their owne habit, on their knees, to acknowledge their deep sorrow, etc." The "John Macpherson of Benchar" referred to by Bishop Forbes was one of two Macphersons who, in May, 1746, soon after the Battle of Culloden, along with Mr Blair, then minister of Kingussie, conducted "several people of the parish of Kingussie, in Badenoch, to Blair, in Atholl, and delivered up their arms to Brig. Mordaunt, submitting themselves to the King's mercy. They were all permitted to return home peaceably." Banchor was one of the small lairdships acquired towards the end of last century by the translator of Ossian, and it is now possessed by his great-grandson, Mr Brewster-Macpherson of Balavil.

The Macphersons of Breakachy.

Breakachie—or, to use the modern spelling, Breakachy—was for many generations the seat of a distinguished family of Macphersons—cadets of the House of Cluny—who took an active part in the many conflicts of the clan down to the '45. The family was designed "of Breakachie" in the Valuation Roll of 1644. To that family belonged Corporal Samuel Macpherson, who, with no little military skill and strategy, at the early age of 29, acted as the leader of what has been well termed "A Romance of Military History," in connection with the mutiny in May, 1743, of the famous Black Watch, of song and story, of which a graphic account is given in "Chambers's Book of Days." The gallant corporal—worthy, as he was, of a better fate—his kinsman, Corporal Malcolm Macpherson, of the family of Druminarg, also in Badenoch, and a private, named Farquhar Shaw, from Rothiemurchus, were subsequently tried by court martial, and, by the stern exigencies of military discipline, condemned to be shot on the parade, within the precincts of the

Digitized by Google

Tower of London. In the special circumstances, their execution was considered by their countrymen quite unjustifiable, and rankled so deeply in the breasts of their kindred that, it is said, the Macphersons, two years later, were all the more eager to join the standard of Prince Charlie, with the view of avenging the death of their unfortunate clansmen. Kenneth, a younger brother of Samuel Macpherson, by his father's second marriage, attained to the rank of General in the service of the East India Company, and died at an advanced age in 1815—seventy-two years after Samuel's tragic fate. Another gallant soldier, the last lineal descendant of the same family, was General Barclay Macpherson, C.B., K.H., a great-grandson of Simon, Lord Lovat, and a grandson of Cluny of the '45, who, after a distinguished military career, died at Stirling on 30th December, 1858, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, his remains being interred in the family tomb in the old churchyard of Kingussie. The "Donald Macpherson, younger of Breakachie," mentioned by Bishop Forbes, was married to a sister of Cluny of the '45, and is the "Breakachie" so frequently alluded to in the narrative of Prince Charlie's wanderings in Badenoch. Breakachy is now part of the beautiful and extensive property in Badenoch of Colonel Macpherson of Glentruim.

The Feelings of Prince Charlie after Culloden, Portrayed by Burns.

One of the caves in Badenoch, in which the Prince found refuge, was situated at the southern extremity of Loch-Erricht. It was in connection with his wanderings in the wild and solitary region of Ben-Alder that the feelings cherished by the Royal fugitive at the time are thus touchingly depicted by the poet Burns:—

"The small birds rejoice in the green leaves returning,
The murmuring streamlet winds clear through the vale;
The hawthorn trees blow in the dew of the morning,
And wild scatter'd cowslips bedeck the green dale;
But what can give pleasure, or what can seem fair,
While the lingering moments are number'd by care?
No flowers gaily springing, nor birds sweetly singing,
Can soothe the sad bosom of joyless despair.
The deed that I dared, could it merit their malice,
A king and a father to place on his throne?
His right are these hills, and his right are these valleys,
Where the wild beasts find shelter, but I can find none.

Digitized by Google

But 'tis not my sufferings, thus wretched, forlorn,
My brave gallant friends! 'tis your ruin I mourn:
Your deeds proved so loyal in hot bloody trial,
Alas! can I make you no better return?"

Prince Charlie in Badenoch.

"Breakachie said," relates Bishop Forbes, "that the Prince came to Badenoch about the end of August or beginning of September, and skulked there in three different huts, which were about two miles from one another, and six Highland miles (that is ten English miles) from Loudon's camp, and yet there was not the smallest surmise or suspicion of the Prince skulking in Badenoch till after his arrival in France. What contributed much to the Prince's safety in Badenoch (said Breakachie) was this. Lochiel had been crippling about in his wounds for several months in Badenoch, and it was known to several Macphersons that Cluny, Lochiel, Dr Cameron, etc., were together in Badenoch, but then these Macphersons never once hinted to any person that they knew of any such thing; and when the Prince came to Cluny, and Lochiel in Badenoch, it was known to none but to themselves, and those that were with them; even the foresaid Macphersons never once suspecting that the Prince had ever come down the country to Cluny, Lochiel, etc. None were admitted to see Cluny, Lochiel, etc., but young Breakachie, and any such as they themselves ordered or allowed him to introduce to them. This strictness continued still to be observed (rather more and more) after the Prince had come to them, and then none were admitted to them even by young Breakachie himself till a council was held to consider the necessity or usefulness of having an interview with this or the other person that Breakachie might happen to bring them notice of. So that it was scarce possible that a discovery could be made of the Prince's being in Badenoch."

The "Yuicking" of Donald Cameron's Nose.

"Breakachie said that the Prince used to tell his attendants in Badenoch that when Donald Cameron ('of Glenpean') was about guiding him through the guards, Donald would fall a rubbing his nose, and would say to the Prince, 'O, sir, my nose is yuicking, which is a sign to me that we have great hazards and dangers to go through.' When they had passed through the guards, the Prince merrily said to Donald Cameron, 'Well, Donald, how does your nose now?' 'It is better now,' answered

Digitized by Google

Donald; 'but it still yuicks a little.' 'Ay, Donald, replied the Prince, 'have we still more guards to go through?' This plainly shows how well the Prince kept up his spirits, even when surrounded with the greatest dangers, of which, indeed, many instances can be given."

Cluny Constructs a Subterraneous Cave for the Prince in Ben-Alder.

"When the Prince was in Badenoch, Cluny and others were employed in making out a subterraneous house for winter quarters to the Prince, lest an opportunity should not offer to take him off to France. In this house they had contriv'd a particular room for the Prince, which was to be floored with boards, lined with boards, and covered within the roof with the same, which room was almost finished when intelligence was brought to the Prince about the two ships on the West Coast that were ready to take him off, to which ships the Prince travelled on foot, being about 100 English miles, even though at that very time he was troubled with a looseness or flux. In walking to the ships, the Prince and his attendants were frequently obliged to go out of the direct way, and to travell about to keep themselves as much as possible from being seen, and to avoid those places where the Prince might happen to be known, which served to make their journey considerably longer.

"There are no woods in Badenoch (as Benchar and Breakachie told me), but there are mountains, braes, and rocks, among which, with the help of the three foresaid huts, the Prince and his then attendants made a shift to keep themselves very private and safe."

The Date on which the Prince Embarked for France.

"I took an opportunity of telling Breakachie that I was very desirous to find out the precise day on which the Prince embarked for France, for that the several accounts about it differed. "The Scots Magazine" and Dr Burton's pamphlet made it on September 20th. Some maps of the Prince's whole expedition (said to be done by the Prince's own orders), lately published in France, had it on September 21st, and Glenalladale's journal fixes it to September 28th. Upon this I asked Breakachie if he could name the day of the week when the Prince embarked, and then I would find out the day of the month. After thinking a little, Breakachie said, 'To the best of my remembrance, we

Digitized by Google

came to the place where the ships lay at anchor upon a Friday, when Cluny and I took leave of the Prince, and set out on our return to Badenoch. 'But then' (said Breakachie) 'the Prince did not imbark till the day after (Saturday), having waited at least a whole day for the coming of such as were desirous to seek for safety in a foreign country. However, added he, 'it is in my power to give you the date of his imbarkation beyond all dispute; for the Prince, immediately after going on board, writ a letter with his own hand, notifying his having imbarked, which he despatched by express to Cluny. This original letter in the Prince's own handwriting, said Breakachie, 'I have in my custody, and when I return home I shall transmit to you a copy of the letter."

"I thanked him for his promise, and told him that his performance would be a singular favour. I then importuned Breakachie (in which Benchar assisted me) to be at some pains, by consulting with others, to draw out a minute and circumstantial account of the Prince's abode in Badenoch, as to what passed in conversation, etc., etc. Breakachie frankly complied with my request, and promised to do his best when once he were at home again."

The Faithful Men of Glenmoriston.

"Benchar told me he was very desirous to see my collection of papers, and to hear some of them read. For this end an appointment was made on Thursday (March 1st), when Benchar and Breakachie came to Leith in the afternoon, and spent some hours with me. I read in their hearing some of the most material papers, with which they were much pleased. At this meeting Breackachie told me that the Prince (when in Badenoch) used to tell his attendants that when he was with the faithfull Glenmoriston men, he observed them frequently to make use of the expression Ho, Sian, which he took to be the name of one of them, and that certainly he behoved to be the principal one among them, as they called so often upon him, whereas Ho, Sian, signifies Hark you, John, or Hear you, John, which expression they had used when discoursing upon this or the other subject they happened to refer anything to the one of their number named John, who, from this deference paid to him, appears to have been the principal man amongst them."

The words transcribed by the worthy Bishop, as Ho, Sian, appear to be mis-spelt and misinterpreted. The expression was probably nothing more than an ejaculatory exclamation, some-

Digitized by Google

thing like the Scotch "O aye," or the English "O yes," without any personal reference to the name Ian, or John. The words properly spelt would be Ha Sin!—equivalent to the English phrase, "That is so," or "Just that!" *

THE PRINCE'S LETTERS TO CLUNY.

"Breakachie likewise told me at this time that Cluny and he had taken leave of the Prince without any the smallest notion of ever receiving any letter or note from the Prince's own hand about his imbarkation; for that the Prince of his own inclination and goodwill had, after being on board, writ the foresaid letter to satisfie friends about his being happily appointed in two stout ships, well provided in everything necessary and fit to be had, particularly a sufficient number of good and able sailors.

"Breakachie again renewed his promise to me of drawing up a particular account of what passed during the Prince's abode in Badenoch."

The autograph letter, dated 18th September, 1746, written by Prince Charlie to Cluny of the '45, on the eve of the Prince's embarking for France, is carefully treasured as an heirloom at Cluny Castle. A fac-simile of that letter is given in the "Celtic Monthly" for this month, but for the sake of connection it may be quoted here:—

"Macpherson of Clunie

"As we are sensible of your clan's fidelity and integrity to us during our adventures in Scotland and England in the year 1745 and 1746, in recovering our just rights from the Elector of Hanover, by which you have sustained very great losses, both in your interest and person, I therefore promise when it shall please God to put it in any power to make a greatfull return sutable to your sufferings. CHARLES, P. R.

"Diralagich in Glencamyier
of Locharkag, 18th Sept. 1746."

The letter to Cluny referred to by "Breakachie," as having been written by the Prince "immediately after his going on board," must have been written two or three days later than the one of 18th September, and, unfortunately, cannot now be traced.

* Or perhaps rather, Co sin? Who is that?

Digitized by Google

Lochiel's Wounds at Culloden.

"I enquired at Breakachie about the time of Lochiel's recovering of his wounds. Breakachie informed me that Lochiel was quite out of all danger as to his wounds when Sir Stewart Thriepland (alias Dr Threpland) left Badenoch, which was some time in the month of July, 1746. 'But then,' added Breakachie, 'Lochiel's wounds were not entirely closed up, neither was he free of pain, when the Prince came to Badenoch, at which very time Lochiel was not able to walk well about, but behoved to be removed about from place to place on horseback. However, before notice came of the two ships on the west coast, Lochiel's wounds were quite closed up and skinned over, and he was then fit for travell.

"The above account serves to confirm an assertion of Macdonald of Glenalladale in his Journal, and to rectifie a mistake of mine in a marginal note, which I was led into by an expression in Mr John Cameron's Journal, which expression of Mr John Cameron (it would appear) imports only that Lochiel was in health and out of danger as to his wounds, but not that he was altogether sound or quite well recovered.

"The foresaid Dr Threpland (as Breakachie assured me) waited on Lochiel after the Battle of Culloden, and dressed his wounds for him, so that when the doctor left Badenoch, Lochiel needed only to keep his wounds clean, and to apply dry dressings to them."

Lochiel's Deep Concern for his People after Culloden.

"Moreover, Breakachie informed me that Lochiel, after the Battle of Culloden, was very anxious to be out of Lochabar, and to be in Badenoch, not only for ease and safety to his own person, but likewise because he was not able to stand the melancholy accounts that were ever reaching his ears about the cruelties and severities committed by the military upon the people round about him in Lochabar. And even when Lochiel was in Badenoch such moving narratives were told him of the sufferings of his own people and of others in Lochabar, as bore very hard upon him. One day, when accounts were brought to Lochiel, in Badenoch, that the poor people in Lochabar had been so pillaged and harrassed that they had not really necessaries to keep in their lives, Lochiel took out his purse and gave all the money he could well spare to be distributed among such in Lochabar. 'And,' said Breakachie, 'I remember nothing better than that

Digitized by Google

Sir Stewart Threpland at that time took out his purse and gave five guineas, expressing himself in these words—"I am sure," said Sir Stewart, "I have not so much to myself. But then, if I be spared, I know where to get more, whereas these poor people know not where to get the smallest assistance." '

THE LOSS OF THE CAMERONS IN THE '45.

"Both Benchar and Breakachie joined in affirming it to be their opinion that the Camerons (Lochiel's following) had suffered the loss of at least three hundred good men from first to last. For it was remarkable (said they) that the Camerons had suffered considerably in every action they happened to be engaged in—Gladsmuir, Falkirk, Culloden, and in the cruelties committed after the battle of Culloden."

No. VI.

"Amid the veiling clouds and storms to dwell
With the wild fox and eagle on the fell,
There, free like them, upon the rocky bed,
Slaked with the spring and by the berry fed;
They scorned the bribe upon their Prince's head—
To them a treasure in their laps had rolled
A heap of boundless wealth unknown, untold,
And they refused it all—in want to die,
Who might have lived in ease and solace high."

Under date 31st May, 1750, the worthy Bishop records that he "was sent for to go to David Watson's house, vintner on the Shore of Leith, to see one Mr Macpherson. When I came I found Mr Macpherson of Breakachie, younger, and Donald Macpherson, Cluny's youngest brother. After conversing a little, Breakachie delivered to me a letter from Mr Macpherson of Strathmashie, inclosing a paper consisting of twelve pages in folio, which twelve pages are all in the handwriting of the foresaid Donald Macpherson, youngest brother to Cluny, as he himself acknowledged to me. Breakachie said there were some things omitted in the said twelve pages, and that he would gladly go to my house in order to have a private hour to go over the twelve pages with me, and to give me the omissions from his own mouth that I might note them down, all which was accordingly done." Here is the letter to which the Bishop refers, addressed to him by John Macpherson of Strathmashie, a captain in Cluny's

Digitized by Google

Regiment in the '45. In addition to his other good qualities, that brave and faithful officer was evidently an adept in the art of polite letter-writing:—

"My Dear Sir,—I must with regrate confess to you that I account myself at an exceeding great loss for the too great a pause in the corresponding with such ane agreeable and valuable correspondent. And, indeed, when I reflect that I have the favour of the last letter from you (tho I doe not really think I'm any one in debt), I can scarcely forbear chideing myself for soe long a silence. Its true I cannot say that hitherto I was furnished with any materialls fit for seting your pen agoeing, which I hope will apologize in part for me. What is confusedly set furth in the enclosed papers take as from a friend who wants noe more than ability to doe you a pleasure. I assure you the fault is not in the will, and that assures me of pardon from you; tho' my escapes and other faults, which proceed only from weakness in the intellects, and may be many when you may rest satisfied that truth is sacredly observed. I cannot, indeed, say of this, as of the last, that I myself was eyewitness to any transaction. But I have all from very good authority that was, and to whom I give equall credite as if I were in person present, who I well know would assert noe falsehood. . . . And ever am, with much estem, my very dear sir, your most obedient and faithfull servant, (Sic subscribitur) "JOHN MACPHERSON.

"Strathmashie, 1st May, 1750."

Hunted, like a wild beast of the mountains, for a period of fully five months, with unceasing zeal and activity, by Cumberland's minions—stimulated, as they were, by the large bribe offered for Prince Charlie's head—his marvellous escapes from their clutches, of which many details are given in these exceedingly interesting volumes, were regarded by his devoted adherents as special interpositions of Providence. Except in the case of "the devoted Ewen of Cluny," the terrible hardships endured by the Prince in his wanderings in the Highlands after the Battle of Culloden, are unexampled in the history of the '45. Frequently, with his clothes in tatters, lacking any shelter except some crevice in cliffs by the sea-shore, or in the bare hill-side, and often suffering from the pangs of cold and hunger, it is related that he told Alexander Macdonell (or Macdonald), the tacksman of Tulloch-chrom, in Badenoch, he had learned "to know the fourth part of a peck of meal, upon which he had once lived for about eight days!" Deserted by two professed friends, on whom

Digitized by Google

he had at the time relied for assistance in preserving him from danger, we are told that while in a position of great peril at Strath, in Skye, in the beginning of July, 1746, he cried out in his extremity—"O God Almighty! Look down upon my circumstances and pity me; for I am in a most melancholy situation. Some of those who joined me at first, and appeared to be fast friends, now turn their backs upon me."

The Prince Arrives at Locharkaig.

Weary and footsore after his many wanderings and privations, which he bore with remarkable fortitude, the Prince, about the end of August, 1746, found his way to Lochaber. His trusty friends, Lochiel and Cluny, were at this time in hiding in Ben-Alder. For a period of nearly three months they were in a state of great anxiety as to what had become of the Prince, but at length their hearts were gladdened by the tidings conveyed to them that he was safe at Locharkaig. It was then resolved that Cluny should on a certain day meet the Prince at Achnacarry to escort him to Ben-Alder; and Lochgarry and Dr Archibald Cameron returned at once to Lochaber to make him aware of this arrangement. But so impatient was the Prince to be with Lochiel and Cluny that he proceeded immediately to Ben-Alder, in the hope that he would intercept Cluny on the way. Cluny, however, had gone to Achnacarry by a different route, and the Prince in this way unfortunately missed him. The narrative given in the third volume of "The Lyon in Mourning" thus begins:—

"After the fatal catastrophe of the Prince's army at Culloden upon the sixteenth of April, 1746, and that they meant to make head again about Achnicarry, till upon the Earl of Loudon's approach with an army the few of 'em that had got together were made to disperse. Lochiel being then bad of his wounds, was obliged to shift from his own country the length of the Breas of Rannoch, near which, about the 20th of June, in a hutt called Benvrichk, Cluny Macpherson and Macpherson of Breakachie met him and Sir Stewart Threpland, physician, who attended him for the cure of his wounds. Cluny brought them from thence to Ben-Alder, a hill of great circumference in that part of Badenoch next to Rannoch and his own ordinary grassings, where they remained together without ever getting any true notice of what had become of his Royal Highness for near three months, when they received the agreeable news of his being safe and at Loch-

Digitized by Google

archaik from one John Macpherson, alias M'Colvain, a tenant of Lochiel's, who was sent by Cameron of Cluns to find out Lochiel and Cluny in order to discover to 'em that his Royal Highness was safe, and where he was to be found. And upon Macpherson's return to Cluns and the Prince being certifyed where to find them Lochgarry and Dr Archibald Cameron were by his Royal Highness dispacht to 'em on some certain private message, when upon those gentlemen's meeting with Lochiel and Cluny it was concerted amongst 'em all the Prince shou'd come to their asylum as the safest place for him to pass some time in. On which Lochgarry and Doctor Cameron were immediately return'd to his Royal Highness to acquaint him of the resolution taken by his other two friends and them, and that Cluny wou'd on a certain day then fixt meet his Royal Highness at Achnicarry in order to conduct him to Badenoch. Upon Lochgarry and Doctor Cameron's return to the Prince (they having set off a day or two before Cluny) his Royal Highness was so impatient to be with his two friends, whom he had not for a long time seen, that he wou'd not wait for the Achnicarry trist, believing he wou'd intercept Cluny on the way, and accordingly set out for Badenoch immediately, where he arrived the 29th of August, having in the meantime missed intercepting Cluny on the way as he believed he wou'd, by which means Cluny went the length of Achnicarry, where he was acquainted of the turn his Royal Highness had taken, on which he made all the dispatch possible, but did not come up with his Royal Highness until a day or two after his arrival in Badenoch."

The Prince Arrives at Ben-Alder.

In approaching the place of concealment of his friends in Ben-Alder, the Prince and his attendants, before they had come sufficiently near to be recognised, were supposed to be a detachment of the enemy, and narrowly escaped being fired upon by their own friends. The narrative proceeds:—

"The Prince lay the first night at Corineair* at the foot of Benalder after his coming to Badenoch, from which he was conducted next day to Mellanmuir† in Benalder, a sheiling of a very narrow compass, where Lochiel, with Macpherson of Breakachie, Allan Cameron, his (i.e. Lochiel's) principal servant, and two

* *Coire-an-iubhair*—The corrie of the yew.
† *Meall an-iubhair*—The mountain of the yew.

Digitized by Google

servants of Cluny, were at the time. It cannot but be remarked that when Lochiel saw five men approaching under arms, being the Prince, Lochgarry, Doctor Cameron, and two servants, taking the five to be of the army or militia who lay incampt not above five miles from them, and probably in search of 'emselves, and as it was in vain to think of flying, tho' the numbers had been greater, Lochiel at the time being quite leam and not in any condition to travel, much less to fly, it was resolved (which a message beforehand would have prevented) that the attackers, as they judged 'em to be, sho'd be received with a general discharge of all the firearms, in number twelve firelocks and some pistols, which they had in the small sheil house or bothie (as we commonly call such little huts) in which they at the time lodged. Whereupon all was made ready, pieces planted and levelled from within and (in short) they flattered 'emselves of getting the better of the searchers, there being no more than their own number, and likewise considering the great advantage they had of firing at 'em without being at all observed and the conveniency of so many spare arms. But as the auspicious hand of Almighty God and his Providence, which was so conspicuous in the escorting his Royal Highness at all times prevented those within the hut from firing at the Prince with his four attendants they came so near at last that they were known by those within, and then Lochiel tho' lame made the best of his way to meet his Royal Highness without, who it may be believed received him very graciously. The joy at this meeting was certainly very great and much easier to be conceived than express'd. However, such was his Royal Highness circumspection that when the other would have kneeled at his coming up to him, he said—'Oh! no, my dear Lochiel,' claping him on the shoulder, 'you don't know who may be looking from the tops of yonder hills, and if they see any such motions they'll immediately conclude that I am here, which may prove of bad consequence.' Lochiel then ushered him into his habitation which was indeed but a very poor one as to the accommodation and make."

The Prince in Good Spirits.

"The Prince was gay, hearty, and in better spirits than it was possible to think he could be considering the many disasters, misfortunes, disappointments, fatigues, and difficulties he had undergone, which are not necessary here to be repeated, as they are before now too much felt and known. However, into the hut his Royal Highness with his retinue went, viz., Lochgarry, Doctor

Digitized by Google

Archibald Cameron, and two servants, where there was more eatables and drinkables provided for his entertainment than he expected. There was plenty of mutton newly killed, and an anker of whiskie of twenty Scotch pints, with some good beef sassers made the year before, and plenty of butter and cheese, and, besides, a large well-cured bacon ham—provisions formerly laid in for Lochiel by Macpherson of Breakachie, younger. Upon his entry he took a hearty dram, which he pretty often called for thereafter to drink his friends' healths; and when there were some minch'd collops dress'd with butter for him in a large sawce pan that Lochiel and Cluny carried always about with 'em, which was all the fire vessels they had, he eat heartily and said with a very chearful and lively countenance, 'Now, gentlemen, I leive like a Prince,' tho' at the same time he was no otherwise served than by eating his collops out of the sawce pan, only that he had a silver spoon. After dinner he asked Locheil if he had still lived during his skulking in that place in such a good way. To which Locheil answered, 'Yes, sir, I have for now three months that I am here and hereabouts with my cousin Cluny and Breakachie, who has so provided for me that I have still had plenty of such as you see, and I thank Heaven that your Royal Highness has come safe through so many dangers to take part.' In two days after his Royal Highness lodged with Lochiel at Mellanamuir, Cluny came to 'em there from Achnicarry, and upon his coming into the hut, when he wou'd have kneeled, his Royal Highness took and prevented him, and kissed him, as if he had been an equal, and soon after said, 'I'm sorry, Cluny, you and your regiment were not at Culloden. I did not hear till of very late that you was so near to have come up with us that day.' "

No. VII.

"The world was changed—our reign was o'er,
We wandered lone from shore to shore,
But in that pilgrimage we met
Some whom we never may forget;
Bright blossoms on the desert lea,
Lone sunbeams on the winter sea,
True hearts and hands, as brave and high
As ever soothed sad sorrow's sigh."
—"Lays of the Deer Forest."

A portion of the narrative as to Prince Charlie's sojourn in Badenoch, appearing in the third volume of the "Lyon in

Digitized by Google

Mourning," is printed as part of the appendix to Home's History of the '45, and portions also in Chambers's History. Although the original, as transmitted to Bishop Forbes by Captain John Macpherson of Strathmashie, was in the handwriting of Donald Macpherson, the youngest brother of Cluny of the '45, it is believed to have been dictated by Cluny himself.

The Prince Removes to the "Cage," Two Miles Further into Benalder.

The narrator proceeds:—

"Upon the next day after Cluny's coming he thought it was time to remove the quarters, and brought the Prince about two miles further into Benalder, to a little sheil called Uiskchilra,* where the hut or bothie was superlatively bad and smockie. Yet his Royal Highness took with everything. Here he remained for two or three nights, and then from thence removed to a very romantic, comical habitation made out for him by Cluny, at two miles farther distance into Benalder, called the Cage. It was really a curiosity, and can scarcely be described to perfection. 'Twas situate in the face of a very rough, high, rockie mountain called Letternilick,† which is still a part of Benalder, full of great stones and crevices, and some scattered wood interspersed. The habitation called the 'Cage,' in the face of that mountain, was within a small thick bush of wood. There were first some rows of trees laid down in order to level a floor for the habitation, and as the place was steep this rais'd the lower side to equall height with the other; and these trees, in the way of jests or planks, were entirely well levelled with earth and gravel. There were betwixt the trees, growing naturally on their own roots, some stakes fixed in the earth, which with the trees were interwoven with ropes made of heath and birch twigs all to the top of the Cage, it being of a round or rather oval shape, and the whole thatched and covered over with foge. This whole fabrick hung as it were by a large tree, which reclined from the one end all along the roof to the other, and which gave it the name of the Cage; and by chance in the side next the precipice resembling the pillars of a bosom chimney, and here was the fire placed. The smock had its vent out there, all along a very stowny plat of the rock, which and the smock were all together so much of a colour that anyone cu'd

* *Uisg-a'-chaoilreidh*—The stream of the defile.
† *Leitir-na-lic*—The slope of the slab of stone.

Digitized by Google

make no difference in the clearest day, the smock and stones by and through which it passed, being of such true and real resemblance. The Cage was no larger than to contain six or seven persons, four of which number were frequently employed in playing at cards, one idle looking on, one becking and another firing bread and cooking."

Description of the Cage.

In the remarkable manuscript preserved in the Cluny Charter Chest, written in France about the year 1760, there is the following graphic description of the Cage—since immortalised by Louis Stevenson in "Kidnapped":—

"About five miles to the south-westward of his (Cluny's) chateau commenc'd his forest of Benalder, plentifully stock'd with dear, red hares, moorfoul, and other game of all kinds, beside which it affords fine pasture for his numberous flocks and heards.

"Here also he keeps a harras of some hundred mares, all which after the fatal day of Culoden became the pray of his enemies. It contains an extent of many mountains and small valleys, in all computed about 12 miles long, east and west, and from 8 to 10 miles in breadth, without a single house in the whole excepting the necessary lodges for the shepherds who were charg'd with his flocks. It was in this forest where the Prince found Cluny with Locheill in his wounds and other friends under his care. Cluny observed on this ocasion an incident of the Prince's never-failing prudent caution and presence of mind. Lord Locheill, he, and the others advanced to receive him in the respectfull manner justly due his Royal Highness. 'My dear Locheill,' says he immediately, 'no ill-placed ceremony at present I beg of you, for it is hard to say who may at this moment eye us from these surrounding mountains.' How soon the joy conceived on seeing the Prince in safety and in health gave room for cooler reflections, Cluny became anxious about his future health and safety. He was afraid that his constitution might not suit with lying on the ground or in caves, so was solicitous to contrive a more comfortable habitation for him upon the south front of one of these mountains, overlooking a beautiful lake of 12 miles long, He observed a thicket of holly-wood; he went, viewed, and found it fit for his purpose; he caused immediately wave the thicket round with boughs, made a first and second floor in it, and covered it with moss to defend the rain. The upper room served for salle à manger and bed-chamber, while the lower serv'd for a

Digitized by Google

cave to contain liquors and other necessaries; at the back part was a proper hearth for cook and baiker, and the face of the mountain had so much the colour and resemblance of smock, no person cu'd ever discover that there was either fire or habitation in the place. Round this lodge were placed their sentinels at proper stations, some nearer and some at greater distances, who dayly brought them notice of what happened in the country and even in the enemie's camps, bringing them likewise the necessary provisions, while a neighbouring fountain supplied the society with the rural refreshment of pure rock water. As, therefore, an oak tree is to this dav rever'd in Brittain for having happily sav'd the grand-uncle, Charles the Second, from the pursuits of Cromwell, so this holly thicket will probablie in future times be likeways rever'd for having saved Prince Charles, the nephew, from the still more dangerous pursuits of Cumberland, who show'd himself on all occasions a much more inveterate enemy. In this romantick, humble habitation the Prince dwelt. When news of the ships being arrived reached him, Cluny convoyed him to them with joy, happy in having so safely plac'd so valuable a charge; then returned with contentment, alone to commence his pilgrimage, which continued for nine years more. And now, notwithstanding the very great difference of his present situation and circumstances to what they once were, he is always gay and cheerfull; conscious of having done his duty, he defys fortune to make him express his mind unhappy, or so much as make him think of any action below his honour.

"Here (i.e., in the Cage) his Royal Highness remained till he was acquainted that the shipping for receiving and transporting him to France was arrived. In the meantime of his Royal Highness's having his quarters in the Cage, he sent Cluny and Doctor Cameron on some private affair to Locharchaich, a part of Locheil's country, who in their way, before they ..t Badenoch, in a very dark night, had the goodluck to meet with the before-mentioned John M'Pherson alias M'Coilvain, he having been sent by Cameron of Cluns to find out Cluny, that if it was possible he might fall on some way to get his Royal Highness acquainted of the arrival of the ships. And this chance meeting was certainly a very great providence, since if it had happen'd otherwise the Prince would not have known of the shippings' arrival till the return from Locharchaik, which delay, as the arrival was some time before, might have proved of very bad consequence. But it pleased God to dispose better for his Royal Highness, who seemed to be still the Almighty's particular care. For tho' the night was the very darkest, as is before observed, the express met the

Digitized by Google

other gentlemen in the teeth, and was known by 'em, whereupon, having got his news and knowing him to be trustie and might be believed, Cluny immediately provided a trustie guide, one Alexander M'Pherson, son to Benjemin M'Pherson, in Gallovie, who brought the express directly to the Cage, where they arrived about one in the morning, the thirteenth of September, on which minute his Royal Highness began his journey for the shipping, and against daylight arrived at his old quarters in Uiskchilra."

Macpherson of Breakachie's Devotion to the Prince.

The charming personality of Prince Charlie, and the cheerfulness with which, in common with so many of his adherents, he endured such terrible trials and privations, exercised on the great majority of their number an irresistible fascination. One of the most faithful of his followers was Macpherson of Breakachie (a brother-in-law of Cluny of the '45), so frequently mentioned in these volumes as "the provisor" of the Prince during his stay in Benalder. So intense was Breakachie's devotion that in his anxiety to serve the Prince he appears to have been unnaturally regardless for the time of the "dismal condition" of his wife and children.

"Here (the narrative continues) it must be remarked that before the Prince removed his quarters to the Cage, Breakachie was dispatched from Uiskchilra to find out John Roy Stewart, and then to go together to the East Coast, with a view to hire a ship and take off the Prince, Lochiel, Cluny, and those formerly mentioned about him. When Cluns dispatched the courier to the Prince in the Cage to certifie him of the arrival of the ships on the West Coast, he at the same time dispatched Murdoch Macpherson (a near relation of Invereshie's) to Mr Macpherson of Breackachie, younger, desiring him to stop his progres to the East Coast, and to repair immediately to the place where the Prince was. The said Murdoch came to Breackachie when going to bed, and then Breackachie's lady (one of Cluny's sisters), finding out the matter, began to talk of her dismal situation, having so many children, and being then also big with child; upon which Breackachie said, 'I put no value upon you or your bairns unless you can bring me forth immediately thirty thousand men in arms ready to serve my master.'"

Digitized by Google

JOHN ROY STEWART IS TAKEN BY SURPRISE.

"Instantly Breackachie set out on his return to the Prince, and took along with him John Roy Stewart (whom the Prince used to call 'The Body'), but did not allow John Roy to know that the Prince was in Badenoch, but only that they were going to see Lochiel, &c. When the Prince heard that Breackachie and John Roy Stewart were coming near the hut Uiskchilra, he wrapped himself up in a plaid and lay down, in order to surprise John Roy the more when he should enter the hut. In the door of the hut there was a pool or puddle, and when John Roy Stewart just was entering, the Prince peeped out of the plaid, which so surprised John Roy that he cried out, 'O Lord! my Master,' and fell down in the puddle in a faint."

THE PRINCE'S BELONGINGS PRESERVED FROM THE HANDS OF HIS ENEMIES.

"Breackachie likewise brought along with him to Uiskchilra three fusees, one mounted with gold, a second with silver, and the third half mounted, all belonging to the Prince himself, who had desired Breackachie to fetch him these pieces at some convenient time. When the Prince saw the fusees, he expressed great joy, crying, 'It is remarkable that my enemies have not discovered one farthing of my money, a rag of my cloathes, or one piece of my arms.' An event which the Prince himself did not know till he came to Benalder in Badenoch, where he was particularly informed that all the above things were still preserved from the hands of his enemies."

"Land of my fathers! through Culloden's gloom
There shines a light of glory on thy tomb,
A star which to posterity shall tell
How the base conquered and the noble fell.
The stainless page of history shall bear
From the dark smoking glen and mountain lair
The glory of the poor who suffered there,
Through ravening famine and the pain of death,
The searching falchion, and the flaming breath,
Which spared not youth or age—the child, the sire—
And wrapt their harvests and their homes in fire,
And yet through all—who lived—lived faithful still,
A hunted outlaw on the ravaged hill."

Digitized by Google

PRINCE CHARLIE ON THE MARCH TO THE COAST.

Having received the welcome tidings of the arrival of the ships on the West Coast to convey him to France, the Prince left the safe retreat of Benalder, which had been provided for him by the unswerving fidelity and forethought of Cluny of the '45—himself at the time "a hunted outlaw on the ravaged hill." The narrative proceeds:—

"The Prince (as is already observed) arrived at his old quarters at Uiskchilra, on his way to the ships, against daylight, in the morning of September 13th, where he remained till near night, and then set off, and was by daylight at Corvoy, where he sleep'd some time. Upon his being refresd'd with sleep, he being a sufficient distance from any country, did spend the day by diverting himself and his company with throwing up ot bonnets in the air and shuting at 'em to try the three foresaid favourite fusees, and to try who was the best marksman, in which diversion his Royal Highness by far exceeded; and in the evening of the fourteenth he set forward and went on as far as Uiskinficht, on the confines of Glenroy, which marches with a part of the Breas of Badenoch, in which last place he refresh'd himself some hours with sleep; and before it was daylight got over Glenroy the fifteenth, and kept themselves private all day. As they were approaching Lochiel's Seat, Achnicarry, they came to the river Lochy at night, being fine moonshine. The dimculty was how to get over. Upon this Cluns Cameron met them on the water side, at whom Lochiel asked how they would get over the river. He said, 'Very well, for I have an old boat carried from Lockharkaig that the enemy left unburnt of all the boats you had, Lochiel.' Lochiel asked to see the boat. Upon seeing it he said, 'I am afraid we will not be safe with it.' Quoth Cluns, 'I will cross first and show you the way.' The matter was agreed upon."

THE PRINCE ENJOYS PROVISIONS TAKEN FROM HIS ENEMIES.

"Cluns, upon reflection, said, 'I have six bottles of brandy, and I believe all of you will be the better of a dram.' This brandy was brought from Fort-Augustus, where the enemy lay in garrison, about nine miles from that part of Lochy where they were about to cross. Lochiel went to the Prince and said 'Will your Royal Highness take a dram?' 'O,' said the Prince, 'can you have a dram here?' 'Yes,' replied Lochiel, 'and that from Fort-

Digitized by Google

Augustus, too,' which pleased the Prince much that he should have provisions from his enemies, etc. He said, Come, let us have it.' Upon this three of the bottles were drunk. Then they passed the river Lochy by three crossings, Cluns Cameron in the first with so many, then the Prince in the second with so many, and in the last Lochiel with so many. In the third and last ferrying the crazy boat laked so much that there would be four or five pints of water in the bottom of the boat, and in hurrying over the three remaining bottles of brandy were all broke. When the Prince called for a dram it was told that the bottles were broke, and that the common fellows had drunk all that was in the bottom of the boat as being good punch, which had made the fellows so merry that they made great diversion to the company as they marched along."

The Prince Arrives at Achnacarry.

"After the morning of the 16th the Prince arrived in Achnacarry, Lochiel's seat, where he was as ill off as anywhere else for accommodation, as the enemy had burnt and demolished all there. All the sixteenth he stayed there, and set out at night, and arrived the 17th at a place called Glencamger, in the head of Lochharkaig, where he found Cluny and Doctor Cameron, who had prepared for him, expecting him. By a very great, good chance, Cluny, understanding that he himself and the others of 'em would be necessarily obliged to travel often betwixt Badenoch and Lochiel's country, and knowing that it was scarce possible for people travelling that way, even those that cou'd be seen, and much less they that cou d not, to find provisions in their passage, as all was rummaged and plundered by the enemy, planted a small store of meal carried from Badenoch in the house of one Murdoch McPherson, in Coilerig of Glenroy, a trustye man and tennant to Keappoch in the road, and about half way, to be still a ready supply in case of need, from which secret small magazine he and Mr Cameron brought some with them as they went forward from Benalder, and had it made into bannocks against the Prince's coming to Glencamger. And when he and his company arrived there was a cow killed, on which bannock and beef his Royal Highness, with his whole retinue, were regalled and feasted plentifully that night. On the eighteenth he set out from Glencamger with daylight, and upon the nineteenth arrived at the shipping, what was extant of the Glencamger bannocks and beef having been all the provisions till then."

Digitized by Google

THE DURATION OF THE PRINCE'S STAY IN BADENOCH.

"The whole time his Royal Highness took in Badenoch from his arrival there upon the twenty-ninth of August till his leaving it, and being in Uiskinfichit upon the fifteenth of September, during which he was still in good health and hearty, and in such a close private way, tho' within six or seven miles at most of Loudon's camp of militia at Shorromore, or Sheriffmuir, in the head of Badenoch, a large mile from Garviemore, and no more than four or five miles from Dalchunnie, which is one of the most publick and best frequented stages betwixt Edinburgh and Inverness upon the Highland Road, that all his own party, except the few that kept him company, were at a loss to think what had become of him, and his enemies quite nonpluss'd."

THE PRINCE'S ENEMIES "QUITE AT SEA" AS TO HIS WHEREABOUTS.

"They sometimes thought he had got himself removed to the East Coast through the hills of Athol, and laid an imbargo upon all the shipping from that quarter. At other times they had information that he lurked in the shires of Angus or Mearns, and a search was made for him in the most suspected places of those shires, and particularly Mr Barclay of Ury's house, in the shire of the Mearns, whose lady is aunt to Locheil by the father, and to Cluny by the mother, was most narrowly searched, while he was quite safe and unconcern'd about 'em in the Cage and others his dwellings in Benalder."

THE PRINCE'S DEPLORABLE STATE WHEN HE ARRIVED IN BENALDER.

"When he came there he was indeed in a pretty deplorable way, intirely destitute not only of the comforts, but even of the necessaries of life. His royal person had not as much as one sh'rt to put on his back except that which he then wore, until Cluny set his sisters-german, Isobell, relict to M'Intosh of Aberarder; Christian, married to M'Pherson, Breackachie; and Unu, then unmarried, now married to M'Pherson of Dalrady, who were all three together in one house at Breackachie, about making some for him in all haste, whereby he was soon provided. He eat and drank all the time pretty well and hearty, and seem'd to be quite

Digitized by Google

reconcil'd with his entertainment, which was generally sent from Breackachie by the above three ladies, as there was no family at Cluny, all having been burnt there, and his lady been then at Edinburgh."

The Hardships Endured by the Prince after Culloden.

"His Royal Highness (as is well known), went thro' a rare scene and train of difficulties from the unhappy day of Culloden till he went on board for foreign parts, and was no doubt in many places in the Highlands and Islands sometimes private enough. But 'tis a question if at all he pass'd so much of his time anywhere so private and secure as he did that he spent in Benalder, being always within the circumference of six miles. 'Tis true indeed Cluny kept good trustie spies of his friends in Loudon's camp, so that one man cou'd not stir there without intelligence being brought to the Prince's quarters. And when laying out the best intelligence, safe passage from the kingdom was not found out, there was actually a plan laid of his passing the whole winter, which was approaching, with Cluny, and as he would direct, which, if there had no safe mean of getting over seas cast up, wou'd in all probability have succeeded with equal privacy to the time his Royal Highness had already spent in Benalder, and the beginning to put this scheme in execution by some of those then with his Royal Highness, their otherways shifting for 'emselves, as a throung cu'd not as well keep together privately as a less number, was only put off till Cluny's return from Lochharchaik."

The Prince's Attendants in Benalder.

"All about his Royal Highness during his abode in Benalder, of Badenoch, were—Lochiel, Cluny, Lochgarry, Doctor Cameron, and Breackachie, one Allan Cameron, a young genteel lad of Calard's family, who was principal servant to Lochiel, and four servants belonging to Cluny: particularly James Macpherson, his piper; Paul Macpherson, his horsekeeper; Murdoch and Duncan Macphersons. This Murdoch the Prince generally called Murik, who and Paul cou'd speak no English, and were commonly employed in carrying provisions from Breakachie."

Digitized by Google

THE PRINCE RELATES HOW HE ONCE LIVED FOR EIGHT DAYS ON THE FOURTH PART OF A PECK OF MEAL.

Under the date 16th January, 1760, Bishop Forbes records that "in the house of James MacDonald on the Coalhill in Leith, I met with Ranald MacDonell of Aberarder and his brother german Alexander MacDonell of Tullocherom, on the Loch-Laggan side of Badenoch, cadets of the family of Keppoch. The said Alexander told me that he had the honour to give a brown short coat, a shirt, and a pair of shoes to the Prince in his soulking just on his entering Badenoch to go to meet with Cluny and Lochiel. After the battle of Culloden, Alexander MackDonell having made his peace with Lord Loudon, and procured a protection, was now and then sent out to search for the Prince, and by his reports became an instrument in his preservation. The Prince told Alexander MackDonell that he had learned now to know the 4th part of a peck of meal, upon which he had once lived for about eight days. The Prince while in Badenoch had plenty of everything."

It will be seen from the narrative how Prince Charlie at length succeeded in escaping from his relentless persecutors, and left "the noble Northern land" never more to realise the longing of his devoted followers that he should "come again." "He went, but not"—as Lord Mahon truly says—"with him departed his remembrance from the Highlands. For years and years did his name continue enshrined in their hearts and familiar to their tongues, their plaintive ditties resounding with his exploits and inviting his return. Again in these strains do they declare themselves ready to risk life and fortune for his cause; and even maternal fondness—the strongest perhaps of all human feelings—yields to the passionate devotion to Prince Charlie."

In view of the Prince's later history and the closing scenes of his life, a greater lustre would undoubtedly have attached to his memory had he fallen at Culloden, fighting, as he so gallantly did, against such overwhelming odds. But had he so perished, we would never have heard of the heroic Flora Macdonald, and would have altogether lost a chapter of Highland loyalty and devotion than which there is nothing more touching nor of deeper interest in the annals of our country. If at last the Prince gave way to frailties which inevitably ensure degradation, it must be remembered, as has been justly said, "that his lot had

Digitized by Google

been one to which few men have ever been exposed, and the magnitude of his sufferings may fairly be admitted as some palliation for his weakness."

"Land of the brave, our hearts have wept for all
Thou hast endured for us, and in our fall
We mourn the desolation, scorn, and woe
Which to a humbled province brought thee low."

Dying on 31st January, 1788, in the 68th year of his age—forty-two long years after "the day of dool on bleak Culloden's bloody moor"—the dust of the ill-fated "King of the Highlanders" has now quietly and peacefully slumbered in St Peter's for more than a century, in the same resting-place as the dust of his father and brother. The monument erected to their memory by desire of George IV. was perhaps "the most graceful tribute ever paid by royalty to misfortune." To quote the touching words of Dean Stanley:—"Who that had ever seen the delightful Castle of Fingask, explored its inexhaustible collection of Jacobite relics, known its Jacobite inmates, and heard its Jacobite songs, did not feel himself transported to an older world, with the fond remembrance of a past age, of a lost love, of a dear though vanquished cause? What Scotsman, Presbyterian though he be, is not moved by the outburst of Jacobite-Episcopalian enthusiasm which enkindled the last flicker of expiring genius, when Sir Walter Scott murmured the lay of Prince Charlie by the Lake Avernus, and stood wrapt in silent devotion before the tomb of the Stuarts in St Peter's."

"And has he left no tendril vine
Around his lonely elm to twine?"
'Why doest thou question?—Wouldst thou still
Another drop of sorrow fill?
His day is past—when monarchs fail,
Brief is their legend, and the tale
But tells—beneath that narrow stone
Slumbers the last of Alba's throne.

In mortal hope or mortal dream
No power their ruin may redeem,
Nor raise again their withered bloom
Save as the spirit from the tomb—
Dark let them sleep—in peace be given,
The past to earth—the rest to Heaven.'"

Digitized by Google

20th DECEMBER, 1900.

At this meeting, Mr William C. Macleod, Orbost Lodge, Inverness, was elected an ordinary member of the Society. Thereafter a paper contributed by the Rev. Charles M. Robertson, Badcall, Lochbroom, and entitled "The Gaelic of the West of Ross-shire," was read.

THE GAELIC OF THE WEST OF ROSS-SHIRE.

The Gaelic spoken on the western mainland of Ross-shire has many interesting features. Prominent among them may be mentioned the influence of long liquids upon the short vowels, the partiality for *o* in post-accented syllables, the sequence of vowels in intercalation, the treatment of *dh* at the end of words of more than one syllable, the frequency of a medial aspirate, of metathesis, of assimilation and dissimilation, and the several instances of the *n* declension. Whether these characteristics are or are not in any way attributable to the two early non-Gaelic influences to which the language was exposed in this district, and also how far the dialect has been affected by these influences, it would be rash to say at present. The roving Norseman has left his traces in the place names, but, judged by the comparative infrequency of those traces, he would appear to have found other scenes more congenial than undulating moors and towering mountains. The elusive Pict has also left his mark on the place names of our district and of its immediate vicinity. The Abers and the Pits of our Scottish place names are now acknowledged by the concensus of the great majority of Celtic authorities to have been of Pictish origin. We have an instance of the former in Abercrossan, anciently Aporcrossan, now disguised as Applecross, and of the latter, though not at the present day, yet of old in the Peitneane of 1586 in Lochcarron, and the Pitalman of 1541 or Pitchalman of Blaeu, just beyond our borders in Glenelg. On the north coast of Applecross, that is, on the southern shore of outer Loch Torridon, there is also the name Airigh nan Cruithneachd (Arrin-a-chruinach), of which no other explanation meets the case but that it means "Sheiling of the Picts." The same name is borne also, it would appear, by an obscure little place in the Lochinver district to the north. One of the Kintail hills also is called an Carnan Cruithneachd, "the Pict cairnie." The name ought no doubt to be Cruithneach, but the addition of dental consonants to words is not unusual. Whatever influence those facts may have had, they are worth bearing in mind in the examination and consideration of the dialect.

Digitized by Google

The dialect is dealt with here in the main as spoken in Lochcarron, Applecross, and the south of Gairloch, and is fairly representative of the district at least from Lochalsh to Lochbroom. Such variations as occur between those extremities consist mainly in details.

The letters in phonetic renderings, except when otherwise stated, have their usual Gaelic values as to sound, and in the case of vowels as to length. By *h*, *v*, *w*, and *y* are meant the English sounds, and by *ù* the French sound of the respective letters. In written Gaelic ao represents a long vowel; the corresponding short sound, very common in spoken Gaelic, is represented here by ăo Nasalisation of vowels is marked thus, ã and ũa. Both vowels of a diphthong are affected, though only one is marked. If ao, either long or short, is one of the two vowels, it is not nasalised, though its companion vowel may be. Several local words are explained in the list at the end.

The first feature usually noticed in northern Gaelic is the diphthongisation there, in contrast with the south, of certain vowels. The vowels affected are the short broad *a* and *o* and the long narrow *è*, and, though this has been less noticed, *ì*. The diphthongisation of *a* and *o* is in reality only one of two changes undergone by the short vowels in identical positions. The other change is lengthening. Those changes show themselves on short vowels only where and when followed by long liquids. The long liquids are found chiefly in the final position in monosyllables, and in that position they become short if in word composition, declension, or conjugation a syllable not beginning with one or other of certain kindred consonants is suffixed. A long liquid is not found before a vowel. The only consonants before which a long liquid is found are another liquid, *d*, *t*, and *s*, and in the case of *m*, *b*, and *p*. In these positions, whether the following consonant belongs to the root word, as in 'allt,' burn, or to a suffixed syllable, as in Gallda, from Gall, Lowlander, the liquid is unchangeably long. The changes upon the vowels are wholly dependant upon the length of the liquid. Where the liquid is unchangeably long, the vowel, if altered, is altered permanently. When a long liquid becomes short, the altered vowel reverts to its original form. This holds good in regard to both diphthongisation and lengthening. Shortening of the liquid in connection with alteration of the vowel does not take place except very slightly, if at all.

Diphthongisation is confined to *a* and *o*, and does not take place in their case before long *r*, except to a limited extent in one or two dialects. Throughout the greater part of Scottish Gaeldom

Digitized by Google

lengthening is found more or less in the case of all three broad vowels before long *r*. In the west of Ross-shire *u* is lengthened before all the long liquids, as are also the narrow vowels *e* and *i*.

Similar diphthongisation, found apparently only with the nasal liquids, however, appears in Manx, as mentioned in "Skye Gaelic." Both diphthongisation and lengthening are found in Munster very much the same as in Scotland, and are fully discussed by Dr Richard Henebry in "The Sounds of Munster Irish." According to his statements, the vowels receive, retain, and lose their diphthongised or lengthened forms in the same circumstances as with ourselves. The diphthong from *a* is stated, irrespective apparently of nasal contact, to be strongly nasal. With the diphthongs from *a* and *o* before long liquids, Dr Henebry associates all the diphthongs apparently that are identical in sound in the language, though different in origin, such as those arising from those vowels before *bh*, *dh*, *gh*, and *mh*, as in abhag, bodhar, rogha, and gamhna. Many of the Irish examples besides, such as cionta, iomchur, seem to show an indefiniteness in the action of diphthongisation that contrasts with the clearly marked limits of its operation in Scottish Gaelic. Lengthening does not appear to be carried out in regard to *u* and the narrow vowels in Munster as it is in our district.

Long liquids, it may be observed, are not peculiar to Gaelic. Compare in English call, fan, con, full, smell, win, respectively, with caller, fanning, conning, fully, smelling, winning ; also bolt, ant, hemp, welt, built, with bold, and, tremble, weld, build. Their length is also lost or retained very much as in Gaelic. The long liquid, which becomes short in caller, fanning, etc., remains long in bald, balder, full, fulness, win, winsome, etc.

DIPHTHONGISATION BEFORE LONG LIQUIDS.

The diphthongisation consists of the addition in the case of pure *a* or *o* in the positions in question of a *u* or *w* sound like that of English *u* in 'bound' or of *w* in 'howl,' 'town.' The whole diphthong in the case of *o* has quite the sound of *ow* in those English words. In the case of *a* the first constituent has instead of the *o* sound in those words an *a* sound, so that the diphthong is like *au* in German 'haus.' In some dialects and positions the second sound of the diphthong is less prominent, and may be represented by *u*. In others it is more prominent, being more labialised, and may be represented by *w* to mark the difference. When preceded by the narrow vowel *e*, the diphthongs vary.

Digitized by Google

a.

This vowel is sounded as *aw*—

in ball (member), ball (spot), call (loss), call (hazel in place-names), dall, mall, nall, thall; in Gallda, Galldachd, allt, calltuinn.
in ann, bann, clann, fann, gann, lann (enclosure), rann, strann, in Anndra (Andrew), dranndair, lanndarain (a lantern), ranndair (a rhymester), sanndag (a sand eel), camastrannd, banntrach, canntaireachd, manntach, sannt, sanntaich; with assimilation of *nn* to the following consonant in annsa, danns, lannsa, rannsaich, annlan, crannlach (a teal), and annrath in Gairloch; in deanntag (nettle).
in am, cam, dam (pond), in camp, campar, campraid, stampadh.

o.

This vowel is sounded as *ow*—

in poll, toll; in geall, gealltainn, seall, sealtainn, steall.
in long (ship), pronounced lŏw, not lōw!
in bonn, donn, fonn (tune); pronn (to pound), sgonn, tonn, in connsaich.
in com, crom, dom (the gall), lom, tom, trom, in companach, and in Crombagh (Cromarty).

ea and *eo.*

A diphthong composed of open *e* and Gaelic *u* is found—

in meall.
in beann, ceann, deann, gleann, greann, meann, teann.
in teampull.

A diphthong consisting of *e* and *o* both open is found in eorna.

Geall, seall, steall are very generally pronounced geoll, seoll, steoll, and have been diphthongised on the basis of the *o* forms, gyowll, etc.

The diphthongisation of adhlac or adhlacadh (burial), here adhlaiceadh, pronounced āwliceag, prevails throughout the diphthongising area, and seems anomalous. In Atholl it is pronounced ālac, *a* long. The word is adnacul or adnocul in old Irish, and is obviously treated in Scottish Gaelic as if by aspiration and metathesis it had become annlac or annlacad.h The Manx form is written anlaky and oanluckey.

The diphthongs are nasalised in all cases, except in long (ship), in which they are in contact with *m* or *n*.

Digitized by Google

LENGTHENING BEFORE LONG LIQUIDS.

a and *o*.

Before long *r* diphthongisation, which is met with to a limited extent in Badenoch and Rannoch, is unknown here. The vowels either remain unaltered or become long. Examples of lengthening of vowel are found—

in barr, carr (scab), sparr, tarr; in ard, bard (poet), card (to card wool), card (a wool card), ardan, spardan; in aird, airde, cairdean (friends), cairdeach, cairdeas, cairdeil, gairdeachas, bàirlig (to warn); in cearr, fearr, gearr (short), tearr, bearna, cearnaidh for cearna, fearna, ceard, ceaird (trade), feaird, and feàirdinn (a farthing locally), pronounced respectively bàrr, àird, ceàrr, ceàird, etc.

in corr (excess), torr, bord, cord (agree), ord (hammer), ordag, Gordan (surname), dorn, sgornan.

In all those cases the sounded vowels are *a* or *o*, and they are long. The slender *e* or *i*, where it occurs, simply preserves the slender sound of the flanking consonant. The lengthening of *a* and *o* before long *r* is widespread in Scottish Gaelic.

u.

This vowel is lengthened before all the long liquids, as—

in mull for moll chaff, null.

in cum (to keep), rum, sgum.

in lunn (boat roller), cunnt, grunnd (ground) here 'grùnn,' punnd (a pound of money or weight), punnd (a pound for stray cattle), sunnd, ung, unnsa.

in turr (a heap), durd, durdan, surd, in urlar, here ùllar, burn, turn, urnuigh, and before slender consonants in buird, cuird, uird, gens. sing. and noms. plu. respectively of bord, cord (rope), ord; buirn gen. sing. of burn, the gens. sing. and nouns plu. cuirn (carn, a cairn), cuirn (carn, a cart) duirn (dorn fist), in muirneach.

The lengthening of *u* as of *a* and *o* prevails widely before *rr* and *rd*. In the other positions it is slightly uncertain in some cases in this dialect, *i.e.*, the short vowel and long liquid may sometimes be heard.

e and *i*.

In the positions in question *e* is always written *ei*, and is changed into *i* in the majority of the few cases in which it is affected by lengthening. Meirle (theft), is here, as elsewhere, pronounced meàirle, eà as yà; so also its derivative meirleach. Réim (dominion, power), is here rém with the meaning self-control,

Digitized by Google

calmness, and, though Dr Macbain thinks otherwise, may be the same with réim (course, order), in O. Ir. réimm, but also frequently reimm, which would give 'rĕmm' (v. Macbain), *i.e.*, reim in modern Gaelic.

In place of *ei*, *ì* is found—

in steill.
in creim (to nibble).
in beinn, seinn, teinn.

Lengthening of *i* is found—

in fill (to fold), in the gens. sing. and noms. plu. gill of geall, mill of meall, still of steall, in mill (destroy), till (to turn); in milse and milsead (sweeter), here respectively mìse, and mìsead, in milltear (destroyer).
in brim (pickle), im, Sim (Simon), in impidh, impis, simplidh.
in binn (melodious), binn (verdict), cinn (of a head), cinn (heads), dhinn (of us), dinn (to press), glinn (glens), glinn (fine), linn (an age), minn (kids), rinn (to us), sinn (we), slinn (reed), tinn (sick), in binndich, cinnteach, cinnteas (certainty), inntinn. Sinnsear is sìsear, and trinnsear (a plate), trìsear, both with nasal *ì*. Seann-seanair, influenced by the former possibly, is sì-seanair, *ì* also nasal.

The lengthening of *i* in innseadh, innleachd, and the like is associated with assimilation of *nn* to the following consonant, and is to be regarded as compensatory, on the ground that it is found in dialects in which the lengthening we are dealing with is not found.

LONG NARROW VOWELS.

è, eu, èa, èi.

The diphthongisation of a long *e* written most commonly *eu* and more rarely *è*, *èa*, or *èi* is strongly prevalent here. This change is least prevalent in the extreme south; in Arran there are seven instances. It is but slightly more frequent on the eastern border of Gaeldom; in east Perthshire, in Strathspey (i.e., the lower part of the Spey Valley), and in south-east Sutherland respectively there are from twelve to fifteen instances. In Rannoch, Badenoch (i.e., the upper Spey valley), in Strathdearn, and about Inverness, and to the west and north-west of those places it is fully in evidence. In the west of Ross it is at its height. The diphthong is found as—

ia in beul breug, deuchainn, deur, dreuchd, euladh, eudach (jealousy), feuch (try), feuch (show), feur, feursan (a warble),

Digitized by Google

'fiaslan,' feusgan, geuban, geug, geur, greusaich, leugach (lazy), leus (light), reub, seud (jewel), in béist 'biast,' brèagh, easgaidh, fèath (a calm), gèadh, lèad (breadth), lèagh (read), 'liabh,' sè (six), dèabh (dry up).

iă in eun, freumh, meud, meur, neul, Seumas, seun, sgeun, smeur (bramble), smeur to smeur; in dèan, mèanan, mèith, sgeamh, and also in sgreuch and in fèith-ghaire where fèith (E. Ir. fèth, aspect), has been confused with fiamh E. Ir. fiam.

iăo in ceud (first), ceud (hnndred), ceutach (becoming), Diceudaoin or Di-ciaduinn (Wednesday), deug, feusag, reustladh, in cré (clay) 'criăodhach,' sèab (siob and siab).

eu in beurla, i.e., both *e* and Gaelic *u* are sounded: a diphthongisation of *eu* characteristic of some of the islands. At Lochbroom it is biăolla.

There are one or two doubtful words. Cial, side or brim of a vessel, which is treated in Sutherland as if it were ceul, is here cial. The identification suggested by Dr Macbain of this word, with ciobhull and giall, both meaning the jaw, is supported by the fact that in Strathspey cial means the jaw. Slob or siab to wipe, sweep along, drift, Ir. síobadh (blowing into drifts) is written sèab by Macleod and Dewar, and is included on that ground. Reudan (a timber moth) here raodan (*ao* long) and leàbag (a flounder), here leòbag 'lyòbag,' both show irregularity in the dialects.

ì.

The diphthongisation of *ì*, which often represent an original long *è*, is not without similarity to that of *è*. It is not found in the extreme south, but prevails generally elsewhere in the words to be quoted. There is no *ia* in this case, but

iă is found in mìos, sìoman, diomhair (secret), ìomhaigh.

iăo in cliobadh, cìoch, crioch, dìochain (forget), iochdar, iotadh, siochair (fairy), biogach, diosg, diosgail, griosach, iosal, sios, diol, diòl, siol, fior, siorruidh.

ido (*i* nasal) in diomhain, gniomh, sniomh, crion (little), crion to (wither), dion, fion, lìon (flax), lion (net), lion (to fill), sion (anything), spion, nios.

In regard to the diphthong the peculiarity is to be remarked that the *i* is nasalised but the *ao* is not. As a matter of fact the *ao* sound, either short or long, never is nasalised.

Sìor (continual) retains its old form sìr; riogheachd is rìgheochd, and diochain has an alternative from diùchoinn.

Digitized by Google

i.

An initial *i* written *io* or *iu* is found as a diphthong composed of Gaelic *i* and a *u* sound, either Gaelic *u*, Gaelic *u* nasalised, or French *û*. It is

iu in iuchair (key), iuchair (spawn), iùl.

iu (nasal) in iompachadh, ionndrainn, ionntlas, ionnstrumaid, with assimilation of *nn* or *n* in ionnlaidh, ionnsaich, ionnsuidh, ionraic; in iunntas.

iû (*û* short) in iochd, iolach, iodhlann, iolar; in iullagach.

In all those cases the diagraphs *io* and *iu* are sounded in some dialects as a semi-vowel *y*, followed by a broad vowel *u*, *û*, *ao*, or even *a*.

MUTATION OF *a*.

The mutation of *a* by a narrow vowel in an original following syllable is written *ai*, *ei*, and sometimes *oi*, and is even more variously pronounced. It is sounded as *a* in caith (spend), mairg, pailt, pailteas, in bailbh, gairbh, gairbhe, mairbh, mairbhe, and the like; as *à*, *i.e.*, long *a* in fàilte, aird, airde, cairdean, gairdeachas; as *ã* in mairg, aineolas, ainm, raineach; as *ai* in saitheach, tigh (for taigh); as *ãi* in cainneal (candle), ràimh (oars); as *ẽoi* in coileach, goil; as *o* open in aire; as *oi* in faich, taidhe; as *ũ* in gàirdean; as *ûẽ* in snaim; as *e* close in oilean; as *ẽ* (nasal) in bainnse. Where *oi* occurs in the forms above, of course it stands for an older *ai*.

The tendency to pronounce words like aird, airde, cairdean, gairdeachas as ard, arda, cardan, gardachas shows itself hesitatingly here. Both pronunciations, that is to say, may be heard.

Craicionn, skin, is here cracann, and claigionn, skull, clagann.

INTERCHANGE OF *a* AND *o*.

An original *o* is in many cases represented in Irish by *o*, and in Scottish Gaelic by *a*. Under the influence of the common literary tradition *o* is written in many cases where the spoken language has *a* both in Ireland and in Scotland. Within Scottish Gaeldom itself there are many words which have *o* in some dialects and *a* in others. It is with these we deal here, beginning with those that have *a* in this dialect.

a is the vowel in oran here amhran 'àwran,' bolgum, balt, bàrc (rush of water), brod (best), brad and brod both used, braman, Calluinn, crasg, falaisg, falbh, farum, gabh, gobh also used, mogul (mesh of net), pàg, rosg, sgathadh, tachras, trasg.

o is the vowel in bonnach, blabhd (a bark), blonag, colainn, còmhla, còmhstri 'constri' here, closach, dorus, dorbh, dorbhach,

Digitized by Google

dronnag, famhair, 'fõhair,' ladar (a ladle), here 'lodar,' lorg (track), lorg (a staff), muile-mhàg (frog), 'mul-mhògag,' rodan, sabhal, solus, smòg, smad, spàg. Compare also sgòth, meaning here a cloud passing over the sun, and in Strathspey dimness on glass caused by breathing, with sgàth, shadow.

All of those words are known to have *a* for *o* or *o* for *a* in some dialect or other. A few are omitted, such as abhainn, 'obhainn' in Strathspey.

Where the broad vowel is followed by *i* there is little to remark, except oire for aire, foich for faich, and toidhe for taidhe.

MUTATION OF *o*.

The mutation of *o* is very similar to that of *a*. The two are much confused indeed in the modern language. Open *o* is heard in coire, coisinn; *ò* in còir; close *o* in coisich, coinneamh; *ó* in cóinneach; *õ* in loinid; open *oi* in coigreach; *õi* in roimh, troimh, coimheach, coimhead, coimhearsnach; *ŏo* in foidhidinn, soillear; close *e* in oirthir (coast); close *ei* in oighre (heir); òigridh (youth) is here ògradh.

INTERCHANGE OF *o* AND *u*.

Where *o* and *u* interchange, we find—

o in mosach, Nollaig, tobar, tolg.

u in bolg (a bulge), bolg (to bulge), congaidh, connspoid, contraigh, dol, dòmhail, dongaidh, here 'tungaidh'; dorc, lomnachd 'luramachd', lunn (boat-roller), lunn (oar handle), mò, (greater), here 'mutha'; mocheirigh, moll, obair, oibrich 'ubraich'; lorc appears as lorc and lûrc (*û* short). Whins or furze—conasg—are here gunnars; brimstone—pronnasg—is grumastal.

Aberdeen is Ubair-eadhain, at Lochbroom Obair-eadhain; connlach has *u* with *nn* assimilated, as is the case also with connspoid above. Mallaich and mallachd, which are found with *a*, *o*, and *u*, have *o* here, and mulchag, sunndach, which are found with *a*, have *u* here.

Cruimheag has here nasal *e* for *ui*; cruithneachd (wheat) found with *u*, *o*, and *a*, has *u*; guin (to wound) is goin; muile-mhàg is both mul- and mol-mhògag.

MUTATION OF *u*.

The pronunciations of this also vary greatly. When not otherwise stated, *u* has its Gaelic sound. It is—

u short in builionn, uile, uilear, uilinn, cuilbheart, cuilc, cuileag, cuilean, cuilionn, cuimse (here cumais) cuirm, guilbneach,

Digitized by Google

cuiseag, uiseag; and *u* long, i.e., *ù*, in brùill, bùireil, ùir, sùist, etc.

u (nasal) short in uinneag, cuin, buinne; and *u* (nasal) long in ùine.

ui short in duilleag, uiridh (last year).

ui nasal short in cruinn, duine, luinneag.

ui short in uibhir, uidhe, uidheam, cuith, cuigeal, cluich, in duilleag, duine, in Lochcarron.

ui (nasal) in cuimhne, cuing, cuinnlean.

ui short in guidh, suibheag, (raspberry); in duilleag, duine, uibhean (eggs) at Torridon; *ui* long in sùith.

ui nasal short in luinneag, uinnsean, and also in cuibheas, cuibhreach, cuibhrionn.

i short in bruith, to boil; bruith, boiled; bruidheann, buinne.

i (nasal) long (by compensation) in uinnsean.

Buinne, sùist, and uinnsean having two pronunciations, are entered twice.

e and *i*

An interchange between *e* and *i* in accented syllables of certain words is found between different dialects. *Ei*, *ea*, *i*, and *io* are found as the written vowels in the cases in question. The following have *e* here— beathach, eanchaill (brain), gean, geanail, leas (garden), meadh-bhlath 'mé-bhlath,' mil, milis, preas (bush), rithisd, 'réisd,' both forms, however, being used, smig, 'smeig,' *ei* diphthong.

These have *i*, britheamh, eabar (mud), here ibear, gionach, inbhir, ionaltair, iosgaid (hough), meadhan, mionach, meas (esteem), meas (fruit), measg (among), measg (mix), miosa (worse), miotag (glove), neas (weasel), neasgaid, neimh (venom), nis (now), sileadh, sin, smior (marrow), sneadh a nit 'sniodha,' teine, here tine, teinntean (hearth), tionnail (gather); also beinn, seinn, noticed elsewhere.

Féin (self) is fhìn, with the first personal pronouns, including prepositional pronouns, and fhéin in all other cases. Meag (whey), which undergoes many variations, adds one more here, viz, maig, *a* as *ǎo*.

Eo is often pronounced in certain words where *ea* is written; so here deagh, feabhas, leabhar (a book), sèamar or seòmar (a chamber), sgeallag, treabh, treabhair (buildings); also lèabag, geall, seall, steall, noticed under diphthongisation. Eallach (load) has *ea* as a diphthong. Leómann (a moth), in Arran léamann is here laomainn.

Digitized by Google

A group of words in which the spelling or the pronunciation, or both, vary between *ea* and *io* before liquids, have in the north-west generally *iu*; so here fiunadh (hair), fionnar, leam (with me), leann (ale), peallach, reannag, rionnach, sionnach, sionnchan (phosphorescence), spionnadh, spionntail (strong), tionndadh, here tiunndain, and also words beginning with ionn, as iondrainn, ionnsaich, ionnsuidh, etc., in some dialects eanndrainn, etc., here iunndrainn, etc. Iolair (eagle), which often is iulair, is here yi'laire.

ao.

When *ao* stands for Old Irish *ói*, *ái* it has here the sound of French *û*. When it stands for an old *a* or *o* followed by *dh* or *gh* it has its own distinctive *ao* sound. Two peculiarities have to be kept in mind: the one is that *ao*, when so written in our Gaelic, is a long vowel; the other is that it is never nasalised. If its sound be changed to some other, such as *û*, the new sound *û* may be nasalised. It has the sound of

ao, as in saobhaidh, of uncertain origin.

û in aol; craobh, daor, daorach, faobhar, fraoch, faochag, laogh, saor (free), saor (carpenter), and also in aodach, aodann, aotrom, faod, where the vowel represents an old *é*.

û nasal, as in Aonghas, aonaranach, caomhain, naomh, raon; in maodail for an old *é*.

ù in taobh, the word being first pronounced tûu, *-u* for *bh*, and the two vowels then compressed into one tù.

ù nasal in taom (empty).

ì in saoghal, O.Ir., saigul, saegul, from Lat. saeculum.

For old *a* or *o* before *dh* or *gh*, the vowel is

ao, as in aobhar, O. Ir., adbar; aoradh, O. Ir., adrat, from Lat. adoratio; so also in fóghlum (learning) O. Ir., foglaim, sometimes written incorrectly faolum,

ao short is the sound, though otherwise written as in adharc, adhart, fradharc, tadhal, agh, aghaidh, dragh, lagh, foghar (harvest), roghainn.

aoi.

This is found as

û, as in aois.

û nasal, as in aoine, caoin (kind), faoin, maoin, naoi, nine.

ûi, as in aoibh, and also in saidhean a saith, from Norse seidhr.

ûi nasal in naoidhean.

ao short in foidhidinn.

Digitized by Google

ia and *ua.*

These are the only diphthongs that are universally so in Scottish Gaelic. The sound of the second constituent of both in this dialect is *ă̆*. One or two instances of *ia* (nasal) will be noticed below. When in contact with nasals *ao*, in agreement with the statement made above, is not nasalised, but *i* or *u* is. It is

iă̆o as in ciall, giall, iall, ciar, fiar, iarunn, cliabh, fiacaill, biadh, fiadh, dias, iasg, cliath, fiata, etc.

iă̆o (*i* nasal) as in fiamh, giamh, bian, grian, etc.

In the case of *ua*—

uă̆o is found as cluaran, fuar, bruach, cuagach, bruadal, ruadh, suas, etc.

uă̆o (*u* nasal) in buan, etc.

The point to be noted is that, as in the north-west generally, *a*, which in some dialects is *a* before certain consonants and *ao* before others, is here *ao* before all following consonants.

NASALISED VOWELS.

Vowels, as a rule, are nasalised when standing either before or after the nasal liquids. Here we note only those that are nasalised without such apparent cause, as are those of the accented syllables in ciabhag (lock of hair), written ciamh (obsolete) by Macleod & Dewar; cubhaidh, cuibheas, cuibhreach, fiach (worth); gruig, influenced by analogy of words like gnùis, sgriach, suidhe, treubh, urlar, uabhar, uaigh, grave, through confuison with uaimh, cave, ucas, coal-fish, and uchdach.

VOWELS OF UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

The usual vowel sound heard in the syllable following that which bears the stress is the indistinct short sound of *ao* represented in writing by *a* (*ea*, or *ai*). A marked peculiarity of this dialect is the occurrence of open *o* instead of short *ao* in that syllable. Aodach (clothes) for example, is here aodoch. It is the same with beathach, blàthach (butter-milk), darach, daorach, morbhach, salach. The genitive of uamh (cave) is uomhoch Tuathanach is tuathanoch. So barrachd 'barrochd,' beannachd. Saoghal is saoghol, sgeadas sgeados, diochanach diuchonoch.

With slender vowel preceeding or following: bàthaich (byre) is here bàitheoch, raineach (brackens), rainneoch, &c.; àiteachan (places) is àiteochan. So cruithneachd (wheat), cruithneochd, éigheachd, faighneachd, innleachd, rioghachd. Beannachadh is beannochdainn, cinneachadh cinneochdainn, so faireachadh, suidheachadh tairgneadh (nailing), here tairgneochdainn. Grathail,

Digitized by Google

diomhain, diochain (forget), have *o* for *a* in the final syllable. An sineochdainn and an siodochdainn represent here an sin and an sud. The general rule is that this *o* is found here where other dialects have the indistinct vowel, i.e., the short *ao* sound in the syllables exemplified. Where other dialects have a distinct vowel this dialect does not show *o*, e.g., in the diminutives -an and -ag, in dabhach da'uch, dàmhair da'uir, etc. Sàbaid, usually sounded with *a* in the last syllable, is Sàboid in Gairloch, but not further south.

b.

Bruith (to boil) and bruith (boiled) are pronounced here prih; briste is priste, and buinne puinn and pinn. Prùilligeadh is infinitive or verbal noun to brùill (to bruise). Buinne is puinne in the Reay country. Somewhat similar are the changes of *bh* and *mh* into *f*, noticed under *bh* and *mh* respectively.

bh.

This consonant has the full sound of *v*, that is

bh in àbh (hand net), here tàbhan, abhacas, aoibhneach, aoibhneas, asbhuain, baobh, ciabhag (lock of hair), cliabh, craobhaidh, cubhaidh, diobhail, uabhar, saobhaidh, sàbhail, sàbh (a saw), sìobhalt, saoibhir, sgrìobh, sliabh, gealbhan (fire), sealbhag, cuilbheart, suilbhir, inbhe, borbhan, seirbheis, tairbheartach, tairbhe (profit), cuibhrionn, easbhuidh, balbh, meanbh, dealbh, garbh, marbh, searbh, sgarbh, tarbh, seilbh, seirbhe.

w in abhuinn, abhnaichean, abhcaid, abhra, aobhar, cobhair (help), gobhal, gobhar, labhair (speak), leabhar (book), rabhairt, riabhach, sabhal; in blabhd (a bark), rabhd (idle talk), cabhsair, abhra, abhras, cabhruich, inbhir, slabhraidh, sobhrag

u in craobh 'crûu,' and in 'ghau,' one pronunciation of ghabh.

nil in cubhag, cùbhraidh cuibheas, cuibhreach, deubhann, dubhairt (said), dubhan (hook), dùbhlaidh (gloomy), dùbhlan, dubhliath, eanbhruich, éibheall, éibhleag, feobhas, fobhannan, gobhlan gaoithe, lobhar (leper), rubha (promontory), siubhal, subhag (raspberry), taibhse, treabhair, treubhach, treubhantas, ubhal; in aoibh, dubh, taobh 'tù,' shortened from 'tûu,' luibh, treabh.

nil, but with change of the following vowel to *u*, as in abhag, a'ug; so àbhaist, abharsair, arbhar, baobhan plu. of baobh, crabhach, dabhach, diubhair, dubhach, faobhar, gàbhadh, leubhadh (reading), slabhag, tàbhachd, fàbhar.

b in oirbh, luibh, ruibh; at Little Lochbroom in fothaibh, romhaibh; in Imperatives, bithibh.

Digitized by Google

f in bho, bhos, cabhag, craobhaidh (shivering), creubhag (body), daobhaidh, faobh, inbhe; also sglabhart (slap), sgliobhag, both of which probably had *f* originally.

Words like balbh, garbh, etc., where *bh* follows liquids, will be treated under vowel sequence, and instances in which *h* stands in place of *bh* will be found under the aspirate.

DENTALS.

A peculiarity of the central district of the west of Ross-shire is that the slender dentals are often heard there without their spirant sounds. This is indeed spoken of as the shibboleth of the district. For example, *d* in 'direach' is sounded not like *j* in English 'jeer,' but like *d* in English 'deer,' and *t* in 'teine,' not like *ch* in English 'church,' but like *t* in English 'teach.' Thus téid is sounded not like chej but like ted. This pronunciation, whatever the reason, is widely prevalent not only in Scottish Gaelic but also in Manx in the various forms of the verb taitinn (please) and the related noun taitneas and adjective taitneach. But in this district it may be heard not always but very often in most of the commoner words containing slender dentals. One instance is dé (what), which is pronounced not jé but dé with *d* as in English, but in this case *d* was originally broad -ciod è.

th.

Ch is heard for *th* in gu bràth and sometimes in ith.

In làthach (mud) *th* is sounded as *dh*, no doubt influenced by the pronunciation of *dh* in similar positions in so many words. Another example apparently is Liadhach for Liathach, the name of the highest of the Torridon mountains.

dh.

Slender *dh* is not sounded here medially or finally.

Medially broad *dh* is often sounded as in feadhainn, fiadhaich, iodhal, and finally in monosyllables as in biadh, fiadh, fiodh, fliodh, gèadh, riadh (a snare), riadh (a row), ruadh. Two instances in which *dh* is heard are noteworthy. Naoi (nine) is here naodh; and uamh, a cave, is ũadh. Húad (*i.e.* ùad) is found in the St. Gall. MS. as a gloss on "specu." Sometimes it is = *w*, as bodhar, bodhaig.

In final position in words of more than one syllable, broad *dh* is almost invariably pronounced *g* as in achadh, pronounced achag; so aoradh, bearradh (a top), boladh, cogadh, conbhadh, deireadh, faradh, féileadh, iomadh, iotadh, madadh, monadh, padhadh, peacadh, geamhradh, samhradh, Murchadh. So meanbh-

Digitized by Google

chrodh, flichneadh-shneachd (sleet). Sometimes *dh* is heard in the subjunctive, but usually it is *g* there and also in the infinitive, as in dh'fhaodadh or dh'fhaodag, dh'fheumadh or dh'fheumag. Dhèanadh is dhèanag, and so bhitheadh, bhristeadh, chuireadh, etc. The infinitive bogadh is bogag, and so also bristeadh, cunntadh, losgadh, ràcadh, reubadh, seunadh, sileadh, etc. Gradhachadh is gradhachag and so adhlaiceadh (burying), fàilligeadh (failing), robaigeadh (robbing), sglamhraigeadh (scolding), seinnsigeadh (changing), stufhaigeadh (starching).

Tuille or tuilleadh is here tuilleag. Ioma or iomadh tends to be iomag before vowels—iomag àite—and ioma before consonants —ioma duine. Uile is uileag when it means 'all,' and uile when it means 'every.' In the former case the word precedes its noun; in the latter it follows. Thus "Tha h-uile fear 'na cheàrd air a cheàird fein;" "Every man is a 'caird' at his own trade" (a common proverb with tinkers); but "Cha 'n eil iad uileag 'n an ceàird," "they are not all tinkers." In the former case, as will be seen, uile occupies a more subsidiary, and in the latter a more independent, position in the pronunciation of the respective sentences.

This *g* for *dh* occurs in the word fasadh that is found some half dozen times in the place-names of the district. It is here always fasag, as in 'am Fasag,' at the head of Loch Torridon, genitive fasaidh.

The infinitive has *ag* for *adh* in the Black Isle, but in Easter Ross, Tarbat, *u* as in Sutherland, *e.g.*, beannachu for beannachadh.

This *g* is found in some other words which did not of old have *dh*, *e.g.* àile, scent; here fàileag, E. Ir., aél, ahél.

Diùbhaidh or diugha, the worst, Ir. díogha, is here dìoghadh; Is mairg a gheibheadh a roghainn, is a thaghadh an dìoghadh—"it is a pity to get a choice and to choose the worst."

GUTTURALS.

Medially and finally *c*, both broad and slender, is sounded *chc*, as bucach 'buchcach,' so fiacaill, Neacail, peacadh, uircean. So breac (spotted), breac (trout), fac (did see), glac, mac, ploc. Sometimes plain *c* is heard in the district, *e.g.*, boc, not bochc (a buck), so sloc (pit).

It is not separated from *r* and reduced to *g*, in adharc, fradharc, here adharc, not adhrag, etc., as in some dialects.

In all positions *ch* may be heard in a few instances as *th*, that is, as *h*, as in cha'n eil, chugam, chugad, etc., in drochaid, pronounced drohaid, not dro'aid, faich (a green), foih'. Cloiche (of a stone) is here clohai and faiche (of a green), fohai.

Digitized by Google

On the other hand, it may be altogether silent, as in cluich.

Làghan —*gh* sounded—for làgan (sowens) is curious.

Slender *gh* is sounded in builghionn (a half quartern loaf), deilgheas, duilghe, muinighin.

Broad *gh* has its own sound of—

gh in aghaidh, rìoghann (maiden), not rìbhinn; in agh, dragh, lagh, tagh.

w in foghar (harvest).

nil in fóghlum, riaghailt, roghainn, saoghal.

It is *gh* of course for *g* in agus (and).

mh.

This aspirated consonant, like *bh*. goes through all the degrees of pronunciation from the full sound *v* to complete disappearance. It is *v*, that is

mh as in banmhaighstir, seanmhathair; in camhan (hollow) deimhinn, dìomhain, fiamhachd (resemblance), ìomhaigh, meanmhuinn, sgiamhach (fair); in caomh, creamh, damh, fiamh, freumh, giamh, gniomh, ràmh, riamh (ever), sèimh, sgiamh (beauty), sgiamh (squeal), snàmh, snìomh, tàmh.

w as in àmhuinn, amhlair, amhran (song), damhsa, gamhainn, geamhradh, namhaid, samhuinn and samhna, samhradh, sgiamhail (squealing), sglamhadh (a snatch), sglàmhraigeadh (scolding), sleamhuinn, tamhasg; in cnàmh (chew).

h with following vowel changed to *u* in amhaich.

h in famhair 'fõhair.'

nil, but with following vowel changed to *u*, by its influence in dàmhair, 'dà'uir' (rutting), làmhag (axe), là'ug, miamhail (mewing), reamhar, sàmhach.

nil, as in caomhain, coimheach, coimhearsnach, cruimheag, cuimhne, cumhang, dòmhail, domhain, sglamhraigeadh (scolding), umhail, umhal, ùmhlachd; in cnàimh (bone), daimh (oxen), dàimh (relationship), làimh, ràimh (oars), uaimh; in càramh (mending).

u stands for *mh* in naomh, 'nûu;' for *amh* in end of dissyllables without a narrow vowel preceding, as deanamh, ealamh, talamh, teagamh, 'deanu,' etc., and for *eamh* in britheamh, and in ordinal numbers ceithreamh, cóigeamh, etc.

i stands for final *eamh* as in ainneamh (rare), àireamh, aiteamh, aitheamh, etc., etc.; here 'ainni,' 'àiri,' etc. So coinneamh (meeting).

f for *mh* appears in amh, deimhinn (one pronunciation), naomh, neamh, samh.

Geamhta is here geobht, 'gyowt.'

Digitized by Google

LIQUIDS.

The liquids having a difference of pronunciation according as they are in contact with broad or narrow vowels, ought to have respectively four distinct sounds which may be designated (1) the broad unaspirated sound, and (2) the broad aspirated sound; (3) the slender unaspirated, and (4) the slender aspirated sound. In the south some one of the four sounds in each case is apt to be confused with some other, and usually only three sounds can be clearly distinguished. In the north, matters are still worse. "From *Fort-Augustus* to the *far north*," says James Munro, "the attenuation of l, n, r, is neither known, distinguishable, nor appreciated." Gaelic Grammar, 2nd ed., p. 217. Three sounds of the liquids are recognised by this author, but the existing sounds cannot be rightly identified and distinguished without the recognition of the four possible sounds. Aspiration, though not a perfectly accurate term as applied to the liquids, may be justified as convenient on the ground that the change of sound meant to be designated by it has followed exactly the same rules, and has taken place in exactly the same circumstances as aspiration has done. This is true of the past treatment of liquids in medial and final positions as well as of their treatment in initial position in modern Gaelic.

This 'aspiration' in initial position is marked by a dash through the upper part of *l* and by a dot over *n* and *r* in the 1826 Gaelic Bible, and may be met with in parts of some of the pocket Gaelic Bibles in use. The unaspirated sounds of the liquids are represented in the middle and end of words by writing the liquid double. This is historically right. In accordance with this we may use here a double liquid to represent the non-aspirated sound, both in initial and in other positions, and a single liquid to represent the aspirated sound.

l.

Broad *l* has but one sound in all positions.

Slender *l* at the beginning of words tends to retain its unaspirated sound in all cases. Leac (a flat stone) is rightly pronounced lleac, but with dà (two), which causes aspiration prefixed, it is still apt to be pronounced dà lleac instead of dà leac. The Imperative lion (fill) is rightly llion, but the Past Indicative, which ought to be lion, is also llion. An do fhliuch thu e (did you wet it) also is an do fhlliuch thu e. The aspirated sound is, however, the usual in its proper place.

Digitized by Google

In medial and final positions, as baile, céilidh, bail, cùil, the sound is generally right here, though a few exceptions may be met, such as umhaill for umhail (heed).

n.

Initial broad *n* is aspirated in all positions, that is, it is always sounded the same as when preceded by a word causing aspiration. In nàire, nàmhaid it is sounded, not *nn*—nnàire, nnàmhaid—as it ought to be, but the same as in mo nàire, dà nàmhaid.

After an initial consonant it is variable, as snnàthad (a needle), but snàthadag (a titlark).

Initial slender *n* usually preserves the two distinct sounds here. Nead, neart, nighinn are respectively nnead, nneart, nnighean, with words causing initial aspiration they are dà nead, mo neart.

In other positions, slender *n* is uncertain, as sneachd, sniomh, not snneachd, snniomh. Caiunt is here caint, and roinnte rointe. On the other hand, the *nn* for *n* characteristic of the West Coast is not infrequently found here. Gràinich (annoy), muineal, raineach, Di-haoine, fuine, mòine, ùine, caoin (kind), cuin, gràin, Iain, caomhain, domhain, all have *nn* for *n*, gràinnich, muinneal, caoinn, caomhainn, etc. Broineach (ragged) is broinneach, greimlòinidh greime-lòinn', neòinean (daisy), nòinnean; lóin (of a marsh) is lóinn, sròn is strònn, and muinighin muinighinn. Duine, so at Lochcarron, is duinne at Torridon.

ng.

Ng has the two sounds of *ng* in English long, sing, and in English anger, finger. In the latter case *ng* is sounded with a *g* after it—ang-ger, fing-ger. Gaelic, of course, has also the distinction of broad and slender *ng* or *ng-g*. The sound is

ngg in cungaidh, pungail for puncail, gliong, meang; in athchuinge, aingidh, sging.

ng scarcely occurs here.

n in ionga.

yh in coimhcheangal, iongantas, iongar, langan, meangan, seangan (ant) here sneaghan, teanga.

w in ceangail ceãwil, long 'low,' not lõw!

nil in aingeal (angel), daingean, iongantach, iongantas; luingeas; in cuing, muing, sreang 'strĕi.'

In unaccented syllables in several words in which both pronunciation and spelling vary from *ng* to *nn* and *g* it is here.

g as in cumhang (narrow), in aisling, bodhaig, eàirlinn (eàirlinn Macbain), eislinn, sgilling, sglamhraing. here sglàmhraigeadh;

Digitized by Google

also fàillig and fuiling, in all their forms—fulagas for fulangas, suffering. Tarrang, a nail, is tarag.

r.

The three sounds that *r* has are the unaspirated sound indistinguishable for broad or slender, and the aspirated broad and aspirated slender sounds. The difference between the two latter is that the tip of the tongue is slightly flattened against the palate for the former of them, and is not for the latter.

The aspirated slender *r* often receives peculiar treatment in great part of the district. To begin with, at Alligin, on Loch Torridon, it has a sound that can be most nearly reproduced by pronouncing aspirated slender *r* with a *y*, as in English 'yet,' 'yes' following, and in immediate contact with it. Initially this peculiar *r* is heard especially in the preposition ri, to, and the prepositional pronouns rium, riut, ris, rithe, and riutha, in which *r* is permanently aspirated. Rinn, to us, and ribh, to you, have *r* broadened ruinn, ruibh. Medially it is heard in such words as coire (cauldron), coire (a fault), coireach (faulty), màireach, and finally as in cuir, fhuair, goir (crow), mair, toir.

At Little Lochbroom *r* in medial and final position in many such words is not sounded, as in coire, nàire, Ruairidh, muir, &c. The resulting pronunciation may be reproduced by sounding the *i* before *r* along with the preceding vowel or diphthong, and omitting the *r*, as coi'e, Ruai'idh, mui'.

The Little Lochbroom pronunciation is said to be found also in Gairloch.

Fairge (angry sea) is pronounced farr'ige, *i.e.*, as with broad *rr* and slender *g*; so also tairgnich (to nail), and with *ao* short instead of *a*, tairg (to offer).

THE ASPIRATE.

A feature of the dialect is the pronunciation of an *h*, as pronounced as the Cockney's misplaced aspirate, in place of various aspirated consonants in medial position. It appears most frequently for *th*, but sometimes for other consonants. It is found for

th in aitheamh ahi, bàitheach (byre), beathach and beathaichean, blàthach (buttermilk), breitheamh brihu, caitheamh, cathadh (drifting), feitheamh, làthair, sìtheil, sìthich (fairy), snàthad, soitheamh, sporthail sporohail sruthan, sruthail (rinse), tuathach (northern), tuathanach, ràith (quarter of year) ràhi in Ir. ràithe bruith prih, caith (wear) cah, faich foih.

Digitized by Google

bh in cobhar (foam) cohar, diubhar (difference), siobhag (a wick); in certain pronunciations of words in which *bh* is preceded by a liquid, as garbh garaha, and even garahabh, dearbh dearahu, meanbh meanahi, meirbh meiraohi, so seilbh, bailbh balahi, so mairbh, tairbh.

ch in cloiche clohai, faiche fohai.

dh in foidhidinn, biadhadh biahadh, luadhadh luahadh, etc.; tadhal tahal.

fh in forfhais forohais.

gh in Aonghas Anaias, coingheal coineahal.

mh in amhaich àhuich, famhair fòhair.

Raithneach or raineach (bracken) is in one pronunciation rainnheoch, evidently for rainntheach, a metathesis of the first spelling. Ealamh or eathlamh, Ir. athlamh, E. Ir. athlam, is here alhu, obviously for althamh. Conbhadh (confhadh ?), voracity, is conohog, and dorbh or dorgh dorhao'o.

Làdhaich for làthaich (mud), and Liadhach for Liathach, the highest ben at Torridon, might be viewed as intensifications of this feature, but they seem rather to have been influenced by the false analogy of such words as fiadhaich.

PROVECTION.

p for *b* in briste, etc., has been noted under *b*, and *f* for *bh* and *mh* under *bh* and *mh* respectively. *P* for *bh*:*f* or *b*-*fh* is heard in sibh féin, or more probably sib fhéin, as *bh* is sounded *b* in bithibh (be ye), etc., in oirbh, luibh, ruibh, etc.

Dongaidh (dank) is here tungaidh. Culm, gloom, darkness, is doubtless the same with gulm, and clìofaid or clìfeid (sleet) is gliofaid in Sutherland.

ASPIRATION.

Of the alternative forms, deathach and deatach (smoke), the latter is used here. Less familiar is iàghan (sowens) for làgan. Abhacas is here abhachas.

The prepositions do and de are aspirated, as in the north generally, when not vocalised or lost. The distinction between south and north in the matter is that in the former they say An toir thu do na daoine e, Fear de 'n, or d' an t-sluagh, and in the latter An toir thu dha na daoine e, Fear dhe 'n t-sluagh. Where those prepositions are both sounded *a*, or disappear entirely, both north and south agree generally. Do rìreadh or a rìreadh is here dha rìridh. Char e dha ionnsaidh (he went to him) would be in some parts Chaidh e 'n a ionnsaidh.

Digitized by Google

Before infinitives with possessive pronouns do, usually aspirated, but sometimes unaspirated, is used here. Tha e dh' an togail, or d' an togail (he is lifting them); elsewhere Tha e 'g an togail. Note also the aspiration in Feumaidh iad dhol d' an togail (they must go to lift them).

Gu, to, is also heard aspirated. Tha mi dol gho mo bhiadh (I am going to my food), elsewhere gu. The other familiar forms chon and thun of this preposition are represented here by ghon. Tha e dol ghon an Fhasaidh (he is going to Fasag). This is heard also with nothing but *n* remaining. Tha e dol 'n a' bhùth (he is going to the shop).

The conjunctions ged and gus an are also aspirated respectively ghad and ghos an. Ghad a bhitheadh e ann (though he were there). Fuirich ghos an tig e (wait till he come). Gar an (though not), is ghor an. Ghor an tigeadh e (though he should not come).

Permanent initial aspiration, such as we have here in these prepositions and conjunctions, is general in the case of some prepositions such as le, ri, roimh, thar, chon and thun for gu, and of most of the prepositional pronouns, as chugam and thugam, tharam. These and other examples show a tendency of aspiration to go beyond bounds.

A development on the historical lines of aspiration, noticed in "Skye Gaelic," and exemplified here also, is the occasional modification or elimination when brought between two vowels in declension, conjugation, etc., of a fully pronounced final aspirated consonant. For example—

bh = *v* in sgriobh = *w* in sgriobhadh.
,, sàbh, a saw = *w* in verb, here sàbhaig.
,, leubh, read = *nil* in leubhadh lia'ug.
,, eubh = *nil* in eubhachd.
,, baobh = *nil* in baobhan, bao'un.
mh = *v* in sgiamh, squeal = *w* in sgiamhail.
dh = *dh* in luadh = *h* in luadhadh, luahadh.

The contrary is found uabhar, *bh* = *v*, and uabhrach, *bh* = *nil*. As in other dialects, *bh* = *v* in seirbhis, but = *nil* in searbhant.

VOWEL INTERCALATION AND SEQUENCE.

The pronunciation that makes such words as suairce suairic, and balg balag is a familiar feature both in Scottish and in Irish Gaelic. A classical instance that goes far back in the language, of this separation of certain groups of consonants by the insertion of a vowel, is iarunn (iron), which, if written in accordance with

Digitized by Google

Gaelic phonetics, would be iarn in the modern language, as it was in Old Irish. The feature which is more characteristic of northern than of southern Gaelic is strongly developed in our dialect, and has another prominent feature associated with it in the vowel sequences that are observed in its operation. The groups of consonants affected contain in every instance a liquid as one, and in all but one or two cases the first, of the constituents. The liquids when followed immediately by another liquid or consonant, except *d*, *t*, *c*, and *s*, have their sounds prolonged or sustained in every instance, a peculiarity that it is important to note, *e.g.*, cf. the sustained sound of *n* in meanbh with the short sound in leanabh. This sustained sound of the liquid remains unaffected by the insertion of the vowel, and wherever found shows that, in accordance with Gaelic phonetics, the liquid in writing ought to be followed immediately, not by a vowel, but by a consonant, *e.g.*, mulchag is the correct spelling of mulachag (a cheese), Donnchadh (Duncan), of Donnachadh, banchaig of banachaig, meilgeag of meiligeag, etc. The examples are arranged according to the vowel sequences.

a -a Alba is Alaba, so calpa, balg, balgam, dalma, falmaire, anmhunn (weak). Balbh, falbh, garbh, marbh, sgarbh, tarbh show a duplication of the intercalated vowel, bala'abh and balahabh, gara'abh and garahabh, etc. Aonghas (Angus) is Anahas.

e (*ea*) *-a* dealraich is dealaraich, so eanchaill (brain), meanmhainn eanraich, seamrag, here searamag. Dealbh is deala'abh, so ealbh, meanbh.

i (*io*) *-a* iomlan is iomalan, so iomradh, tiomnadh, tiomsaich.

o (*oi*) *-a* coingheali (loan) is coin'ahall.

o -o tolg is tolog, so borbhan, dorcha, gorm, orm. Onfhadh is here onofa, morbhach moro'och, forfhais forohais, morghan moroghan, morghath moro'o, sporthail sporohail, and dorbh or dorgh dorhăo'o.

u (*iu*) *-u* ulbhag is ulubhag, mulchag muluchag, and lomnochd, here lurumachd, and sionnachan, properly sionnchan (phosphorescence), here siunnuchan.

i -i gimleid is gimileid, so imnidh, inbhe is inbh, and inif, inbhir, iniwir, and Giblean (April) Gibilean. Iomradh (report) is irimeadh, so iomramh (rowing) irimeadh here, iomrall, imrich irimich. Simlear (chimney) is similear, and usually so written.

a (*ai*) *-i* ainm is ainim, fairge farr'ige. Bailbh, gairbhe (thicker) mairbh, tairbh, etc., are balahi, etc.

Digitized by Google

ui -*i* cuilbheart is cuilibheart ; so suilbhir, guilbneach, here guilibearnach. Muinichill (sleeve), better muinchill, is here muilichdinn and muilichinn.

e (*ei*, *ea*) -*i* eirmis is eirimis, so seirm. Deilbh is deilaohi *ao* short; so seilbh, meirbh (feeble), seirbh. Meinbhe is mein'ahi.

Akin to the above, and prevalent from the Firth of Lorne northwards, is the sporadic indistinct vowel between the two terms of compounds. For example, in this district banmhaighstir is banamhaighstir, and seanmhathair seanamhathair. So corr-sgriodhach (heron), greim-lòinidh (rheumatism) greime-lòinn, maid-coire (pot-stick), meann-bhoc, meath-gàire, all have the indistinct vowel, written *a* or *e*, according to rule, after the first term of the compound. The vowel is found not only in compounds, but in similar collocations of words in ordinary speech, as Piobaire an aona phuirt. It is conspicuous in place-names as am Polla Criadhaich (Torridon), an Cama Lón (Gairloch), an Gleanna Beag (Strathnashealg), Druime Raonaidh and am Polla Glas in Coigach.

FINAL VOWELS.

The tendency to drop a terminal vowel, stronger in Scottish Gaelic than in Irish, and in certain dialects of Scottish Gaelic than in others, is little in evidence here. Airde (height), E. Ir. arde, eile, O. Ir. aile, fàilte, O. Ir. fáilte, oidhche, O. Ir. aidche, for example, may be heard without the final vowel. So also dalma, etc. The tendency here is not only to preserve such vowels where they exist, but to affix them where they are wanting. Calm or calma (brave), Ir. and E. Ir. calma is here calma, dorch (dark), Ir. dorcha, O. Ir. dorche, is dorcha, and sìochair (fairy), E. Ir. sìthchaire is sìochaire ; àite, linne, mòine, *e.g.*, which have not *e* in the old language, have it here and generally. Deimhinn (certain), O. Ir. demin, is here deimhinne, and suilbhir, O. Ir. sulbir, suilbhire. So treabhair (houses) (collectively) is treobhaire, seid is seide, and sglamhrainn or sglamhraig, sglamhraige, clachair, clachaire, piobair, piobaire, and other words denoting agents or doers.

METATHESIS.

acras	is arcas.
acrach	,, arcach.
deisciobul	,, deisbigil.
eathlamh	,, althamh.
faigse	,, faisge.

Digitized by Google

imleag	is ilmeag.
imlich	,, ilmich.
imrich	,, irmich.
iomlaid	,, iolmaid.
iomradh (report)	,, irmeadh and iomradh.
iomrall	,, irmeall.
iomair (row)	,, irim and iomair.
iomramh (rowing)	,, irimeadh.
lomnochd	,, lurumachd.
muinichill	,, muilchinn and muilchcinn.
raithneach (bracken)	,, rainntheach and rainnteach.
seamrag	,, searmag and silmeag.
uilear	,, uireal and uilear.
foillsich	,, fòislich.
soillsich	,, sòislich.

In the two last words *oi*, in the altered forms being a long diphthong — *o* as *ao*—, suggests that what is here is first assimilation of *ll* to *s* with compensatory lengthening of vowels, and at some later date a restoration of *l*, but in the wrong place.

ASSIMILATION.

Assimilation of liquids is found of

l to *s* in milse and milsead (sweeter), here mìse and mìsead.

l to *t* in fairtlich, so at Torridon ; in Lochcarron fairtich.

r to *l* in atharla, dòrlach, garlach (peevish creature), MacPharlain, urlar, respectively athalla, dòllach, gàllach, MacPhàllain, ùllar. Beurla also is bialla at Little Lochbroom.

r to *m* in searmoinn in Gairloch.

r to *t* in tatar for tartar, and cf. buthtraidh (the elder tree), from Scot. bourtree.

n to *l* in coinnlean (candles), coinnlear, connlach, crannlach (teal), crannlach (voc.), cuinnlean (nostril), innleachd. Coinneal (a candle) is cãi'ill. Domhnall is Dòll, *o* nasal, as elsewhere.

n to *r* in annrath, mànran.

n to *d* in grannda ; deargannt is here deargad.

n to *t* in duinte, sgàinte, slàinte.

n to *g* as noted under *ng*, leaving *g*, *gh*, or *nil*.

n to *s* in anns, annsa, bainnse, coinnspeach (a wasp), innse, innseadh, ionnsaich, ionnsaidh, oinnseach, sinnsear, uinnsean. Innis (tell), and innis (an island), etc., are both ìs, *i* nasal, and so throughout the declension of the one and the conjugation of the other. Seann-seanair (great-grandfather) is sì-seanair, *i* nasal, and minnseag mìseach.

Digitized by Google

Anns an t-, Old isind, appears in phrases as t- and 's t-; as t-fhoghar in the harvest or autumn; bha mi 'sin 's t-oidhche (I was there at night, lit. in the night). Dùdlachd or dùldachd (mid-winter) is dùlachd, and freagairt (an answer) freagair.

ASSIMILATION EXTERNALLY.

Assimilation of *n* to certain consonants operates externally in such intimate collocations or combinations of words as article or preposition and noun, possessive pronoun and noun or infinitive, conjunction or verbal particle and verb. It operates in all instances of those combinations in which *n* comes in pronunciation immediately before the consonants in question.

n to *l*, a' la (the day), for an la, so a' laogh, a' lòn, genitives a' latha, a' laoigh, etc., genitive plural na' laogh, etc.; ann a' làthair (in presence); air a' losgadh (burnt, lit. on their burning), for air an losgadh, so air a' lionadh; gu' leum e for gu 'n leum e (that he may or will leap); a' laigh e (will he lie down) for an laigh e; leis a' fhleasgach (with the youth) for leis an fhleasgach.

n to *n* a' nàmhaid for an, so a' nead, genitive plural na' nead; air a' nighe for air an nighe.

n to *r* a' ràmh (the oar), a ràith (the quarter), a' righ (the king), a' rubha (the promontory), all for an r-; air a' raon (on the field), na' raon (of the fields), ann a' rioghachd (in a kingdom), air a' reubadh (torn), a' ruith e (will be run), gu' robh, an t-ait gus a' ruitheadh e; a' fhras (the shower), a' fhrith (the forest), barr a' fhraoich, anns a' fhraoch.

n to *s* a' saor (the carpenter) for an saor, a' sàl (the briny), a' sannt, a' sliabh, a' smig, a' snaim, a' strath, a' smeòrach, a' smuain, a' sàs (in hold), a' so, a' sin, a' sud, 'g a' sàrachdainn (oppressing them), a' seas e (will it stand), a' sgaoil e (will it spread), anns a' suidhe e (in which he may sit).

n to *d* only in the case of the verbal particle *do*; an do chuir thu e (did you sow it) is 'do chuir thu e; so 'do dhuin, 'do ghabh, 'do lion, etc.; gu 'n do chuir is gu' do chuir, and so on.

m for *n* is similarly dealt with before *m* and *f*.

m to *m* am mac is a' mac; so a' marbh, na' marbh; a' Mealbhaig in Melvaig; air a' moladh; a' mol e e (will he praise it), etc.

m to *f* a' fàidh for am fàidh; so a' fliodh, a' fraoch, na' fear, na' freumh, a' fianuis (in presence), ann a' fàsach (in a wilderness), char e a' feabhas (he improved in health), air a' fuadachadh, anns a' faigh e.

Digitized by Google

To sum up, before *l*, *n*, *r*, and *s* the final *n* of *an* the article, of *an* the possessive pronoun, of *an* the preposition, of *an* the interrogive particle, of *nan* the genitive plural of the article, and of conjunctions, is dropped or assimilated, and before *m* and *f*, this *n* changed there to *m* is similarly disposed of.

ECLIPSIS.

Eclipsis of the tenues may be heard occasionally, but is far from general. As regards the mediae, it may be heard at times in the case of *g*, that is to say, for example, an gleann may be heard as ang 'leann instead of as ang gleann. The difference is the same as noticed above between *ng* and *ng-g*.

DISSIMILATION.

Foidhildean for foidhidinn, buarlan in Lochcarron, bualtan in Torridon and Lochbroom, and buailtean in Gairloch, for buadhghallan, guilbearnach for guilbneach, and uairgneach for uaigneach, are found here. The two latter are found in the north generally. Feursann (a worm in the hide of cattle, a warble) is fiarslan in Lochcarron and fiaslan at Torridon and northwards. Silmeag (field clover) seems to be a variant of seamrag, which, with metathesis, is also used. Gulluban occurs in a local rhyme for gurraban. Eanchaill (brain) is the form used here. Pronnasg, based upon and meaning 'brimstone,' a word that undergoes numerous variations in Gaelic, is grunnastal in Little Lochbroom and Gairloch and grumastal at Torridon. The English carrier is ceiri'all (three syllables) at Annat on Loch Torridon Cf. also aonagraich with aonagail, etc., and susbailteach with susbainteach. Leumachan (frog) is leumrachan, meileachadh (benumbing) is meineachdainn, and laimhrig or lamraig is lannraig in Gairloch and Lochbroom. Ciùrach (small rain) is ciùlach in Lochbroom.

Ainminig for ainmig—from an-minig—shows rather non-assimilation.

The word òtrach (dunghill), Ir. and M. Ir. otrach (dunghill), also Ir. othrach (dung), O. Ir. ochtrach (excrement), is here, and also in the Reay country òcrach. The variations want explanation. Cogais is cogaisg, fagus fagaisg, and follais follaisg. Aogaisg (countenance), as the word is here is écosc in Old Irish.

Ubraid or ùpraid is here ùspraid; cf. Skye ùspairt. There seems to be confusion with uspairn. Conas (whins, furze) is gunnars, in Gairloch gunnais, in the Black Isle gunnas, if the words are indeed the same.

Digitized by Google

The group *sr* is *str* initially, as srón, 'stróinn,' and *rt* is *rst*, as mart, 'marst.'

Cóinneach (moss) is cóinteach, and raithneach or raineach (bracken) rainnteoch and rainntheoch; aithne (knowledge) is aithnte, and àithne (a command and to command) àithnte. Urrainn or urra, when used negatively, is uirte. Cha'n uirte dha; cha b' uirte sin a dheanamh. In other positions it is furra, am furra dhuit. The three last *t* forms resemble participial formations, but seem rather to be simply instances of an inserted dental.

Riastladh for riasladh, brist for bris, umhailt for umhal (obedient), barailt for baraill, are all found here, as are also ranndair (rhymester), from rann; teannd for teann, and fabhrad for abhra. In Gairloch athais is athaisd.

Variations of a different kind are clagann for claigeann, cracann for craicionn, seobhrag for sobhrag (primrose), tuigsach for tuigseach, and nòinnean (a daisy) for neòinean, Irish nóinin.

PROSTHESIS.

Prosthetic *f* appears in àbhaist 'fàbhaist,' abhra 'fabhrad,' where it is common, euladh 'fialadh,' iomair (must) 'fiomair,' urra or urrainn 'mar furra' dhuit (if you cannot). Foighrean appears to mean oighreag (cloud-berry), aice (a lobster's burrow), cf. faichd (hiding-place, den), is here faic (den or lair of any animal). Ann in has this *f* in a' fann an sin a tha e (is it there he, or it, is).

Failm (helm) is here ailm, and Futhar (the dog days), *i.e.*, the last two weeks of July and the first two of August, is here both Futhar and Uthar.

Prosthetic *s* is seen in sgreòd corra-sgriodhach (heron) and smoislich, and sgulm Gairloch, for culm, voc.

Initial *s* has been lost in sglamhadh (a snatch).

Initial *n* is wanting in athair-nimhe (an adder), from nathair, and in eòinean (a daisy) in Gairloch and Lochbroom.

SUFFIXES.

An sin, an so, an sud, may be heard respectively as an sineochdainn, an sothochdainn, an siodochdainn, in Lochcarron.

Before the abstract suffix -achd an inserted *i* may sometimes be heard as bàrdaidheachd for bàrdachd. An Tòiseachd Ferintosh is an Tòisidheachd.

Cearn (corner) is cearnaidh.

Digitized by Google

There are one or two curious instances of a suffix *idh* in the place-names of the district. First, there is lochaidh, from loch, which occurs three times, viz., Lochaidh Bhraoin (Loch a Bhraoin, O.S. map), the fresh water loch connected with Big Loch Broom; Lochaidh Nid (Loch an Nid, O.S map), in Strathnashealg; and Lochaidh Droma (Loch an Droma, O.S. map), in heights of Lochalsh. There is an Coiridh (whence Corry Point of maps) at Ullapool, and Carn a' Choiridh, in Gruinard Strath. There is Bac an Airigh, from aire (watch) in Strathnashealg, and An Uãghaidh (Cove), on Loch Ewe. Common examples of a similar termination, such as Lagaidh, Torridon, Loch Broom, etc., are also met with.

NOUN.

Two genitives of achlais occur, achlaise and achlas; the latter is the one recognised in Munro's Grammar. Bó has genitive bàtha like crò, cròtha, la, latha.

Several nouns have gone over unaccountably to the *nn* declension in the singular.

Nominative.	Genitive.	Dative.
àth, a kiln	àthan, àthann	
bùth, a shop	bùthann	bùthainn
cnò, a nut	cnothainn	
corr, a crane	corrann	corrainn
craobh, a tree	craobhain	craobhain
eag, a notch	eagann	
fèith, a bog	fèithinn	fèithinn
luath, ashes	luathann	
luch, a mouse	luchainn	

Cnò and luch are so declined by Munro, pp. 44, 45. Here they have also the genitives cnotha and lucha respectively.

Words like ùir (mould earth), uair (hour), have gone over in many places as here to the guttural declension, gens. ùireach, uarach.

Deigh, ice, has a plu. deabhannan, pieces of ice.

Uamh or uaimh (cave) and uaigh (grave) are mixed up inextricably. Uaigh, as in the north generally, has been nasalised ũaigh. Whether this has been the cause or an effect of the confusion may be a moot question. The nominative singular of the word for cave occurs as uamh, uaimh, and even as uadh (uagh ?) with the vowels nasalised and dh (gh ?) sounded. Compare An Uãdhaidh or Uãghaidh = Cove on Loch Ewe. In two place names between Red Point and Port Henderson, south of Gairloch,

Digitized by Google

viz., Allt, Creag, and Achadh Uamh a' Chléibh, and Uamh Fhreacadain, uamh, owing to its unstressed position, is pronounced simply *u* (nasal) in the former and *ù* (nasal) in the latter. The genitive singular which occurs elsewhere as uamha, uaimhe, and uamhaidh is here sounded ũohoch, which seems to stand for uaghach, one form of the genitive of uaigh. The dative is sounded ũai, and doubtfully ũa. Another word or form of the word for cave is uamhag, 'ũa'ag,' where ag, by its sound, ought to stand, not for the diminutive ag, but for adh, like achag for achadh, in which case the genitive singular ought to be uamhaidh, but is uamhag (feminine). The dative is the same. The plural is commonly the same for all those forms, viz., nominative uambagan, genitive uamhag. The more usual declension uaimh, gen, uaimhe, is known but not ordinarily used. Uaigh (grave) has gen. uaghach 'ũohoch,' plu. ũaighean.

Examples of oblique cases used as nominatives are còis (cave), cuibhrinn (share), làimh (hand), seilbh (possession), stròinn for sròin (nose), uilinn (elbow), etc.

Mol (a raised bank of shingle) is here masculine, and bùth (shop), smig (chin), feminine. Anomalies like boirionnach, capull, and muir, which are represented by the feminine pronoun, but are otherwise treated as masculine, and talamh masculine, which has two genitives, the one talaimh masculine, and the other talmhainn feminine, are the same everywhere.

ADJECTIVE.

Obliques for nominatives occur also, as leathainn for leathan.

Here, as in the north generally, miosa is used in place of dona after the particle cho. Other instances here are cho fliche (as wet), cho fasa (as easy).

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

Ar n- (our) is here na and nar; and before vowels na h-, and bhur n- (your) is the same. The former is usually expressed by a circumlocution, as an tigh againn (our house), and does not therefore occur so frequently. Phrases heard are—

na na tigh (in our house).

"Tha sinn na na peacaich" (we are sinners).

"Ga na tort na chaladh shàbhailte" } (taking us to the
"Ga na tor na chaladh shàbhailte" } safe haven).

"'S gu 'n téid sinn na nar smùirich
"'S na na rud gun diù gun treòir."

Digitized by Google

"A ghrian tha ga nar cuartachainn."
na cuid (your belongings).
Am beil na h-athair beò (is your father alive)
Those in inverted commas are from some local verses.

PREPOSITIONAL PRONOUNS.

Annam, etc., is unnam unnad, ann, ăointe, unnainn, unnaibh, unnta. Other forms that differ from the regular ones are foi (under him), fòithe (under her), fòtha (under them), thùice (to her), thùca (to them), ròimhe (before her), tròimhe (through her). Fòithe, ròimhe, tròimhe are pronounced respectively fòhi, ròhi, tròhi (ō in two latter), but are written as above on the analogy of clohi for cloiche, and fohi for foiche (faiche).

The forms from le, leam, leat, etc., are rarely used, with the exception of the third person masculine leis. This is often made to do duty for all the persons. An toir mi leis e, for an toir mi leam (shall I take it with me). So for leat An tug thu leis e; for leatha Thug i leis e, and in the plural also.

VERB.

The future in *as* is constantly heard, as gabhas tu e (you will take it), ionndraineas e e (he will miss it), pronounced ionndrains; togas e fhèin e (he will lift it himself), bitheas (or bios) moran a dol ann (many will be going there). It is not usual with the first personal pronoun, sàbhaigidh mi e (I will saw it), but sàbhaigeas esan e (he will saw it).

The general tendency to get rid in process of conjugation of the guttural in -ich verbs, shows itself here also. Ceannaich (buy), besides the regular forms, has a future ceanntha, and subjunctive cheannthainn. Falaich has falchidh and dh' fhalchinn, and fuirich, fuirthu and dh' fhuirthinn, dh' fhuirthudh. Dealaich has subjunctive dhealthainn; éirich, dh' éirinn; and dealraich, dhealras. The rule, "Broad to broad, etc.," is intentionally disregarded in writing the above, because, e.g., in falchidh, *l* is broad and *ch* slender. In this and others of the above instances the liquid being long, and followed by an intercalated vowel, requires a consonant to be written immediately after it. Dh' fhuirthudh, for example, is dh fhuiru' udh, with *r* long, while cheannthainn has diphthongisation cheawnna' inn, which is never found where a liquid is followed immediately by a vowel.

The infinitive of -ich is formed here by broadening *ch* and adding *dainn*. Beannachadh, the usual infinitive of beannaich (bless) is here beannochdainn; so beathochdainn (nourishing),

Digitized by Google

ceasnochdainn (questioning), dealochdainn (parting), fannochdainn (fainting), and so on. In Easter Ross they are beannachu, beathachu, etc., as in Sutherland.

IRREGULAR VERBS.

Abair (say) takes its subjunctive and conditional forms from can, chanainn, etc. Thoir (give) has toirinn, not tugainn, and infinitive tort and tor for tabhairt or toirt. Rach (go) has char (went), char e troimhe (he went through it), char e thuige (he went to him), reathadh (would go), reathadh e (he would go), an reathadh e (would he go), cha d'reathadh e (he would not go), an t-àit as an d'reathadh e (the place from which he would go); also the usual rachainn (I would go), na'n d'rachainn (if I should go). Ruig has infinitive ruighinn. Cluinn has a past indicative chualaig, sometimes heard at Little Lochbroom, conformed to the analogy of thàinig, etc.

Chunnaic is chunna before the first and second personal pronouns, and in the same position ràinig is ràine, and thàinig thàine.

The duplication of the verbal particle which prevails everywhere in the case of rinn (did)—an d' rinn, cha d' rinn—is characteristic of the north in the case of robh (was)- an d' robh, cha d' robh. For the d' of cha d' reathadh, etc., above, it seems difficult to account.

PREPOSITIONS.

One or two of the prepositions have been noticed under Aspiration. During, in course of, throughout, or in the midst of, rendered usually by the one prepositional phrase, air feadh or 'feadh, are here distinguished according as it is place or time that is meant. When place is spoken of, air foidh or 'foidh, pronounced fāoi', is used. Tha e air foidh a bhaile (it is throughout the town, or it is (somewhere) in the town). Chaidh e air foidh a' bhaile, or chaidh e 'foidh a bhaile (it went throughout the town, or through the whole town). "Chaidh an ceòl air foidh na fidhle."

When time is meant, dhe, which is pronounced exactly like the aspirated preposition dhe (of), is used. An robh uisge ann dhe 'n la (was there rain during, or in course of, the day)? Bha e na 's fhearr dhe 'n la (he was better during the day.)

A somewhat rare use of fo is that in fo dheireadh (last), elsewhere mu dheireadh; am fear fo dheireadh (the last man), thàine' tu fo dheireadh (you have come at last).

Digitized by Google

ADVERBS.

C'àit (where?) is ca, ca bheil thu dol (where are you going)? ca 'n robh thu (where were you)? Cia fhad (how long)? is c'fhad (or cad), c'fhada before a consonant, c'fhad a bhitheas tu (how long will you be)?

CONJUNCTIONS.

Instead of o'n or bho'n (since) le is used from Lochalsh to Lochbroom. C'fhada le dh'fhalbh e (how long is it since he went away? literally how long since he went away)? C'fhada le chaochail e (how long is it since he died)? C'fhada le thàinig e (how long is it since he came)? Tha bliadhna le thàinig e (it is a year since he came). Is fhada le tha e an Diabaig (he has been long in Diabaig). Tha naodh bliadhna deug le dh'fhalbh an duine aice (there are nineteen years since her husband died).

Chon an, sometimes thon an, is used in place of far an (where). Rach chon a' faigh thu e (go where you will get or find it). Thig chon am beil e for thig far a bheil e (come where he is). Chunna' mi chon am beil e a chòmhnuidh (I saw where he lives). So chon an d'éirich (where he rose). Before do of the past tense an by assimilation disappears as chon 'do bhriste, chon 'do chuir, chon 'do choinnich. chon do sheinn, chon do thachair, chon 'do thog.

Gus an (until) is ghos an and 'os an; fuirich ghos an bi thu an sin. So fuirich ghos am brist e e, ghos an dean e e, ghos a' faigh e e, or fuirich 'os am brist, 'os an dean, etc. Fuirthu mi 'os an till thu (I shall wait until you return). After a negative nach is used instead: cha 'n fhada nach bi e ann (it will not be long until he is there).

Mus an (before) is mus, mus bi, mus dealaich, mus robh, mus do dhuin, mus do ghluais, mus do shiubhail, mus do thog, "Mus pòsar sinn ri ũaigh."

Ged (though) is usually ghad; d' an gabhainn for ged ghabhainn occurs, and go 'n an for gar an, here usually ghor an. Dean thusa am math ghor an éireadh math dhuit (do you good, though good should not befall you).

Whether—or not is expressed here as in Lewis by eadar gu'n—no nach. Eadar gu'n tig e no nach tig, whether he come or not.

VOCABULARY.

References to Macbain not found in his dictionary are to his "Further Gaelic Words and Etymologies" in Volume XXI. of the Transactions. References to Munro and to Maceachen are to

Digitized by Google

the second editions of the Grammar of the former and the Dictionary of the latter. MacL. and D. means MacLeod and Dewar's Dictionary. Some of the references to Sutherland are to the Rev. Adam Gunn's writings on the dialect of that county.

àbhach, joyous, sportful.
abhras, s.m., the lower edge of a herring net.
acair, a small mow of corn, less than a sgamhainn.
àgha, gh sounded, a quarter of a carcase of meat.
ainbhte, s.f., a heifer; also found entered in an old hand in a copy of Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary as a rendering of 'stot,' i.e., a young bullock.
aincadas, vexation, slight provocation. Cf. ainid, vexing, galling.
alachd, a sheep found dead; for falachd, from fuil, fala, blood.
aobart, s.m., ankle.
aonagraich, rolling, as of a horse rolling itself on its back. A variant of aon igail.
asg, the circular wooden frame of a corn riddle or corn fan. Cf. fasgnag, asgnag, a corn fan; aisg, leanness in cattle, skin and bone (Rev. Adam Gunn, Durness, in E. Macdonald's Faclair Gaidhlig). Hence ascall, asg-call, loss of cattle in spring (from insufficient wintering).
athainn, vexation, annoyance. Chuir e a. orm (he annoyed me).
at-reum, a swelling in the back of the mouth. Cf. meall-reum.
bab, a reproach, stain on character; a metaphorical use of bab or pab.
babhdair, a good-for-nothing person.
bac mòine, a peat bank.
bacan éisg, a string of fish, a twig with fish strung upon it.
bachall, s.m., a dolt, one deficient in smartness.
baganach, s.m., a brisk, lively person. Cf. baganta, lively.
baghastair, a dolt, blockhead; a variant of baghaire.
baigileis, s.f., baggage, lumber, a person who gets in another's way, or who fails to execute a commission; in Perthshire, luggage, lumber.
bainne nan each, clover growing wild.
ballachd, s.f., mockery, ridicule, derision. Nach iad rinn a' b. air (what sport they made of him). Cf. ballachd, dirty trick (E. Macdonald's Dictionary), and bailich, use badly (Sutherland).
ball-bìsd, an imp, mischevious person.
ban-searaiste, s.f., a headstrong ungovernable woman.
bàraisg, s.m, a half-witted person. Cf. barraisg, boaster, braggadocio (Maceachen).

Digitized by Google

bàrc uisge, a downpour of rain, a thunder shower.
barrach, s.m., loppings of birch ; see sgathach sub.
beannag, s.f., a square piece of cotton doubled diagonally, worn by women in former times under the mutch and fastened behind ; see beannag, skirt, etc.
bearradh, s.m., a top, summit ; any point that appears as a summit or is on the sky-line from the spectator's position for the moment.
beill, s.f., a blubber lip, a thick under lip, a pout ; hence béilleach, béileach, properly beilleach, blubber-lipped. See meill.
bior-deimhnidh, a fish described as about eight inches in length, scaled, without fins, like an eel, but tapering from shoulders to tail like a sturgeon, found in trawling and in the ebb ; thought to be the bandsticle. Bioran-deamhnaidh is a name for the minnow, and biorag-lodain for the bandsticle.
bior-teinn, pronounced bior-tinn, the name in Gairloch for bioran-deimhnidh.
bith, s.m., malice, malignity, venom.
blabhd, a loud bark ; hence blabhdach, bladhdair, etc.
blàr-aoghan, a rock fish as long but not as thick as the muc-ruadh.
bobhta, the swath or breadth cut by a scythe in one course, Lochcarron ; bota at Torridon ; from Scot., bout, of same meaning.
bodach baic, an outside peat in the bank, impared by the winter's exposure.
boinne-mear, s.m., hemlock. Muinmhear (Maceachen and O'Brien). MacL. and D. give also minmhear, mìn-bhàrr, and mongach-mhear.
bonnsag, s.f., a stone or boulder, Lochcarron ; syn., dunnsag.
bota, see bobhta.
bota, a bog channel, a vein or streak of bog or morass. Cf. pota, hole from which peat has been cut, Skye ; Scot.. peat-pot, peat-pat, id.
bradhag, s.f., a huff, tantrum Ghabh e b., he took the huff.
braisiche, s.m., a man over middle age ; middle Irish bras, great, hence one with his frame filled up as in middle age. Cf. braisleach, idem.
breacadan-buidhe-nan-allt, s.m., the yellow wagtail.
breac-an t-sìl, s.m., the grey or pied wagtail.
breugan, plu., the unwoven space near the top of a creel.
bròg, spawn of cod, coal fish, and other large sea fish ; iuchair, spawn of herring and salmon.
brunndal, mumbling.

Digitized by Google

bungaid, a head-strong girl.
buthtraidh, the elder tree, from Sc., bourtree.
cab-dubh, s.m., a small, dark-headed trout.
caglachan, s.m., anything chewed, as a piece of cloth that has been chewed by a cow.
cailcean, a sand-bank surrounded at ebb; a bald spot on the head. Cf. sgaile.
càil-ghuth, s.f., voice, sweet or musical voice. Is briagh a' chàil-ghuth tha aige, what a fine voice he has.
càinear, s.m., a salmon-fisher, fisher for salmon in tidal waters; pron., càinnear.
camchomhdhail, s.f., a bad meeting. C. ort, an imprecation, 'May evil meet you'; pron., camchail, 'camachail,' with long *m*.
campraid, a slight quarrel.
cam-strannd, bickering, constant quarreling; cam and srann.
canaidh, artful, astute, 'canny,' from which it is borrowed.
càra, better. Bu chàra dhomh bhi 'g a dheanamh (it were better for me to be doing it).
cathair, s.f., a knoll, hillock, fairy knoll; enters into many place-names from Torridon to Lochbroom. It is always the word in local lore for a fairy knoll. Sìthean is applied in the place-names to larger heights, and is not popularly associated with the little folks.
ceòlar, peculiar, odd, eccentric. Duine ceòlar, a peculiar or eccentric man.
cineanta, agreeable, willing.
ciuìcharan, warbling, singing of birds.
cléidhseam, s.m., wrath, fury. Chuir tha an c. dearg air (you made him perfectly furious). Scot., 'red wud.'
cleiteach, shaggy, ragged, from cleit, down, &c.
clìfeid, sleet, soft snow that melts when it touches the ground; in Sutherland glìfeid.
cliseach, side of the human body.
clobhdach, clumsy.
clobhdaire, s.m., a bungler, botcher.
clòthadh, gadding, roving; ag c. nan tighean, ranging the houses. Cf. clò, Ir. clódh, variety, change.
cnèapan, s.m., a stool, low seat.
cnòiteachan, s.m., shrugging.
cnubhan, s.m., knuckle of the second or middle joint of the fingers; cf. cnumhagan, handful, from crubh, crobh, paw, hoof.
conaig, knuckle of the first or root joint of the fingers.

Digitized by Google

conghlas, canghlas; pron., canalas, *n* long, a bandage or swathe round the jaws and the crown of the head, such as is used to keep the jaw from falling down after death. Hence imprecation. Canghlas ort, a changhlas air.
'A mharbhphaisg air a' chonghlas,' Song.

còslach, spongy, as bread, peats, or any dry thing.

còthach, spongy, as a decaying turnip or any wet thing.

crà, s.m., a cruive for catching salmon.

cràmh-chadail, a slumber, a doze, also cràimh-chadail. Cf. pràmh-chadail.

crannlach, s.m., a figure of a calf made of a skin stretched on a frame of wood, used for setting beside cows to induce them to yield their milk, a tulchan calf; from crann.

crasg, s.m., a crutch.

crasgag, a star-fish.

cratach, s.m., side of human body; in Skye, back.

crobhsag, s.f., a gooseberry; Gael., gròiseid; in Atholl, gròiseag; Scot., groset; Eng., gooseberry for grooseberry.

cròich, difficulty of breathing, as from asthma or from cold, wheezing.

crùbag, s.f., large, edible crab, with brown shell, yellowish underneath; see partan.

crùthaig, s.f., distress, strait, necessity. 'Is e an caraid caraid na crùthaig,' a friend in need is a friend indeed; local proverb. For cruadhag?

cù-dubh, s.m., a blood hound.

cuidhteag, s.f., a whiting. 'Tha dà bhall dubh air an adag is earball fad air a' chuidhteag,' there are two black spots on the haddock and a long tail to the whiting. Nicolson idem, but with cuiteig. From Eng., whiting.

cuilbheir, anything big. C. mór boirionnaich, a very big woman.

cùlaist, the inner apartment of an old Highland cottage.

culm, gloom, haze, darkness of atmosphere; variant of gulm.

currac-an-righ, the king's hood; so in Arran.

curraidh, difficult, stiff, exhausting. Tha so c., or Tha so curraidh r' a dhìreadh, this is stiff, difficult, or this is stiff to climb. Cf. curraidh, currtha, exhausted, wearied.

dallag, a kingfish.

damacraich, hesitating. Tha e a' d. (he is undecided). Dé and d. a th' ort (what makes you hesitate).

damaisear, mud, mire.

dàmhair, time. Mu'n d. so an dé (about this time yesterday); aig an d. so dhe 'n bhliadhna (at this season of the year); so about Inverness; in Sutherland teamhair.

Digitized by Google

déidhs, a settee, Gairloch, from Scot. dais, a settee.
di-beathte ; adj., welcome.
diuch-bhlian, the flank, = dubh-chléin. See liuch-bhlian, sub.
dleasail, dutiful.
dòirneanach dhuine, a thick-set man.
don-mathais, a bad requital for labour or kindness.
drabhc, a lazy or stupid worker.
dreòsgach, open, loosely woven (like canvas).
driongan, pottering, trifling. Tha e a' d. fad an latha (he is pottering about the whole day.
drounag, a little burden.
druim, beam of a plough, the first two furrows of a ridge.
drumlachdan, a swelling and stiffening of the wrist from unaccustomed work.
duainidh, bad, ill, of looks or of conduct. Is e rinn d. air (how badly he treated him), e.g., of one who cheated another.
d unsag, s.f., a large stone or boulder ; syn. bonnsag
dupadaich, staggering or tottering from weakness.
dustadh, a beating. Fhuair e a dhustadh (he got a beating) ; literally a dusting from the Eng.
éibhlisg, s.f., a slow, stupid woman.
eireannach, s.m., a churn, Gairloch. E. = a plunger churn ; muidhe, the more modern paddle churn, Lochbroom.
faileachd, s.f., hiding, concealment. Tha e air f. (he is in hiding), e.g. of a boy who has been in mischief, and is keeping out of sight. Variant of falach.
faileadh, moulting. Tha na cearean air f. (the hens have moulted).
fàiscach, easy. Cha 'n eil sin f. (that is not easy) (to do or to bear).
faithir, s.m., a sudden dip of the land to the shore, often the steep front of a raised beach ; in many place names in Gairloch and Lochbroom, as Am Faithir Mor at Red Point ; do. at Sgoraig ; Firemore at Inverasdale, etc. From fo-thìr, under-land. Hence Foyers, Loch Ness.
falmaire, s.m., the herring hake.
farfas, loathing, nausea, Little Lochbroom ; perhaps for farbhas with *f* for *bh* as in some other cases.
fearrlagan, s.m., field mouse.
feartag, s.f., the sea pink, thrift ; not fearsaideag here.
féidhfheoil, féidheil, venison.
feur-ghartadh, the keeping of his own cattle next to the crops by the crofter whose turn it is to do the herding of the township.

Digitized by Google

fiacas, a small fish allied to the dog-fish.
fionnlaid, a wooden lever ; gèimhleag, one of iron.
fiuchar, dapper, nimble.
flichneadh-shneachd, sleet.
fòthalan, a species of thistle.
freumhag, s.f., a portion, measure? Na 'm biodh f. shlàinte agam, if I had a measure of health.
frilisg, an earthworm, used as bait for trout. Gairloch and Lochbroom.
frog, active, energetic, good or quick at work. Ged tha a beag tha e frog (though he is little he is able), Lochbroom. In Gairloch they say, Ged tha e beag, tha e grideil (though he is little there is 'grit' in him).
fuarachd, s.f., damp, moisture. Tha f. ann, there is damp in it, it is damp, e.g., of a house wall or floor.
fuaraidh, damp. Talamh f., damp or wet soil.
futhar, s.m., mark or scar of a wound or sore. A variant of puthar, pudhar, hurt, sore, ulcer, etc.
gailc, excitement, agitation, flurry. Chaidh e 'n a g., he went into a flurry, he became agitated or flurried.
gairbhdheisinn, pron., gairbheisinn, disgust, repulsion, such as would be excited by filthy food, or by the sight of a mangled body, Chuir e g. orm.
gàmus, a bullet mould. Scot, calmes, caums, a mould, etc.
garbhaiceil, gulping, bolting, or devouring food, gorging ; garbhacail, Lochbroom.
garra-gart, s.m., the corn crake. Cf. gearra-gort a quail (M'L. & D).
gearra-bhoc, s.m., sea urchin, Lochbroom ; not gearradh-b., which would be gearrag-b. here.
gearrach, a harrow rope, rope from the harrow to the swingle-tree. Cf. gearraiseach, chain from the swingle-tree to the horses.
giobalag, an over-wrought woman, a down-trodden woman.
gìogan, s.m., a sea urchin ; from gìogan, a thistle, because of its spines.
giorraiseach, a hare.
gloidhseam, fright, folly.
glòm, an abyss, gulf, chasm. Hence Glomach Falls, Kintail.
glung, a hollow sound, as from an empty vessel.
gobada-lìridh, the sandpiper.
gòinneach, unkempt, shaggy, untidy, uncared for.
gòinneag, s.f., a dowdy, slattern, an untidy woman.
gòradh, peeping, spying. Bha e ag g. orra (he was watching them on the sly). Gòr, to peep (Munro's Grammar, p. 11).

Digitized by Google

gothaiche, s.m., reed of bag-pipe. Goth, a pipe reed (Munro's Grammar, p. 40).
gràilleag, a morsel, a little bit *e.g.* of cheese or of meat. Cf. sgròilleag, a little peeling or paring.
gréisg, loathing nausea; a variant of grìs, horror?
gréisgean, s.m., repulsive food.
gréisgeanach, fastidious, squeamish, easily nauseated.
grobhd, chunk, thick piece; g. arain, a thick piece of bread.
gròm, the minute shellfish that cover tidal rocks and stones.
gròmag a small rock-fish that feeds upon the gròm.
gròmag, a mixture of oatmeal and churned cream, a mixture of oatmeal and whisky with or without sugar. Cf. ròmag.
gugaill, crouching or sitting down on the heels, Scot. currying.
imbhuideal, pron. imideal, *m* long, a wooden keg or pail for carrying home milk and cream on the back from the sheilings; sometimes carried on horseback slung one on each side. The piece of skin tied over the mouth of the vessel with strong thread, called iolaman in Rob Donn, seems to be meant by the word in the rhyme about the site, and old name, of Coulin Lodge :—

"Cumain is snàthain is imbhuideil
Ceithir thimchioll Lub Theamradail."

imisg, nearness, proximity. Cha tig e an i. dha (he does not approach him, he is not to be compared with him). Cha robh e an i. do 'n àit (he was not near the place).
inich, the floor of a stall elevated above the 'carcair' (grip).
iobalag, s.f., a dowdy, an untidy woman.
iochd-ochd, nolens volens.
làir-mhaide, a see-saw.
lamhag, s.f., an axe.
lannsaid, couch, settee. Gairloch; variant of langasaid.
las, loose, easy-fitting, slack.
leabaidh-loisgte, s.f., ricochet, Gairloch.
leabaidh-righe, s.f., ricochet, Lochbroom.
liaghag, the top or leaf of the tangle.
liathtas, grayness; l.-shneachda, a sprinkling of snow sufficient to make the land gray.
liuch-bhlian, the flank, North Gairloch; loch-'lèin, Leviticus iii. 4, etc.
lorganach shneachda, snow sufficient to show a track.
lucas, lugworm, worm found in sand and used for bait for small-lines.

Digitized by Google

luis, a multitude of small objects, especially of crawling insects.
lunnaid, pin of a cow-fetter.
madadh, a shell-fish like the bait mussel, and as large as the muasgan, q.v.
madadh-uisge, the fresh-water pearl mussel.
mealbhan, s.m., a stretch of sand dunes with sea-bent growing on them; on the Moray Firth it means sea-bent. Norse, melr.
meall-reum, pyrosis, water-brash. Cf. Ir. réuma, phlegm. Gairloch.
meann-bhoc, a one-year-old he goat.
meath-gàire, a smile; meath-ghàire (MacL. and D).
meig, sign of life, sound. Cha 'n eil m ann.
meill, s.f., a thick under lip, a blubber lip; not méill.
miolcais, caressing, fondling.
miosraich, think, suppose, conjecture.
moglan-garbh, a sea-urchin, Gairloch.
moirgean, a little fat person.
morghan, s.m., gravel, shingle, a bank of gravel or shingle.
muasgan, a shell-fish, like the fresh water pearl mussel, about the same length—3 to 4 inches—but broader and thicker; called brallach in Lewis. Its shell is not so dark as that of the madadh. Both are smaller than the eachan.
mùdag, s.f., an egg-shaped wicker receptacle for holding teased wool. Cf. mùdan, a covering.
muine, stomach; muinne (Macbain).
neo-uisgidh, hardy, capable of bearing exposure to wet.
ofhaich, bustle, fuss. Dé an o. a th' ort, what are you in such a bustle about? From officium.
pac, the sheep that a shepherd is allowed to keep as part of his remuneration.
pait, 'A Phait,' between Fionn Loch and Dubh Loch, near Kenlochewe, said to mean 'stepping stones.'
partan, a crab, smaller than crùbag, with dark shell, reddish underneath, and not used for food.
pìreas, appearance? Cha robh p. ann (said of a worthless thing). Cf. the Sutherland use, brad p. barr (a good appearance of crop), p. de chreutair (a poor, puny creature, as if a mere appearance of a creature). At Loch Ness fireas.
plàtach, a mat of plaited straw for putting on a horse's back under the crook saddle. Hence Plaatach Naast and Plaatach Thurnaig, both near Poolewe.
pleachd, a roll of wool ready for spinning; like fleachdail, flowing in ringlets, from Lat. plecto.
pleadhan, s.m., a spattle for turning bread.

Digitized by Google

plumaid, a plummet. Nach b' e a' phlumaid i (how plump she is).
poca-buidhe, a deer's stomach.
pocan-garbh, sea-urchin, Gairloch.
poca-salainn, a spider, a large grey spider found in the open air; Skye and Lewis also.
poll-mhògag, s.f., a toad; also mul mhògag and mol-mhògag, all for mial-mhàg. The first form has been influenced by poll, a pool. The name—mòg or màg, paw—is claimed here to be more appropriate to the toad, because it does not leap as the frog does.
pràis, cast-iron, pot-metal.
puilgean, a little fat person. For builgean.
pulaidh, a turkey; coileach pulaidh, cearc phulaidh; plural, pulaidhnean. French, poulet, chicken.
put, s.m., a bruised swelling caused by a blow, as in fighting; thug mi put air, I marked him; also a spadeful of the caschrom; am put fuaraidh, the first sod turned of a furrow; called also an ceap-fuaraidh. From put, to thrust, push, a 'thrust' of the caschrom; in Perthshire put s.m., a push. Hence putag, a small ridge of land (and putag, a thole or oar against which the oar pushes ?).
rabhann, s.m., a grass or reed that grows in pools, and is cut for fodder. It is described as having many large joints, which burst when dry, and white roots. The word enters into many place-names in Ross and Sutherland. This meaning was obtained from a native of Strathconon. Here the name is given to the water lily (!) and to a plant with leaves branching alternately on each side of the leaf stem, and floating on the water.
ràc-an-fheoir, corn crake.
raghaidh, pron., răo'i, a warning; fraghaidh in Sutherland. Cf. radhadh (M'L. & D).
raidh, boasting, brag, vain glory. Tha pailteas r. ann, he is much given to boasting.
raitseach, a strong and lazy young woman.
ràmhag, root? Cha'n eil sion ach an r. ann, it is all but dead, of animals, not of human beings.
rannghall, inferior poetry, doggerel.
raonabo, a rainbow; from the Eng.
rapach, stormy, dirty, of weather.
rathan, s.m., the sheave of the flys of a spinning wheel.
rath-thiodhlaicidh, a lair or grave-plot.
reidhne mairt, a cow that does not give milk, and is not with calf.

Digitized by Google

rèim, the wheel of a spinning wheel.
rèim, self-command, self-control, equanimity ; same as rèim, power, and rèim, order ?
reum see at reum, and meall-reum.
reusbaid, groove or bed in the keel to receive the edge of the fliuchbhord or eàirlinn, that is, of the first strake or plank.
riadhan, s.m., a swathe of hay that has been turned with the rake.
riapach, untidy, slovenly ; in Sutherland rèapach ; the same as ròpach, of like meaning (if so, properly reòpach), and of the same origin as riapail, mangle, tear, riopail, id. (Macbain). Cf. lèabag, leòbag, and liabag, a flounder, and others.
ribheid, cord attaching a buoy to a herring net.
righe, stretched, tight, tense. Tha an còrd righe, the cord is tense ; from righ, to lay out or stretch a body.
roiseagan, s.f., plural, very small and numerous potatoes.
roisean, tail or train of a skirt.
ròmag, s.f., synonymous with gròmag (No. 2) Lochbroom.
rot, anything thick ; rot maide, a thick stick ; rot caillich, a corpulent woman.
rotag, s.f., a stone, not greater than that two could be lifted by a man.
rù-rà, jumbled, confused, mixed up.
rump, s.m., a tail. From Eng., rump.
sàlagan, pyrosis, water-brash, Lochbroom and Lewis.
sanndag, s.f., a sand-eel.
searbhag, s.f., wood-sorrel ? a small pale green sorrel-tasted trefoil, growing in cool shady places.
searcan, s.m., the burdock ; from searc, affection, on account of the adhesiveness of its burrs.
seathan, panting, hard breathing Tha s. air (he is panting, he is out of breath) ; in Arran seothan ; cf. Irish seafnaim, breathe or blow.
séis, hum, buzz made by wild bees in their nest when disturbed. Cf. séis, an air or tune (Munro's Gram., p. 10), usually séist.
sgàileag, s.f., a passing shower.
sgàireag, s.f., a passing shower.
sgaoman uisge, a light shower (Lochbroom).
sgàrdan, s.m., a scree, continuous run of stones on a hill-side.
sgathach, s.m., loppings of any wood except birch ; see barrach.
sgàth-fhras, a passing shower.
sging, to squeeze, press. Sging e troimh (he squeezed through).
sgléap, s.f., a torrent of speech.

Digitized by Google

sgleimce, pron., sglemichce (m long), cajolery, wheedling. Cf. sgleamaic, daub filthily (Maceachen).

sgliofag, s.f., a light blow.

sgloidhseach, s.f. anything broad and flaccid; s. mhòr arain, a broad thin piece of bread.

sgoinn, s.f., a small pool in the rocky bed of a stream, in which salmon get imprisoned and caught when the stream is low.

sgoir, a slice of bread. Cf. sgorag, a piece of turf.

sgoraban, a little pointed rock.

sgòth, the shade caused by a cloud passing over the sun; in Strathspey dimness on glass caused by breath.

sgreòd, a group, a crowd; greòd in Skye (Macbain).

sgrogag, s.f., crumpled horn; béist na sgrogaig, the unicorn in armorial bearings; in Skye a mythical aquatic animal (Gregorson Campbell's Superstitions of the Highlands).

sgroidhseach, s.f., a hag, termagant.

sgròl, a multitude, crowd, great number; s. chloinne, a crowd of children; sgràl (Macbain).

sgùile, a potato basket, a basket for fishing lines; sgùilean, diminutive; in Gairloch sgùlan.

sifheag, s.f., wick of lamp or candle; cf. siobhag.

silmeag, s.f., field-clover; seamrag by metathesis and dissimilation.

simisd, a beam, of which there were three, laid across a corn-kiln to support the 'sticlean beaga;' see sticil.

siob, to cast a line in angling, to 'whip' a stream; siobail, to angle (Macalpine, Maceachen); same word as siab, to wipe, sweep along.

siol-mhór, an eel resembling the sand eel, but growing to a length of two feet, usually found in the company of the gurnet. Cf. siolag, a sand-eel.

siolpadh, pilfering.

siolpaire, a pilferer.

slabhaigeadh, beat eggs spread on oat cake before it is turned in firing. This was done when the cake was to be used as provision on a journey, and prevented it from crumbling.

slagan, the cup-shaped interior of a kiln.

sliabh, bent grass; sliabh, or seann sliabh, withered bent gathered for bedding in spring.

smiadh, a syllable, sound. Cha dubhairt e s., he did not utter a syllable.

smiotach, pug-nosed; Ir., smutach, short-snouted.

smògran, crawling.

smoislich, to stir out of sleep, awake; idem, Perth; smuislich, Loch Ness; smuaislich, Lewis.

Digitized by Google

smug, s.f., muggy weather, mist and rain.
smugradh, sucking, as a child sucking his fingers.
snòtaich, to smell, snuff or sniff at. Cf. snot, idem.
sonasan, s.m., the young frog when it has passed the tadpole stage.
sos, food for dogs.
sosraich, food for cattle, Gairloch.
spàrdan, s.m., a short steep acclivity.
spiounntail, strong.
sporthail, make a rustling sound in searching for anything. Cf. Perthshire spor, to search by scratching, groping or fumbling.
srèud, s.m., a row, a number of objects in line. 'Sreud, see sreath' (MacL. and D.)
stall, a bandage or swathe over the crown of the head, and under the chin; stail (Macbain). Cf. Eng. (head-) stall.
steallaraich, sloppy food, thin drink.
stèic, a fellow, imp. Nach b' e an droch s. e, what a bad boy he is. In Gairloch with t broad, and with further meaning of severe blow. Eng. stick, a 'bad stick?'
stèir, synonymous with steic.
stic, synonymous with stèic.
sticil mhór, one of the beams, of which there were three, laid across a corn kiln to support the sticlean beaga. The latter were laid across the sticlean móra or simisdean, to support a layer of drawn straw upon which the grain was spread.
stil, strain, trait, trick; mostly in the plural. Tha droch stilean ann, he has bad traits or tricks, said, e.g., of an evil disposed person or of a refractory horse.
stuthaidh, an end buoy for nets made of a whole sheepskin.
suain, the cord fastening the skin of a buoy round the edge of the wooden disc.
sùileachan, a warning, a lesson. Bheir sud s. da, that will be a warning or lesson to him.
susbailteach, sane, sound in judgment, perfect in faculties; also, tusbailteach. From susbainnt.
tàbailt, strong, vigorous. Cf. M. Ir., apel, hapel, from Lat., habile, or perhaps from Eng., able (Wh. Stokes).
tabhaill, sense, judgment, understanding, wits. Char e dhe a thabhaill, he lost his wits, he acted stupidly. Tha e dhe a th., he is in his dotage. Duine gun t, a man without sense.
tàigeanach, s.m., a squat person.
tàir, bad, mean, base, ill. Cha 'n eil mi cho tàir is sin, I am not so bad or so base as that. Cha 'n eil mi na's tàire, I am no worse (in health).

Digitized by Google

tàmadh, onset, attack. Thug an cù t. air, the dog tried to bite him, or tried to catch it.

tamail, sense, judgment, wits. Chaill e a thamail, he has lost his senses, he has lost his wits. Cf. sumaidean, in Skye somuiltean (plural) senses, wits.

tarman-dé, see torman-dé.

tàsg, s.m., a ghost, 'a sprite,' Munro's Gram., p. 9. "The ghost of the dying, called *tasks*, are said to be heard, their cry being a repetition of the moans of the sick. . . . . The corps follow the tract (sic) led by the *tasks* to the place of interment." Applecross Old. Stat. Acc., Vol. III., p. 380.

teach, pass, event, issue, occurrence. Cha tàinig e teach (it did not come to pass; also he never came). Thig e t. (it will come to pass). Cf. 'tighinn gu teach, happening,' sub teach, Maceachen; thàinig e fo theach (it came to pass), Lewis; thainig e mu 'n teach, idem, Arran and Perth.

teadharadh, drawing out, spinning out. Tha e a' t. na tìde (he is wasting time).

teairt, grazing before morning milking. Tha an crodh air an t. (the cows go out before being milked). Sguir iad dhe 'n t. (they have ceased to go out before being milked).

teinntean, s.m., a fire back, a stone placed as a back to the fire on the hearth in the middle of the floor.

téuchd, a brag, a feat, a boast. Tha e a' deanamh t. dhe (he is making a boast of it) (he thinks he has performed an exploit). Cf. 'tèachd, silly, boasting, Argyll,' Macbain. From (t-)euchd.

teum, to join, unite, repair by bights or loops as in wire fencing, to splice.

teumach, attentive, careful, diligent, anxious to do well. For teòma?

tionndain, to turn. For tionndaidh.

tiurr, tide-mark, drift-weed left by the tide.

tormachan-tuinne, a small sea bird. Ptarmigan is here tormachan an t-sléibhe.

tormachan-dé, a butterfly.

torman-dé; a butterfly; also tarman-dé.

tràbail, slightly bedraggled.

trabalach, bedraggled.

traibeal, bedraggled.

traghais, commotion, stir; lumber.

treamhla, illness, ailment, Lo hbroom; also pronounced treabbla and treobhla, and in Gairloch treamhlainn.

Digitized by Google

triasg, to dry up, shrink, become leaky.
triasg, a slender, inactive, and idle man. From above.
triobhaire, a cheat, knave, rascal.
trithinn, s.m., triad, trinity? in name Sgeir an Trithinn, Loch Torridon, consisting of three humps.
trost, a knock, fall, stroke, as of one striking the ground after falling from a height. Cf. Ir., trosta, a crack.
tùghag, a patch. Cf. Nicolson's Gael. Prov.: "Is fhearr breid na toll, ach 's uaisle toll na tughag."
tùirneanach, a blow with the fist.
tul-fhirinn, the whole truth, the real truth.
ubh-cliath-feannaig, an egg that is much under the hen's usual standard of size; as though she had taken up with a hooded crow!
uchdach, s.f., panting, breathing hard; syn., seathan.
uiunean, s.m., an anvil. Cf. innean.
ùirleach, live ashes, red embers.
ulbhag, s.f., a stone or boulder larger than one man can handle; bulbhag, idem, Perth; cf. balbhag, small stone, pebble (M'L. & D.).
uspann, s.f., argumentation, attempt to compel assent or force conviction.

The following additional words showing peculiarities of meaning or usage may be noted:—

Atharnach, land that has been last cropped with green crop, i.e., with potatoes and turnip; called 'red land' in some districts. As the succeeding crop used to be always barley, the word is popularly thought to be ath-eòrna-ach. The pronunciation here, which is 'athurnach,' ought on the analogy of other words to represent a spelling abharnach.

"'S e 'n t-eòrna buidh' is athair dhomh,
'S e 'n t-atharnach mo sheanmhàthair;
Mise mac na poite duibhe
Bhios 'n a suidhe air a' ghealbhan."

arsa mac na bracha. The word, as will be observed, is masculine here; An do chuir sibh an t-atharnach, have you sown the red-land?

Thug e bonn di, Thug e na buinn di, he took to his heels. No explanation of 'di' is forthcoming. In Perth Thug e na buinn as; in Lewis Thug e na boinn as

Burn, water; Nach e rinn am burn, how it has rained. Tha burn mór anns an abhainn, there is much water in the river.

Digitized by Google

Caigeann, two fish caught at same time on one hand line; two sheep with their heads tied together and also their tails, so as to be driven easily.

Caor is used of both fire and water. Dé a' chaoir tha air an fhraoch ag gabhail, how fiercely the heather burns. Tha caoir air a' tighinn, said when a spate is seen coming down, as sometimes happens in mountain torrents, not gradually, but with an abrupt front like a bore or eagre.

Air a cheann fhéin, on his own account; as one who is in business for himself or on his own account, i.e., has a business of his own.

Chi mi dhuit e, I will show it you. Faic dhomh e, show me it. Coimheadaidh mi dhuit e, I will show it to you. Seallaidh mi riut e, idem.

Cinn, grow, increase in size. Cinnich, increase, multiply, thrive. An do chinnich na caoraich dhuit am bliadhna, did your sheep do well this year (at the lambing season).

Cluain, apprehension, application, attention. Cha 'n eil cluain ann, he lacks understanding, he has no 'uptak,' said of one who fails to grasp what he is told. Gun chluain, careless about work or business.

Coileach, a white crest on waves. Tha coileach air an diugh, the waves are white-crested to-day.

Comhartaich, barking at nothing; tabhannaich, barking at some object; blabhd, a sudden burst of barking. Leig an cù blabhd as.

An corp na h-oidhche, in the middle, lit. body of the night.

Craobhaidh fuar, piercingly cold, shiveringly cold; grunndail fuar, somewhat cold.

Crath, to churn, in Gairloch and Lochbroom; thoir a' mhuidhe, lit. bring the churn in Lochcarron and Torridon.

Air cridhe do dhearnaidh, on the middle, lit. heart, of your palm.

Croit fhearainn or crait fhearainn, a croft. Croit is sounded exactly like croit, hump, etc., not crăoit, and is not heard at all so often as might be supposed, in crofting communities Talamh, plu. talmhannau, is the equivalent mostly used.

Cuiseag, a stick, a switch.

Cùl, care, anxiety. Chuir e cùl orm, it made me anxious, it troubled me (it put a 'back,' or 'burden' on me?).

Daitheat, a diet, a meal; diot, which is the same word borrowed at an earlier period, is restricted to one particular diet or meal, viz., dinner, except when qualified by an adjective, diot mhór, dinner, diot bheag, breakfast.

Digitized by Google

Duine means emphatically a married man; an unmarried man of any age is gille; fear is as colourless, except as to sex, as the English 'individual,' 'person,' or 'one,' and is often no more, or at least little more, than a peg on which to hang an attribute. Cha robh e 'n a dhuine aig an am sin, he was not a man at that time, i.e., a married man. A native would never commit himself so far as to ask concerning a stranger, Có e an duine sin (Who is that man?). Bean agus duine is 'husband and wife,' literally wife and husband. This precedence of the wife is in line with, and may be a relic of, Pictish custom. Bean agus duine is the phrase in some other parts, e.g., Perthshire, which also is in Pictland. There is a sharp distinction between these and other districts, such as Arran, where fear agus bean is the invariable phrase. In Gairloch, which, perhaps, has been more subjected to external influences than the adjoining parishes, both phrases are used. In Lewis the latter and, more rarely, duine agus bean are used. Ca bheil na fir ud, where are those fellows, used, e.g., in reference to two boys aged respectively two and three. An unmarried woman is nighean, daughter, all her days. Boirionnach is the indefinite term corresponding to fear, but restricted to adults. Pàisd, child, is restricted to the female sex, though pàisd nighinn may be heard.

Eathar, a boat, a fishing boat, is used so constantly as to be as characteristic of this district as culaidh is of Sutherland. Bàta is seldom used.

Eighe, a triangular file, such as is used for sharpening saws. Other files are called risp, from Scot. rusp, Eng. risp. Hence Ben Eighe, from its serrated top, as seen from Kenlochewe.

Eileach, a weir; a bank of stones to guide fish into a 'cabhuil' or bag-net; any place where water can be crossed on stones.

Eilgheadh, ploughing of stubble, which requires a second ploughing to prepare it for the green crop that follows.

Fairge, an angry sea. Tha an fhairge mór, the sea is rough. Tha fairge air a' chladach, there is a sea on the beach.

Faobh, a wind-fall, any unlooked-for good fortune.

Mac an Tòisich, whisky, from association with Ferintosh.

Meanmhainn, an itch or tickling of the nose, prognosticating the coming of a friend, a letter, or news.

Preas, a bush, in several place-names as Am Preas Mór at Kenlochewe; ditto, and Preas nam Bodach at Dundonnell (and Cladh Phris in Gruinard Isle?) is locally explained as thicket, dense growth of trees, a meaning that is or was in living memory descriptive of most of the places so named. The Welsh form of the word (prys) means brushwood, covert.

Digitized by Google

Samh, a smell from the sea that betokens the presence of herring.

Seilbh, a herd of cattle at grass ; not used of a drove.

Teum éisg, one fish ; Tha teum éisg aige, he has one fish. Tha da theum aige, he has two fish. Not used of greater numbers.

Tigh na h-ùige, an inn, dram shop.

Urlar, the inside bottom of a boat ; a flat bottom in a glen or strath. Urlar a' Ghlinne, the bottom of the Glen. Urlar na Comraich, the fine flat dale of Strathmalcolm at Applecross. In the sense of floor, except in urlar bualaidh, the word is rarely if ever used. Làr is the word used if the floor is of earth, clay, or stone, and lobht if the floor, whether upstairs or downstairs, is of wood.

Mach, steach, muigh, stigh, are used correctly, the two first of motion, and the two latter of rest.

Shios and sios on this coast naturally mean west and westward respectively, that is, down the course of the streams and valleys, and shuas and suas, east and eastward. Yet 'Shios rathad Chataibh' (down the way of Sutherland) is the usual way of speaking of the part of Sutherlandshire on the Moray Firth. In Gairloch shios and shuas mean practically north and south. South Erradale, for example, in the south of the parish is called in Gaelic Eàrradal Shuas and Eàrradal a Deas, and North Erradale in the north is Eàrradal Shios and Earradal a Tuath. Am Baile Shuas and Am Baile Shios at Red Point furnish another instance, and a well-known local couplet says—

"Is fhad o lagh Diabaig
Is fhada shios Mealbhaig."
Far from law is Dibaig
Far north is Melvaig.

Lit., Far down is Melvaig.

JANUARY, 1901.

ANNUAL DINNER.

On account of the death of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, which took place this month, it was agreed that the annual dinner would not take place.

Digitized by Google

24th JANUARY, 1901.

At the meeting on this date the following elections were made:—Macpherson of Cluny, honorary member; Mr James Young, Cadboll, Fearn; Mr Malcolm C. Macleod, Dundee; and Mr Macpherson, Balabhaddan, Newtonmore, ordinary members. Thereafter a paper, contributed by Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, LL.D., of Drummond, and entitled "Neil Macleod, Last of Assynt," was read. The paper is as follows:—

NEIL MACLEOD, LAST OF THE MACLEODS OF ASSYNT.

THE case of Neil, last of the Macleods, Lairds of Assynt, has often been discussed, nevertheless when some time ago I became possessed of a MS. folio volume, running into 143 pages, consisting of authentic official extracts from the Scottish Records connected with Assynt, I felt after perusal they might form an interesting and authoritative paper, notwithstanding previous accounts of the family.

The first paper is a "Decreet of Certification, Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale against the creditors of the Estate of Assynt, dated at Edinburgh, 25th June, 1740," and extends to 66 pages, signed on each page "William Kirkpatrick."

The second document is "Extract registered Disposition by Roderick Mackenzie of Preston Hall, one of the Clerks of Session, in favour of Mr John Mackenzie," described as brother-german to Kenneth, Earl of Seaforth, and Prestonhall's nephew, dated Edinburgh, 4th August, 1688, recorded at Edinburgh, 22nd day of February, 1739. It extends to 28 pages, each one signed by "Alexander Home."

Third—"Extract Warrant by the Lords of Justiciary, dated 2nd February, 1677, upon the petition of Neil Macleod," consisting of one page, and extracted from the Records of the High Court of Justiciary by George Muir.

Fourth—"Proceedings in the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh, on the second day of February, 1674, in the Trial of Neil Macleod of Assynt, now prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, consisting of 9 pages, and signed on each page by George Muir.

Fifth—Extract of the verdict of Assize on the indictment against Neil Macleod, consisting of 2 pages, and signed by Robert Leith.

Digitized by Google

Sixth—Extract Decreet of Spuilzie, the said Neil Macleod against Sir William Sinclair of Mey and many others, dated Edinburgh, 18th November, 1692. It consists of 14 pages, and is signed by "William Kirkpatrick"; and

Seventh—Extract registered submission and decreet arbitor between Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat, and Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale, Hugh Fraser of Lovat, the eldest, and Roderick Mackenzie, the second lawful son of the said Alexander on the other part. Dated Edinburgh, 16th September, 1741. It consists of 23 pages, and is signed by "Hugh Forbes."

These papers throw a great deal of light upon many incidents in the career of Neil Macleod, whose misfortunes certainly greatly exceeded his faults. The undoubted betrayal of Montrose cannot be laid at Neil Macleod's door. It adds to our admiration and regret that the unhappy man, so far as is known, never, directly or indirectly, while denying the charges against himself, indicated the real culprit.

The name of Macleod is of Scandinavian origin, and the general idea is that the first Macleods settled in the great island of the Lews, of which North Harris forms part. From Harris descends the present Chiefs of Macleod.

Although the Lews Macleods possessed the greater estate, the Macleods of Dunvegan at an early period took up, and have maintained, the more prominent position. Dunvegan, issuing forth from the Isles, long kept a determined hold upon the Mainland in Glenelg, while, at the same time, the Macleods of Lews spread over the West Mainland of Sutherland and Ross.

It would be out of place in a paper like the present to determine, even if disposed, whether the Macleods of Lews or Harris were the elder branch, nor the exact position of the family of Macleod of Raasay. These three families have an unquestioned independent lineage of sufficient antiquity to satisfy even the most exacting.

At an early period the Macleods of Lews extended their grasp towards the adjacent Mainland of Sutherland and Ross, and settled in Assynt and Coigach, as also in Strathpeffer. Precisely as the Macdonalds and Macleans were eaten up by the Argylls, so the Macleods were treated by the Mackenzies.

The race of Torquil suffered severely. First the Lews fell, then the wily Tutor of Kintail got possession of Coigach, Strathpeffer, with the picturesque residence of Castle Leod, and others; and a junior branch, who, however, were not able to retain possession very long, as Highland families count, got Assynt. And it is to the Macleods of Assynt, and particularly the last, that this paper refers.

Digitized by Google

The Barony of Assynt, for some time part of the great domains of the House of Sutherland, was in itself a magnificent estate, little short, it is reputed, of 100,000 acres, with the combined advantages of mountain, dale, and muir, together with lochs and large sea frontage. In the ancient titles it is thus described:—

"All and Haill, these respective Towns and Lands formerly and of old called and reputed the Country and Barony of Assint, or Assin, comprehending therein the Towns and Lands and others after specified, vizt:—All and Haill, the Land of Assint, or Assin, Towns and Lands of Elvin, and Markie, Knockem, Cronald, Inverkirkiak, Hulliach, Knockanmaich, Inbeg, Assinbeg, Lochbenock, Doriglock, Drumsnordaven, Scutine, Inverbuddie, Dairack, Torbeach, Auldraw, Auchmalrush, Clashtooktone, Claishmore, Strichmacairnie, Clussness, Alennie, Drumbrick, Nuddie Glenreoch, Ardmore, Rinadie, Auchmore, Ardrach, Auchnegleeich, Inchnunald, Stroncalie, Laim, Leadonbeg, and Leadonmore. And siclike the whole other respective Towns, Lands, Grazings, Sheallings, Glens, Hills, Mountains and Valleys appertaining and belonging to the said Lands and Barony of Assin or Assint, Milns, Miln Lands, Multures, lucken and sequels of the same, with all and sundry lochs, rivers, and waters of and within the Town Lands, Baronies and others aforesaid belonging thereto and contiguous with the said Lands and on all sides thereof, particularly the water of Invercouloch and Inverkirkaich, with the salmon and other fishing great and small of and upon the said Lands waters and rivers, particularly and generally above mentioned, and on all other parts and sides of the same, with all other fishings as well in fresh as in salt waters appertaining to the said Towns, Lands and Baronies of Assin aforesaid, Lochs, waters, rivers, great and small thereof; together likewise with the Towers, fortalice and Mannor places respective of Assin, haill other houses, biggings, veards, orchyeards, tofts, crofts, outsetts, insetts, mosses, mures, marishes, parks, meadows, hainings, commonties, pasturages, grazings, sheallings, forrests, tenents, tenedries, and service of free tenents, woods, bushes, annexis, connexis, dependencies, creeks, havens, harbours, priviledges, casualities, parts, pendicles, and universall pertinents of the same haill and severall Towns, Lands, and others particularly and generally of the said old repute Barony of Assint, with their pertinents or that was, is, or shall be known to appertain and belong thereto in and by any manner of way whatever, or as the Towns, Lands, and others above mentioned with their pertinents are otherwise denominate and designed by the original

Digitized by Google

and late Rights and Infeftments thereof, and with all Rights, Meiths and Marches of the same. Together likewise with the advocation, donation and right of patronage of the Kirk and parishin of Assint, Chaplaincies, Prebendaries, bursaries and altarages of and within the samen and of and within the Towns, Lands, Baronies, and others foresaid of Assin pertaining and belonging thereto, and also the Teinds great and small as well parsonage as vicarage, fruits, rents, profites and casualties of the said kirks, parishes, chaplaincies, prebendaries, altarages, Towns, Lands and others foresaid included with the stock, and never to be separated therefrom now nor at any time hereafter, And siclike the heretable office of Bailliary of the Towns, Lands, and others above mentioned of the said Barony of Assint, with the Fees, casualties and profites, fines, mulcts, unlaws, amerciaments, herezelds of and belonging to the said office, all lying of old within the Sheriffdom of Inverness and now within the Sheriffdom of Sutherland."

It is generally agreed that the lands of Assynt first came to the Macleods by the marriage of Torquil Macleod of the Lews with the daughter and heiress of Macnicol, the old possessor of Assynt. This occurred early in the 14th century. Thereafter for a considerable period the line is somewhat obscured.

The principal Christian name of the proprietors was Neil, and they are sometimes described as "Neilsons," or "Nelsons." Donald Macleod of Assynt, sometimes called Neil's son, at others Nel's Son, was grandfather of the last Neil Macleod of Assynt, and first married to a daughter of Lord Raey, by whom he had two sons. Neil, the elder, and father of the last Neil, died during his father's life, leaving two sons—Neil, last of Assynt, and John —both infants. John, brother of Neil, was the first of the Macleods of Geanies, to which family reference is afterwards made.

Donald, grandfather of the last Neil, married, secondly, Miss Ross of Pitcalnie, by whom he had two sons—Donald-ban-oig, and Hugh, afterwards of Cambuscurry, formerly part of Pitcalnie.

Of the Cambuscurry family sprang Eneas Macleod of Cadboll, founder of that important family in Easter Ross, and now the only heritor of the name in either Ross, Cromarty, or Sutherland.

Neil Macleod, last of Assynt, having lost his father during infancy, was still young when his grandfather died, and, by the intrigues of his step-grandmother, her own children got possession of the estate, which they held for some time, so that Neil did not recover it until the year 1649. Thus, without any care or proper education, he became early plunged in difficulties, materi-

Digitized by Google

ally adding thereto by his unfortunate marriage with a daughter of John Munro of Lemlair—a family long extinct, and having no connection with the modern respectable family of Lemlair. Neil Macleod was still under age at the time of his marriage, and apparently afterwards had reason to regret his choice. The lady possessed some of the narrow Calvinistic views of the period, and was somewhat hostile to the Royalists and Cavaliers.

The real story of Montrose's betrayal must have been perfectly well known in the North. There can be little doubt that when Montrose was fugitive and starving—there is no truth in the statement that his alleged companion, the Earl of Kinnoull, died of starvation—he had, from dire necessity, to yield himself up to some of the country people, who brought him to Ardvrack, and to Mrs Macleod, her husband being then at least sixty miles away. Montrose's defeat had become well known, and, amongst others, to Captain Munro, then in the army of the usurper, who was in constant communication with his sister. Montrose was hurried off prisoner before Macleod's return, and the story that Montrose offered Neil a large sum to permit his escape to Caithness is a fable. Whether Montrose made any such proposal to Mrs Macleod cannot now be proved. If he had the least idea of her character he would have refrained from doing so.

Montrose was conveyed South with every expedition and indignity. He was confined one night at Skibo Castle. The next resting-place was Brahan Castle; and the following day Montrose was subjected to the further indignity of having his feet tied beneath a garron's belly, in which humiliating position he was led round by Beauly towards Inverness. Feeling much fatigued, Montrose was allowed to rest for a short time near a well at Muirtown, which is on the upper side of the high road to the Aird, nearly opposite the house formerly a toll-bar keeper's, and, refreshed by the water and rest, was able to face the passage through Inverness with equanimity. Provost Forbes, though a staunch Roundhead, considerately ordered wine and refreshment to be placed for him, where a temporary halt was made, and courteously said he was sorry for Montrose's misfortunes. Montrose replied, with his usual dignity, that he was sorry for his country, and declined the proferred hospitality. The late accomplished Hugh Robert Duff of Muirtown caused the well, where Montrose rested, to be handsomely enclosed as a fountain in remembrance of the great Royalist; but, whether when this was done the veins had been cut, or drainage had stopped the supply, there is at times little or no water in the well. Our late townsman, Mr Angus Bethune Reach, wrote early in the forties a but failed to trace it.

Digitized by Google

description rather high flown, but he was young, it will be remembered, and it was, I believe, his first literary attempt. I cannot say where it appeared; I thought it was in "Chambers' Journal."

The Earl of Seaforth, under colour of a commission from the Earl of Middleton, proceeded, in 1654, to Assynt, ostensibly to raise men for the Royal service, but Macleod had just cause for suspicion as to his real intentions, and raised men to oppose Seaforth, who declared that Neil did absolutely refuse to give any obedience to the King's commands, but, on the contrary, assisted the English rebels under command of General Morgan. Further, he conducted Morgan through Seaforth's country, and, when it was burnt and plundered, Neil drove away a great booty. These proceedings were among the crimes laid to Neil's charge when indicted, many years later, for the betrayal of Montrose.

Had Neil Macleod of Assynt been guilty of the betrayal of Montrose—the reference to recompence in the Records of Parliament are vague—the hearty steps taken after the Restoration, in 1660, to do honour to Montrose's memory, would have brought about an instant trial. Judges were at that time by no means too scrupulous in the manner of dealing with alleged crimes against the Royal cause and its supporters. Neil Macleod's enemies were busy attacking his estate; carefully laying out their plans, while the poor man had no friends save the Sutherlands and Macleods of Dunvegan, his foes were also of his own household. Old debts, fictitious and otherwise, were bought up, transferred to willing tools, and pursued to the adjudication stage.

Neil, however, showed fight against very heavy odds, and, his enemies taking advantage of the arbitrary conditions of Government growing more stringent and tyrannical every day, caused the apprehensions of Neil Macleod for the betrayal of Montrose and other crimes. Macleod remained in prison, without being brought to trial, for many months, and, while resolutely denying that he had betrayed Montrose, he pleaded that the indemnity promised by the treaty of Breda exempted him from all proceedings for crime committed prior thereto. This treaty proved a formidable obstacle to his prosecutors, and I learn from the Acts of Parliament, 1663, that the Scots law officers referred the matter to Charles II. as to whether Neil's prosecution should proceed. On 1st December, 1663, Neil presented a petition to the Privy Council mentioning how long he had been prisoner upon groundless allegations of his accession to the betrayal of Montrose. After consideration of medical certificates, the Privy Council agreed to release him on parole, provided he gave sufficient caution to give himself up when required. In this emer-

Digitized by Google

gency he found good friends in Colin Mackenzie of Logie and Captain William Hardie, who became sureties for him in the sum of £20,000 Scots.

Although Neil was thus released from custody, he still had the charge hanging over his head, and he was not permitted full liberty until 1666, when Charles II. sent an imperative order to the Privy Council, in terms much to his credit, dated at Whitehall, 20th February, forbidding further proceedings against Neil.

Unfortunately, after Neil's release and return to the North, the wrongs he had endured evidently rankled in his breast, and he acted in very arbitrary fashion. Harassed and hard pressed upon every hand, by Mackenzies and his own relatives, the need of money rendered him desperate, so he levied exorbitant rates upon all vessels which touched or cast anchor in any of the numerous bays which intersected the great stretch of coast line of his property. When they refused to pay, as in the case of Captain John Ker, the men of Assynt, whether acting under the directions of Neil or not, seized them and held them captives until they acceded to the demand made upon them. Such proceedings as these strengthened the hands of Neil's enemies, and, in 1670, when the Mackenzies matured their plans, they procured letters of ejection against him. To resist them, Neil garrisoned the Castle of Ardvrack with his kinsmen, the Slioch-Ean-Abrachs, and the end of the matter was that Seaforth procured a commission of fire and sword against him. At the head of 800 men, Seaforth marched into Assynt, provided with cannon and other necessaries of war, but the House of Ardvrack held out against him for fourteen days, Neil, it was said, encouraging the garrison by lying near at hand with upwards of 400 men. As a result of Seaforth's operations, Neil fled into Caithness, but was apprehended by Sir William Sinclair of Mey, who raised a great number of Caithness men to effect his capture. He was sent South to Edinburgh, and confined in the Tolbooth.

The ruin of Neil was now determined upon, and he was indicted on the old charge of having betrayed Montrose. When the trial took place, in February, 1674, Alexander Graham of Drynie, a creature of Seaforth's, and the Earl's Chamberlain in Assynt, laid an information against him. But, as delay prejudicial to Neil was countenanced, the Laird petitioned that he might be brought to trial, and the Lords of Council acceded to his request, ordering his prosecution by the King's Advocate, upon information to be received from Seaforth, at whose instance he was imprisoned, the Earl being obliged to allow him six shillings per diem as aliment until he was brought to a legal trial.

Digitized by Google

It is thus clear who was the prime mover in the attempt to convict Neil, and render him dead in the eyes of the law. The following Indictment was brought against him. [It has already been several times published; but, as it is not generally accessible, the main facts may be briefly referred to.] Neil was accused, in the first place, of treason, and, as an aggravation thereof, that he "most perfidiouslie, threcherouslie, baslie, and inhumanlie" took and apprehended James, late Marquess of Montrose under trust whilst he was invested with his Majestie's Commission, and delivered him to the rebels, his Majesties's enemies, by whom the said Marquess was "cruellie and inhumanlie murdered." For which Neil received 400 boll of meal as a reward. In the earlier prosecution he was accused of receiving money. Neil was also accused of convocation of the lieges and opposition to Seaforth in 1654, as well as being concerned in the plundering of the Mackenzie lands, along with General Morgan. He was charged with oppressing subjects, by levying heavy unlawful taxation upon ships which put into Lochinver, inasmuch as he exacted from every ship that fished in the loch, or touched ground, 3s 6d per last, one barrel of ale for his own use, another barrel for the use of his bailie, with a pair of shoes and 4s nightly during the time the said ships lay within the said loch. The most heinous offence alleged against him in this connection was the violent kidnapping of Captain John Ker, who refused to accede to the demands made upon him. Ker was taken inland, and kept a prisoner in remote mountains and caves until he purchased his freedom with a sum of money, but there was no proof that Neil was directly concerned in this affair. Ker, after the treatment he had received, put to sea in a storm, and perished with all his company. Another point of the dittay was the garrisoning of Ardvrack Castle in 1670, when he resisted and deforced the Sheriff of Sutherland, who sought, at the instance of Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat and John Mackenzie, son of Seaforth, to eject Neil, his bairns, and servants from the castle. He was further accused of rendering assistance to the garrison, by having several companies of armed men drawn up in military array within sight of the place, it being alleged that members of the garrison tried to brain the Sheriff with a great stone, hurled from the battlements, and that they presented guns at him. Neil was put to the horn on 28th February, 1671, and declared fugitive for these crimes committed by him and his adherents. Further, that in 1672, when Seaforth and Lord Lovat, etc., received letters of fire and sword against him, he raised, it was alleged, 400 men in arms, displayed his

Digitized by Google

colours, and swore them to the same, placing men, arms, and every necessary of war within Ardvrack. When required to render the house of Ardvrack, Neil's men declared they would maintain the place for the Laird of Assynt to the last drop of their blood, and cared not a plack for the King, only yielding after fourteen days' siege, Neil being forced into Caithness. It was, therefore, urged that the doings of the laird and his adherents involved the "loss of life," lands, and goods, which ought to be inflicted upon him with rigour, to the terror and example of others.

Neil Macleod had able advocates in Messrs John Elies and Robert Colt; they debated the various points of the dittay with great skill, and, as a result, the prosecution abandoned the charge in connection with Montrose, save only as an aggravation of the other crimes. As to the treatment of Kerr, it was asserted for the defendant that in levying rates he had acted quite within his rights as a free baron, but an alibi was pleaded in regard to other points. The Lords of Justiciary therefore deserted the diet as to the taxing of subjects, and, in connection with the maintaining of Ardvrack against the Sheriff of Sutherland, "found the same not relevant to infer the conclusion of the libel," their interlocutor being favourable to Macleod on some of the points. With regard to garrisoning Ardvrack, after publication of the letters of fire and sword, they found the charge relevant, and such as should be tried by Assize.

After much debate upon the various points, witnesses were called to prove the convocation of the lieges, the swearing of them to the colours, the garrisoning of Ardvrack, and resistance to the King's commission. Macleod unsuccessfully protested against the admission of the evidence of an Assynt man, who bore the formidable patronymic of Donald M'Ean, vic Connel, vic Kynoch, alias Macleod. This man alleged that Macleod raised the three hundred men and put them under officers, that they had a staff instead of colours, which they touched, swearing to be true to them; that the garrison was under the captaincy of John M'Connell, vic Ean, vic Corkell, the tenant and son-in-law of the laird. Another Assynt witness, Angus Miller in Auchmore, deposed to the same effect, with this addition, that he stated Neil placed eighteen men in the house for its defence, providing them with bere and cowes, and some aqua vita—but little of it! Donald Bayn and John Fraser, both of Dingwall, testified to seeing the Assynt men drilled and under arms.

When the Court met, on 19th February, 1674, several of those upon the Assize absented themselves, and were fined in 200 merks each for their contumacy. Sir George Mackenzie of Tar-

Digitized by Google

bat had some apprehensions that, notwithstanding the elaborate precautions taken to secure Neil's conviction, he would be acquitted. So, on the following day, when the Court met, he asked, before the verdict was given, that the Chancellor of the Assize might declare whether they had not taken notice of the commission of fire and sword, and, if not, it was craved that they might yet take notice thereof. The following is Extract of the Verdict of Assize against Neil Macleod of Assint, 1674:—

"Att Edinburgh the eighteenth day of February one thousand six hundred and twenty four years. The underwritten persons being chosen to pass upon Assize of Neil Macleod of Assint did chuse for their Chancellor Mr James Ellis of Stenhouse milns and gave their verdict ut infra:—

Mr Jas. Ellis of Stenhouse, Miln Chancellor.
Sir Alex. Macculloch of Ardwell.
James Fleming, Merchant.
John M'Clurg, Merchant.
Robert Childers, Merchant.
Jas. Summerwell of Drum.
George Galbraith, Merchant.
Mr Robert Smith of Southfield.
Mr Alex. Paterson, Merchant.
Mr John Paip of Walliford.
John Watson of Damhead.
Bartholomew, Merchant.
Robert Stadayside, Merchant.
Thomas Noble, Merchant.
Mr Robert Blackwood, Merchant.

The assyze all in one voice (one only excepted) assoilzie the Pannel Neil Macleod of Assint from the Crimes contained in the two Members of the last Article viz.: That the pannel after the publication of the commission for Fire and Sword did raise and levy one hundred men and upwards in arms and put them under officers and military Discipline, or swore them to Collours or had them under Collours or drilled them, or put them under Monthly or weekly pay. As also that after the publication of the said Commission of Fire and Sword, the pannel stuffed, provided and garrisoned the house of Ardvrack and in respect the publication of the Commission for fire and sword is not proven, as also assoilized the pannel from the taking of Captain Kerr contained in the fourth Article in regard not proven; as also assoilizies the pannel from the Deforcement mentioned in the Sixth Article

Digitized by Google

because not proven (signed Jas. Ellis Chanc.) Extracted from the Records of the Court of Justiciary.

By (signed) Robert Leith."

From the above it will be seen that one juryman of the 15 (Mr Robert Blackwood) was for conviction.

After his release, among those who assisted Neil was Macleod of Dunvegan, who advanced him money for the purpose of enabling him to take legal steps to recover his property. On 5th December, 1681, John Macleod of Dunvegan granted a bond in favour of Neil, wherein he declares that certain dispositions were granted to him by Neil for the prosecuting of certain actions then depending before the Lords of Session at Assynt's instance, and for pursuing all such other actions as should be thought necessary for evicting the Estate of Assynt from the then possessors, and for compelling them to accompt and denude themselves of the said estate. He also obliges himself to pursue and follow forth the said actions to a final determination, and to make payment yearly of four hundred merks for Assynt's aliment during the dependence thereof. Further, he obliges himself that, upon performance of these conditions, that as soon as he should attain to possession of the said estate he would grant and deliver a valid disposition thereof to Neil Macleod containing a precept of sasine and other necessary clauses upon condition of Assynt's making payment to him of all sums he should disburse with annual rents thereof, and of the sum of twenty thousand merks, or adequate security. A bond of 1st July, 1690, proves that Macleod of Dunvegan had laid out 6506 marks for behoof of Neil.

When driven by Seaforth from house and home, Neil Macleod took, as he supposed, refuge in Caithness, having no property but his titles and writs. This step, however was according to the old saying, "merely from the frying pan into the fire." The inveterate hostility of the Mackenzies never slumbered, and Neil had hardly set foot in Caithness, as we have seen, ere he was seized and robbed of his papers by a parcel of Caithness men incited by Seaforth, headed by Sir William Sinclair of Mey, and including Kenneth, Earl of Seaforth, and Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat. So, for this robbery, he instituted, in 1692, a Process of Spuilzie against the Earl of Seaforth, and about fifty others, for damages to the extent of 200,000 marks. In this Process the Writs taken from him are enumerated, beginning with Charter by Roderick Macleod of Lewes to Neil Macleod and his son, Angus, of the lands of Assynt, 2nd June, 1496, and extend over 200 items, a most interesting paper, but hardly suit-

Digitized by Google

able for reading on the present occasion. The next Earl of Seaforth, on his father's death, sisted himself party to the action, and neither Seaforth nor Lord Tarbat came out well in their examinations in the affair, Seaforth escaping by the skin of his teeth, as it were, while the other defenders were cast in 2000 marks damages, a mere trifle compared with the expenses incurred.

Neil Macleod lived for some years after the date of his obtaining decree in the action of Spuilzie on 18th November, 1692, and died in extreme poverty.

After all the struggles to crush Neil Macleod, ultimately crowned with success, let us see how it fared with the Mackenzies. Presumably, not feeling comfortable at Ardvrack, they built a new house not far distant, sometimes called "Calda," sometimes "The White House." This is a common, though largish, house, while Ardvrack is striking and picturesque. Retribution followed speedily. The Mackenzies never had any peace, were drowned in debt, and, in the time of Kenneth Mackenzie, son of the first John Mackenzie of Assynt, as early as 1741 matters had come to a crisis, and they had practically lost Assynt. The Mackenzies also possessed the lands of Killilan of Kintail, which are thus described:—

"All and Haill the Towns and Lands after mentioned which are parts and portions of the Lands, Lordship or Barony of Kintail, viz. the Town and Lands of Killylane, Wester Killylane, Easter Pharloch and Kilby, and haill houses, biggings, yeards, barns, byres, tofts, crofts, outfield Lands, Infield Lands, delvings, sheallings, Grazings, meadows, mosses, muirs, marishes, woods, fishings in fresh and salt waters, priviledges, pasturages, commonties, parts, pendicles & universal pertinents of the same, with the Teinds (parsonage and vicarage), of the said Lands, lying within the parish of Kintail and Sheriffdom of Ross."

Has Assynt been a success with the Sutherlands, who followed the Mackenzies? Well, they built what might be termed a palace at Lochinver, but it is now an hotel. Ardvrack is referred to in many books relative to the county of Sutherland, generally inaccurately, but seldom in so credulous a fashion as by Mr Charles Richard Weld in his "Two Months' Tour in the Highlands," published by Longman, in 1860. Here is one paragraph:—"The Castle of Ardvrack was reduced to its present condition by lightning, a just judgment in the estimation of the peasants for Macleod's treachery."

Digitized by Google

A fair description is given by Mr Archibald Young, Commissioner of Fisheries, in his book, entitled "Anglers' and Sketchers' Guide to Sutherland":—

"For grilse and sea trout, the best locality is the rocky shore below the high road between the head of the loch and Ardvrack Castle; for the great lake trout, the steep, wooded crag on the opposite shore, beneath which the water is very deep; and for common trout, the bays around and below Ardvrack Castle. On the south shore of Loch Assynt, not far from the head, there is a point where the loch, Inchnedamph Inn, the hill behind it, and the towering summit of Benmore combine to form an attractive picture. But by far the finest view of Loch Assynt to be had in the neighbourhood is from summit between the Inn and Ardvrack Castle, where a bay of the loch, the picturesque old castle on its rock peninsula, the bold peaks and grey rugged sides of Quinag, and the wide expanse of the loch beyond, bounded by lower hills, afford admirable materials for a picture. Ardvrack Castle was erected about the end of the sixteenth century by the Macleods, who were then Lords of Assynt, and appears to have been once strongly built and well fortified."

"Not far from Ardvrack Castle, and also on the shores of Loch Assynt, stands the ruins of Calda House, a more modern residence, built by the Mackenzies, who succeeded the Macleods as Lairds of Assynt. It was destroyed by fire about a hundred and thirty years ago (1750), and nothing but the bare walls now remain."

Like most old castles, Ardvrack has its ghostly traditions, one of them, communicated by Mr Macleod, Sub-Inspector of the Scottish Education Department, Glasgow, who had sent a fine photograph of the houses of Ardvrack and Calda, now exhibited. Mr Macleod contributed an interesting paper some years ago to "The Highland Monthly," entitled "A Ceilidh" about Ardvrack, and, in his present letter, says:—"The Castle and its neighbourhood are, of course, haunted, and many are the tales even yet told, at the Ceilidh of ghosts and other supernatural beings. If I had more time I should like to have told fully the last scene in the history of Ardvrack. A ball was held on Saturday night, and continued till the early hours of Sunday. As the grey dawn of the Sabbath smote the Castle windows, heavy curtains were drawn over them to keep out the light, and the cocks' tongues cut out to prevent their crowing at dawn. Then there was a quarrel, and before the dispute was decided the devil had to be called in. Appearing, but annoyed at the disturbance,

Digitized by Google

Auld Nick, after giving judgment, left his mark, for on Sunday morning the Castle was in flames."

This story I have often heard as a boy, leaving a lasting impression. The photograph, made as late as 1874, shows, notwithstanding considerably over a century's neglect, the wonderful building power of the Macleods, as seen also in Castle Leod, Dunvegan, Rodil Church, etc., etc. In concluding this paper, I have been obliged to curtail a deal of interesting matter, but I hope that the subject may yet be dealt with in the fulness it deserves.

The Macleods of Geanzies, descended of John, brother of Neil, last of Assynt, flourished and were held in much respect from the time of John the first to that of Sheriff Donald Macleod. After his death the estate was sold, but the reputation of the family continued, and attained a high position in the person of the Sheriff's grandson, the late distinguished officer, Sir Donald Macleod, C.B., K.C.B., who, after 42 years' service in India, fell victim, after his return, to a railway accident.

The family of Cadboll, thanks to the prudence of Eneas, the first, a pawky Clerk of Session, descended of an uncle of Neil's, have maintained their position.

The Macleods, who can justly claim to be of the House of Assynt, are considerable, and hold their own. I particularly desire to mention the name of a friend of old standing, an enthusiastic and devoted Highlander, gifted with a ready tongue, and incisive, fair, and independent spirit. I refer to Mr I. Mackenzie Macleod, so well known as "Loch Broom," long the head of the cordial, hearty Celts of Liverpool.

The Neilsons of Assynt are not all dead—far from it.

21st FEBRUARY, 1901.

The paper for this meeting was a contribution by the Rev. John MacRury, Snizort, Skye, and entitled "O Chionn Leth Cheud Bliadhna" (Fifty Years Ago)—No. II. The paper is as follows:—

O CHIONN LEITH CHEUD BLIADHNA.

II.

Thug mi seachad cunntas an uiridh air beagan dhe na dòigheen anns am biodh na Gàidheil a bh' anns na h-Eileanan an Iar a' cur seachad nan oidhcheannan fada geamhraidh, agus

Digitized by Google

anns a' phaipear so feumaidh mi beagan a radh mu thimchoill na h-obrach a bhiodh aca a shamhradh 's de gheamhradh.

Tha h-uile aobhar againn a bhith 'creidsinn gu 'n robh na Gàidheil a bha anns gach cearn dhe 'n t-saoghal o chionn leith cheud bliadhna fad' air thoiseach, ann an iomadh dòigh, air mòran dhe na Gàidheil a tha 'n diugh beò. Tha fhios againn nach bi cuid de dhaoine òga na duthchadh deònach so a chreidsinn; ach tha e fìor gu leòr. Ann an iomadh seòrsa foghlum tha Gàidheil an latha 'n diugh fad' air thoiseach air na daoine o 'n d' thainig iad. Ach tha foghlum is foghlum ann. Tha foghlum ann a gheibh daoine o bhith 'leughadh leabhraichean, agus tha foghlum ann a gheibh daoine o bhith 'gabhail beachd le aire agus le cùram air gach ni a tha mu 'n cuairt dhaibh anns a' chruthachadh. Na daoine a tha fìor fhoghluimte tha iad a' faotainn am foghlum araon o bhith 'leughadh leabhraichean, agus mar an ceudna o bhith 'gabhail beachd gu dlùth air oibribh a' chruthachaidh agus an fhreasdail.

O chionn leith cheud bliadhna bha aon duine a' deanamh uiread obrach 's a ni dithis an diugh, no triuir, ged theireamaid e. Tha cuid a' cumail am mach gu 'n robh na daoine a bh' ann 's an àm ud mòran na bu treise, na bu chruadalaiche, agus air an aobhar sin, mòran na b' fhulangaiche air obair throm a dheanamh na tha na daoine a tha 'n diugh beò. Tha cuid eile a' cumail am mach nach robh an sluagh ann an cumantas dad air thoiseach air sluagh an latha 'n diugh. Biodh so mar a thogras e, ach feumar aideachadh gu 'n robh na daoine a dh' fhalbh a' gabhail saothair glé mhòr ris gach obair a bhiodh aca ri dheanamh. Cha 'n ann ri 'fhaicinn is còir duine a ghabhail idir. Is minic a chunnacas duine mòr, trom, làidir, a bha glé leasg, lunndach. Mar a tha 'n sean-fhacal ag radh, "Is fhearr am beag seadhach na 'n draghaiche mòr, mi-ghnìomhach."

Bhiodh na daoine air am bheil cuimhne agamsa o chionn leith cheud bliadhna—tha mi 'ciallachadh na seann daoine, agus na daoine a ràinig aois fearachais—ag obair gu dìchiollach aig gach àm dhe 'n bhliadhna. An àm a' gheamhraidh, bhiodh iad ag obair am muigh nam b' urrainn daibh an aghaidh a thoirt am mach air dorus. Bhiodh iad a' feamanadh a h-uile latha, nam biodh feamainn air a' chladach. Bhiodh muinntir gach baile a' deanamh rathaid a dh' ionnsuidh a' bhlair mhònadh, a chum nach biodh uiread aca ri dheanamh dheth an uair a thigeadh àm tarruinn na mònadh. Ar neo mur biodh an aimsir freagarrach air son a leithid so a dh' obair, bhiodh iad a' càradh an rathaid mhoir a bha 'dol troimh 'n bhaile. Anns an àm bha muinntir gach baile a' deanamh agus a' cumail suas an cuid rathaid fhein.

Digitized by Google

Rachadh iad gu deònach, aontach, ann an ceann na h-obrach, agus eadhoin ann an latha goirid geamhraidh dheanadh iad obair mhath.

An latha nach biodh e 'n comas do dhaoine an aghaidh a thoirt am mach air dorus, gheibheadh iad obair gu leòr anns na taighean. Bhiodh gach fear, ach fear ainneamh, a' snìomh shìomain. Bha am pailteas de mhuran ri fhaotainn; agus an uair a bhiodh e seachdain no dhà sgaoilte ann an àite tioram, blàth, ghabhadh e snìomh 'na shìoman caol, grinn. Anns an àm cha robh na pocannan ach ainneamh ri 'm faicinn. Cha robh a' bheag a dh' eòlas aig daoine 's an àm air a' mhin Ghallda, agus bha sin cho math. O chionn leith cheud bliadhna b' ainneamh duine a bha 'cur feum oirre. An àite nam pocannan a tha nis tuilleadh is lionmhor anns gach cearn dhe 'n Ghàidhealtachd, b' iad na plàtaichean-muillinn a bh' aig gach tuathanach beag a bh' anns an dùthaich. Chunnaic mise mòran dhiubh air an snìomh 's air am fighe 's air am fuaghal. An uair a bhiodh an gràn air a chruadhachadh 's air a ghlanadh, chuirteadh anns na plàtaichean e gus a dhol do 'n mhuillean leis. Ghabhadh iad mu dheich peiceannan an té. Agus mu 'n cuairt a' bheòil aca bha sia cluasan, mar a theirteadh ris na dulan leis am biodh na beòil aca air an dùnadh.

Theirteadh na plàtaichean-muillinn riutha, a chum deal-achadh ainme a thoirt dhaibh o na plàtaichean-feamann. Bhiodh na plàtaichean-feamann fo 'n t-srathair 's fo na cléibh an uair a bhiodh daoine—mar a bha cumanta gu leòr o chionn leith cheud bliadhna—a' feamanadh, no a' tarruinn mhònadh, leis na cleibh no a' dol do 'n mhuillean leis na saic ghràin ann am plàtaichean.

Ann an iomadh àite cha robh am muran furasda ri fhaotainn, agus bhiodh iomadh fear a' deanamh phlàtaichean dhe 'n t-sìoman a bhiodh e 'snìomh dhe 'n chonnlaich choirce. B' e an coirce beag—no mar a theirear ris ann an iomadh àite—an coirce dubh, a bha daoine 'cur mar bu trice anns an àm ud. Cha 'n fhàsadh an coirce mòr—'s e sin an coirce geal—gu math idir anns na h-Eilean an Iar. Cha ghabhadh an coirce mòr biadh anns an àite cho math ris a' choirce bheag, agus idir cha bhiodh e abaich cho luath ris.

Bhiodh na mnathan gu trang a' snìomh 's a' càrdadh 's a' figheadh nan stocainnean an uair a bhiodh na fir a' snìomh mhurain, no snìomh chonnlaich, no snìomh fhraoich. Bhiodh am fraoch air a shnìomh cha b' ann a mhàin gus na taighean 's na cruachan a shìomanachadh, ach mar an ceudna gus teaghraichean a dheanamh do chrodh 's do dh' eich, agus gus buill a

Digitized by Google

dheanamh do na h-eithrichean. Is minic a chunnaic mi eithrichean air an acaire agus ball làidir cheithir dual de shìoman fraoich 'g an cumail.

Is minic a chaidh mi do thaighean an uair a bhiodh an obair so a' dol air aghart. Is gann gu 'm faighinn a dh' ionnsuidh an teine. Air bathais an urlair, an taobh shìos dhe 'n teine, bhiodh fear an taighe 'na shuidhe air sunnaig, agus sopag fhraoich fo 'n ioscaid chli aige, agus cuach mhòr fhraoich aig a laimh dheis. Bhiodh bean an taighe 'na suidhe an taobh shuas dhe 'n teine aig a' chuibhil, agus i 'snìomh gu trang. Eadar an teine 's an dreseir bhiodh te dhe na h-igheanan gu trang a' cardadh. Bhiodh triuir no cheathrar de ghillean òga a' bhaile 'nan suidhe air a' bheingidh, agus bhiodh fear ma seach dhiubh ag innseadh naigheachdan, no a' gabhail sgeulachd, no a' seinn fidhle no feadain.

An uair a thigeadh an t-earrach 's a dh' fhàsadh an latha rudeiginn fada, thòisicheadh an obair am muigh. Bhiodh gach fear, agus gach té a dheanadh obair nan leigeadh obair an taighe leotha a dhol am mach—am muigh a h-uile latha a b' urrainn daibh a dhol am mach. Bheairticheadh na boirionnaich na h-eich anns na cairtean agus anns an acfhuinn chliabh a cheart cho math ris na firionnaich fhein. An àm a bhith lionadh nan cairtean no nan cliabh anns a' chladach fheamann, no anns an torr as cionn a' chladaich, dh' oibricheadh iomadh té dhe na boirionnaich le gràpa no le còcan a cheart cho math ri iomadh firionnach. An uair a bhiodh na firionnaich air an t-sliabh a' socrachadh na talmhainn, a' sgaoileadh na feamann, a' bristeadh air talamh, no a' taomadh a' bhuntàta, bhiodh na boirionnaich a' falbh leis na cairtean a bhiodh a' tarruinn na feamann o 'n chladach a dh' ionnsuidh an t-sléibhe far am biththeadh deanamh a' buntàta. An uair a thigeadh àm cur a' buntàta, bhiodh gach té le a sgùirt bhuntàta an crochadh air a beulaobh a' cur a' buntàta leis a' phleidheig.

Tha cuimhne glé mhath agam gur e m' athair a' cheud fhear anns an duthaich a thug deich tasdain fhichead de dhuais do shearbhanta 's an leith bhliadhna. Agus is e dh' fhàg mo chuimhne cho math air, gu 'n robh iomadh duine diùmbach dheth a chionn gu 'n àrdaich e an tuarasdal. B' e an turasdal cumanta a bha searbhantan a' faotainn anns an àm, punnd Sasunnach, no còig tasdain fhichead! Tha na searbhantan 's an àm so a' faotainn sia puinnd Shasunnach, agus cuid dhiubh cho àrd ri ochd puinnd Shasunnach; ach cha 'n 'eil aon té dhiubh, gabhaidh mi orm a ràdh, a dheanadh obair nan searbhantan aig nach robh ach punnd Sasunnach, no còig tasdain fhichead. Ged

Digitized by Google

a bha am biadh a bha luchd-muinntir 's an àm ud a' faotainn math gu leòr, cha 'n aithne dhomh gu 'm bheil duine anns an dùthaich a thairgeadh a leithid do 'n aon a's suaraiche dhe 'n cuid sheirbhiseach is shearbhantan.

Cha robh tuarasdal nan seirbhiseach dad air thoiseach air an tuarasdal a bha na searbhantan a' faotainn. B' e dà phunnd 's a' deich 's an leith bhliadhna, no còig puinnd Shasunnach 's a' bhliadhna, an tuarasdal cumanta a bha seirbhisich a' faotainn. Is math a b' aithne dhomh a' cheud fhear a fhuair ochd puinnd Shasunnach 's a' bhliadhna! Bha e air fear obrach cho calama 's cho làidir 's cho dìleas 's a chunnaic mi riamh. B' ann aig Fear Bhaile nan Cailleach a bha e. Agus mu 'n soilleiricheadh an latha bhiodh e am mach le 'dhà chairt a' feamanadh, no le dheadh chàraid each a' treabhadh. Cha bhlaiseadh e air cupa tì ann an taigh a mhaighstir fad na bliadhna. Cha robh seirbhiseach no searbhanta a' faotainn deur tì o mhaighstir sam bith. Gheibheadh iad an sàth de bhuntàta 's de dh' iasg, nam biodh e ri fhaotainn, no de dh' aran 's de bhrochan, no de bhròs 's de bhainne. Gheibheadh iad uair is uair ìm leis an aran 's leis a' bhuntàta. Anns a' gheamhradh agus 's an earrach, bhiodh na seirbhisich a' bualadh le sùiste ann an t-sabhal an déigh dhaibh tighinn o 'n obair latha gus am biodh e ochd uairean a dh' oidhche. Ach ged a bha an tuarasdal beag, agus am biadh gu h-olc an coimeas ris a' bhiadh a tha luchd-muinntir a' faotainn o mhaighstirean 's an àm so, bha an luchd-muinntir na b' fhearr gu cosnadh, agus mòran na bu dìsle 's na bu dùrachdaiche na tha luchd-muinntir an latha 'n diugh.

B' iad seirbhisich is searbhantan na tuatha a b' fhearr biadh, mar bu trice, na seirbhisich is searbhantan nan tuathanach móra; oir bhiodh an aon seòrsa bìdh aca, mar bu trice, 's a bhiodh aig am maighstirean.

Anns an àm ud bha suidheachadh na Gàidhealtachd air iomadh dòigh glé dhealaichte o mar a tha e aig an àm so. Bha pìos mòr de mhonadh aig a h-uile baile tuatha. Theirteadh, "An cul-cinn" ris a' mhonadh so. Ann am mios meadhanach an t-samhraidh bha crodh a' bhail a' dol a dh' ionnsuidh a' chul-cinn. Bha àiridhean air an togail as ùr gach bliadhna. Bhiodh gach té dhe gach àiridh dhiubh so eadar a h-uile dithis no triuir dhe 'n tuath, agus bhiodh mar so dithis no triuir de nigheanan a' cadal annta gach oidhche fad na h-ùine a bhiodh crodh a' bhaile air a' chul-chinn. Bha mu shia troidhean air leud, agus mu dheich troidhean air fad, anns gach àiridh. Bha na ballachan aca air an togail dhe na pluic a bha air an gearradh as an riasg a bha faisge air laimh. Bha dà stuaidh agus dà dhorus orra. Bha

Digitized by Google

na dorsan mu choinneamh a chéile, air dhoigh 's gu 'n dùinteadh an dorus air am biodh a' ghaoth. Cha robh comhlachan riutha idir. Bha iad air an dùnadh le pluic. Bha cabar fada 'na mhaide-droma air na h-àiridhean, agus ceann dheth air gach stuaidh. Agus bha cabar chaola, no bùird thana, eadar barr na tobhtadh agus am maide-droma. Bha iad air an sgrathadh cho math 's nach fhaigheadh boinne uisge trompa na'n lugha na bhiodh uisge anabarrach trom ann. A bharrachd air so bha leaba de phluic anns dara ceann dhe 'n àiridh, agus aite teine ris a' bhalla anns a' cheann eile dhith. O 'n a bhiodh a' chonnlach mar bu trice gann mu 'n àm ud dhe 'n bhliadhna, b' e luachair is fraoch a bhiodh anns an leabaidh. Bhiodh na h-igheanan a' cheart cho toilichte anns na h-àiridhean so 's ged a bhiodh iad anns na taighean cho math 's a bh' anns an dùthaich.

Bha an àiridh anns am biodh na laoigh, agus an àiridh anns am biodh am bainne, air an deanamh air an aon dòigh ris na h-àiridhean eile.

An uair a bhleoghnadh na h-igheanan an crodh, a dheanadh iad an càise, agus am maistreadh, nam biodh e ri dheanamh, dh fhalbhadh iad gu sunndach, cabhagach thun a' bhaile, agus ìm is blàthach, no bainne togalach aca ann an cuinneig 's imideal m' a beul. An déigh dhaibh còig no sia de mhiltean a dheanamh, bhiodh iad aig na taighean eadar deich is aon uair deug 's a' mhadainn. Agus gun mòran fois a ghabhail rachadh iad thun a' mhachaire a dh' obair air glanadh a' bhuntàta, no air ceilp. An uair a bheireadh iad greis mhath air obair thilleadh iad dhachaidh, agus an uair a ghabhadh iad greim bidh, dh' fhalbhadh iad, agus eallaich fheoir air am muin gu sunndach àird fheasgair, agus an uair a ruigeadh iad a' bhuaile 's a gheibheadh iad an crodh 's a bhleoghnadh iad iad 's a shuidhicheadh iad am bainne, ghabhadh iad mu thamh. Chaidleadh iad cho trom ris a' chloich, na 's lugha na ruigeadh an cuid leannan iad anns an oidhche, mar is minic a rinn iad.

Anns an àm ud b' ann am measraichean a bhiodh am bainne air a shuidheachadh. Cha robh soithichean suidheachaidh eile cumanta 's an àm idir. Ged a bhiodh na soithichean suidheachaidh a tha cho pailt 'n ar latha-ne ann 's an àm ud, cha chreideadh daoine gu 'n cuireadh am bainne a bhiodh air a shuidheachadh annta a' bheag a dh' uachdar dheth. Tha seanfhacal ann a tha 'g radh, "Is e màs giuthais agus clàr dàraich a's fhearr a chuireas uachdar dheth."

Anns an àm ud bha cùbairean anns gach cearn dhe 'n Ghàidhealtachd; oir dh' fheumadh daoine iomadh seòrsa soithich, mar a bha tubachan is ballainn is cuinneagan is còideanan is

Digitized by Google

measraichean is cumain is crnnachain. B' e an còidhean an soitheach anns am bithteadh a' gleidheadh an uachdair. Bha 'n còidhean glé choltach ris a' chuinneig; oir bha iad le chéile cumhang anns a' bheul, agus farsuinn anns a mhàs. Ach b' e an còidhean bu chuinge beul. B' e an t-aobhar a bh' air a shon so, gu 'n cumadh soitheach le beul cumhang an t-uachdar, an uair a bhithteadh 'g a chruinneachadh, o dhroch bhlas a ghabhail. Bhiodh a' chuinneag feumail air son tarruinn dhachaidh an uisge as an tobar, agus an àm a bhith 'toirt dhachaidh a' bhainne as a' bhuailidh. Bhiodh imideal air a cheangal gu teann le sreing air beul na cuinneig, agus bhiodh i air a giùlan dhachaidh ann an cliabh beag, no air a ceangal gu teann ann am beannaig (shawl) an uair a bhiodh na h-igheanan a' toirt a' bhainne dhachaidh as a' bhuaile.

Fad an t-samhraidh 's an fhoghair an uair a bhiodh am bainne pailt, agus ma dh' fhaoidteadh iasg agus maorach ri fhaotainn, b' e fìor bheagan de dh' ìm 's de chàise a bhiodh air a chosg ann an taigh sam bith ach taigh ainneamh, na's lugha na thigeadh coigreach no caraid thun an taighe. Ach an uair a dh' fhasadh am bainne gann, bheirteadh lamh air an ìm 's air a' chàise. Cha b' ann ag òl a' bhainne bhlàth agus ag itheadh an ime cho luath 's a dheanadh iad e a bhiodh daoine 's an àm ud idir mar a tha iad an diugh. Cha robh guth no iomradh anns an àm air ìm no air càise Gallda; agus tha aobhar againn a bhith 'creidsinn nach blaiseadh iad air a h-aon diubh, ged a bhiodh iad ann gus an cur 'nan tairgseadh.

Bha fir is mnathan, sean is òg, aig an àm ud air an comhdachadh leis an aodach a bhiodh na mnathan a' deanamh. B' ainneamh duine am measg na tuath chumanta air am faicteadh ball de dh' aodach Gallda. Gun teagamh dh' fheumadh iad gach comhdach cinn a bhiodh a dhith orra a cheannach, agus anart a dheanadh leintean geala do na fir, agus curraicean do na mnathan. Bhiodh currac briagha, geal, glan air a h-uile té cho luath 's a phòsadh i ged nach biodh i ochd bliadhna deug a dh' aois. B' ann mar so a dh' aithnicheadh daoine cò 'n té a bha pòsda, agus cò 'n té nach robh. Ach is tric a chunnacas currac geal air seana mhaighdinn an uair a bheireadh i duil thairis nach fhaigheadh i pòsadh.

B' e fior bheagan airgid a bha daoine anns an àm ud a' cur ann an caiseart. Bhiodh na boirionnaich cas ruisgte mar bu trice gus an tigeadh sneachda agus reothadh a' gheamhraidh. Ach air Di-domhnaich a' dol do 'n eaglais, no aig àm sam bith eile a thigeadh orra falbh o 'n taigh, chuireadh iad am bròganumpa. Is minic a chunnaic mi na boirionnaich òga a' dol do 'n

Digitized by Google

eaglais agus am bròġan paisgte nan achlais gus an ruigeadh iad faisge air an eaglais. An sin nigheadh iad an casan, agus chuireadh iad am bròġan umpa.

B' ainneamh uair a chithteadh firionnaich a ràinig aois a' falbh cas ruisgte. Ach an uair a thigeadh iad dhachaidh o 'n obair, chuireadh i dhiubh am bròġan. Ach cha bhiodh bròg no boinneid air gille òg, ach glé ainneamh, gus am biodh iad uiread 's a bhitheadh iad. Dh' fhàg sin làidir, fallainn, cruadalach iad.

Mar bu trice, b' e bròġan de leathar Gàidhealach a bhiodh air na fir, agus air na mnathan, agus air na h-igheanan 's air na gillean àga. An uair a mharbhteadh mart, no an uair a gheibheadh each no mart bàs, rachadh na seiceanan a chairteadh gus bròġan a dheanamh do 'n teaghlach, no gus acfhuinn a dheanamh do 'n chairt. Mar bu trice b' e 'n dòigh a ghabhteadh, an t-seice a cheangal ann an sruth, nam biodh sruth faisge air laimh, agus a fàgail ann gus am falbhadh am fionnadh dhi. Ach mur biodh sruth faisge air laimh, chuirteadh ann an tuba mòr i agus liontadh le uisge e. An ùine gun bhith fada, an uair a bhiodh i air a failleadh glan gu leòr, dheanteadh deiseil a' chairt-shleamhna. A nis, tha e feumail gu 'n innsinn ciod a th' anns a' chairt-shleamhna. Is e friomh beag a th' ann a tha anabarrach pailt anns gach àite air feadh monaidhean nan Eileanan an Iar, agus, ma dh' fhaoidhteadh, air feadh na Gàidhealtachd gu léir. Tha e ri 'fhaotainn mu leith òirleach fo 'n talamh far am bi caitean beag fraoich, agus tha e mar is trice mu chairteal na h-òirlich air gairbhead, agus o òirleach gu tri òirlich air fad. Nam b' aithne dhomh an t-ainm Beurla, no 'n t-ainm Laidinn, bhiodh e na b' fhusa dhomh fiosrachadh na bu shoilleire a thoirt seachad m' a dheidhinn. Anns an t-samhradh bidh dìthean beag buidhe air, le còig duilleagan, mu mheudachd putan léine. Bithear a' buain na cairt-shleamhna le croman beag ris an canar, "croman-cartach." Bheireadh e a dhà no tri de laithean bhar duine, cho dìchiollach 's gu 'm bitheadh e, mu 'm buaineadh e de 'n chairt-shleamhna na chairteadh aon seice.

An uair a bhiodh a' chairt-shleamhna buainte, rachadh a nigheadh, agus an sin a pronnadh gu mìn le plocan, a bruich gu math ann am poit, agus a dòrtadh, an uair a bhiodh i meang-bhlàth, anns an tuba anns am biodh an t-seice. Mu 'm biodh an t-seice cairte gu leòr, dh' fheumadh i tri suigh fhaotainn air a' chuid bu lugha. Nam biodh an t-seice mòr, agus an tuba anns am bithteadh 'g a cairteadh car beag air a son, dheanteadh dà leith oirre, agus an déigh a' cheud leith a chairteadh, bhiodh an leith eile air a chairteadh a rithist.

Ach an déigh an t-seice a chairteadh, dh' fheumteadh a dubhadh le copar. Cha ghabhadh i ris a chopar mur biodh i

Digitized by Google

air a cairteadh. Uaithe so chi sinn gu 'n robh dà fheum anns a' chairteadh, an toiseach, bha 'n cairteadh 'g a deanamh caoin, agus a rithist, ghabhadh i dubhadh.

Bha dà ainm air na brogan a bhiodh daoine a' cosg 's an àm ud—bròg an Gallda agus bròg an Gàidhealach. B' iad na bròg an Gallda a bhiodh air an deanamh air leathar Gallda no air leathar Gàidhealach, le sreing chainbe 's le ròsaid direach mar a tha na greusaichean a' deanamh nam bròg an 's an àm so fhein. B' iad na bròg an Gàidhealach na bròg an a bhiodh air a deanamh air leathar Gàidhealach le eill. Theirteadh leath-iall ris an leathar a dheanteadh air laoicean laoigh no air laoicean searraich. B' e laoicean an t-searraich a b' fhior fhearr gus iallan a dheanamh na laoicean an laoigh. Bhiodh an iall air a gearradh gu grinn anns an aon ghairbhead o cheann gu ceann ach mu shia òirlich a bhiodh caol dhi aig a barr. Bhiodh geir gun leaghadh air a suathadh rithe direach mar a bhiodh an ròsaid air a suathadh ris an t-sreing. Cha deanadh geir air a leaghadh, no sòithneadh sam bith eile feum sam bith.

Bha na bròg an Gàidhealach air an deanamh tur eadar-dhealaicht' o 'n dòigh anns am bheil bròg an sam bith eile air an deanamh anns an àm so. Bha iad air an gearradh rud eiginn coltach ris na bròg an ris an canar "Bròg an Lathurnach" (Lorn shoes). Agus an àm a bhith 'g am fuaghal, bha 'n taobh bu chòir a bhith 'nam broinn am muigh dhiubh. An toiseach bha na h-uachdair 's na deiridh air am fuaghal ris na buinn. Agus b' e an dòigh fuaghail a bha air a dheanamh orra, greim a thogail leis a' mhinidh as a' bhonn; oir na 'n cuirteadh an iall am mach glan troimh 'n bhonn chnàmhadh i ann an ùine ghoirid, agus mar sin, sgoileadh a' bhròg. An deigh do na bròg an a bhith air am fuaghal, bha 'chuid bu doirbhe dhe 'n obair gun deanamh. B' e sin na bròg an a thionndadh, sin ri radh, an taobh a bha 'muigh dhiubh a chur a staigh. Cha b' e a h-uile duine a b' urrainn an obair so a dheanamh. Dh' fheumadh tomhas de dh' eòlas a bhith aige air an obair, agus mar an ceudna meòirean glé làidir a bhith aige. Chunnaic mi an obair gu tric air a deanamh, agus bu tric le daoine faisge air uair an uairadair a thoirt air tionndadh bròige. Bhiodh sruth falluis leis a' mhalaidh aca mu 'n cuireadh iad crioch oirre. An uair a bhiodh a' bhròg air a tionndadh, rachadh na deiridh fhuaghal ris na h-uachdair. An uair a chuirteadh an t-sàil oirre, agus a bhiodh na buinn air cuimireachadh gu grinn, chuirteadh ceap innte. Feumar ainmeachadh nach gabhadh na bròg an tionndadh, mur biodh iad an toiseach greis ann am bogadh. Agus eadar a bhith ann am bogadh, agus na dheanteadh de laimhseachadh orra an àm a bhith

Digitized by Google

'g an tionndadh, biodh iad gu mòr a cumadh. Ach an uair a bhiodh iad latha no dha, no, ma dh' fhaoidteadh na b' fhaide air na cip, dh' fhàsadh an leathar cruaidh, agus bhiodh cumadh math gu leòr orra.

Theirteadh "cluaiseanan" ris a' chuid sin dhe na deiridh a bhiodh a' dunadh air an troidh. Cha bhiodh ach mu òirleach de leud anns na cluaiseanan. B' e aon toll a bhiodh mar bu trice anns gach fear dhiubh. Agus dh' fhoghnadh barr caol na h-éille a bhiodh a' fuaghal a' bhuinn ris na h-uachdair 's ris na deiridh, no a bhiodh a' fuaghal nan deireadh ris na h-uachdair, gus na cluaiseanan a cheangal. Is ann uaithe so a thainig an t-ainm "barr-iall"—ainm air am bheil gach Gàidheal eòlach gu leòr, co dhiubh tha no nach 'eil e tuigsinn co uaith a thainig am facal.

An uair a bhithteadh deanamh bhròg an Gàidhealach do chloinn, b' ann le ceap direach a bhiodh iad air an cur ann an cumadh. Bu choma dhaibh co a' chas a chuireadh iad anns a' bhròig, o nach robh dealachadh sam bith eadar taobh na lùdaig agus taobh na h-òrdaig dhi.

Bu tric le cuid na seann daoine a bhith 'deanamh nam bròg dhaibh fhein air an dòigh so. Agus bha aobhar sònraichte aca air a shon. Tha fhios aig na h-uile gu 'm bheil daoine mar is trice na 's truime air taobh na lùdaig dhe na bròg an na tha iad air taobh na h-òrdaig, agus nam faodadh fear bròg na coise deise a chur air a' chois thoisgeil, agus bròg na coise toisgeil a chur air a' chois dheis, mhaireadh na buinn aig na bròg an moran na b' fhaide. B' ann a chum gu 'm maireadh na bròg an na b' fhaide dhaibh a bhiodh iad 'g an deanamh air na cip dhìreach.

Mar a dh' fhaodar a thuigsinn, cha bhiodh na bròg an Gàidhealach fior dhìonach idir. Cha chuireadh daoine uidhearachd sam bith air an casan a bhith fliuch 's an àm a dh' fhalbh. B' ann gus an casan a chumail o chlachan 's o fhraoch, agus o rud sam bith eile a ghoirticheadh iad a bhiodh iad a' caitheamh bhròg.

Bha seòrsa caiseirt eile ann air am biodh e cho math dhomh iomradh a thabhairt aig an àm so, ged a bha e air a dhol á cleachdadh fada mu 'n d' rugadh mi—b' e sin, na "cuarain." The 'n sean-fhacal a leanas, agus a tha e fhathast gu tric ri chluinntinn, a' leigeadh ris dhuinn gu 'n robh daoine a' caitheamh nan cuaran ùine mhath an déigh do dhaoine eòlas fhaotainn air mar a dheanadh iad bròg an. So agaibh e:—

> "Feumaidh fear nan cuaran
> Eirigh uair roimh fhear nam bròg."

Bha 'n cuaran air a dheanamh dhe 'n t-seice ghlais, 's sin ri radh, seice gun chairteadh. Bha pios air a ghearradh as an t-seice a

Digitized by Google

bhiodh mòr gu leòr gus ceann na coise a chomhdachadh, agus bha e air 'fhuaghal gu teann mu 'n chois suas beagan os cionn an aobrainn. Faodar a thuigsinn gu 'n tugadh fear nan cuaran mòran a bharrachd ùine air a dhol 'na chaiseart na bheireadh fear nam bròg, o nach biodh aige ach an cuaran bharr-iall a theannachadh agus snaim a chur orra.

Is gann gu 'm faighear duine an diugh do 'n aithne bròg Ghàidhealach a dheanamh. Agus cha bu chòir gu 'n leigteadh a' cheird so air dichuimhn. Fear sam bith leis am miann fior dheise Ghàidhealach a chur uime, bu chòir dha fior bhròganGàidhealach a bhith m' a chasan. Is iomadh uair a bha e 'cur ioghnaidh orm nach robh daoine a tha 'gabhail tlachd ann a bhith 'cumail suas sheann chleachdaidhean a' feuchainn ris an dòigh anns an robhar a' deanamh nam bròganGaidhealach a chumail air chuimhne. Ma leigear beagan bhliadhnachan eile seachad gun oidhirp a thoirt air an t-seana cheird so a chumail air chuimhne, theid i air dichuimhn gu buileach.

An uair a bha mi 'g innseadh mar a bha 'n leathar Gàidhealach air a dheasachadh, thug mi iomradh air a' chairt-shleamhna, am freumh beag leis am biodh daoine 's àm a dh' fhalbh a' cairteadh nan seiceannan. Tha freumh eile ann dhe 'm biodh na mnathan a' deanamh feum an àm dhaibh a bhith 'dath snàth, no clòimhe, is e sin a' chairt-locha. Is e so freumh na luibh ris an canar, an dìthean-cartach, no, mar a theirear ris anns a' Bheurla, "Water Lily." Cha chuireadh am freumh so a' bheag de dhath air a' chlòimh no air an t-snàth. B' e am feum sònraichte a bha air gu 'n tugadh e air an dath dhubh, agus air an dath dhonn gabhail ris an t-snàth no ris a' chlòimh, rud eiginn coltach ris mar a bheireadh sùgh na sealbhaig air a' ghuirmein gabhail ris a' chlòimh no ris an t-snath an uair a bhithteadh 'g an dath. Ach bha an dealachadh so eatorra. B' ann an deigh an snàth, no a' chlòimh a chur anns a' ghuirmein a chuirteadh an t-sealbhag ann. Bha 'n t-sealbhag, mar gu 'm b' eadh, a' brosnachadh a' ghuirmein gu gabhail ris an t-snàth; no ris a' chlòimh. Ach dh' fheumteadh a' chairt-locha a chur air an t-snàth no air a' chlòimh an toiseach. Bha a' chairt-locha air a pronnadh, agus air a bruich, agus bha an snàth, na a' chlòimh, air a chur am bogadh anns an t-sùgh aice. An uair a bhiodh an snàth, no a' chlòimh anns an t-sugh so fad latha, no fad latha 's oidhche, bheirteadh as iad, agus chuirteadh air thiormachadh iad. 'N a dheigh sin chuirteadh anns an dath dhubh, no anns an dath dhonn iad.

Bha 'n dath dubh agus an dath donn air an reic anns na bùithean. B' e an t-ainm Gallda a bh' orra "Logwood" agus "Redwood." Mur biodh an snàth agus a' chlòimh air an cur

Digitized by Google

ann an sùgh na cairt-locha, cha 'n fhanadh an dath dubh, no an dath donn oira, agus cha mhò na sin a thromaicheadh an copar an dath.

Ach mu 'n d' fhuaradh eòlas air deanamh an dath dhuibh agus an dath dhuinn, leis na dathan Gallda, bha e cumanta gu leòr a bhith 'deanamh dath dubh le seòrsa de thalamh a bha ri 'fhaotainn ann an talamh bog mointich. Dh' aithnicheadh duine eòlach sam bith air barr na talmhainn c' àite am faighleadh an dath so. Is e "dubhach" a theirteadh ris. Bha e ri fhaotainn mu throigh no dà throidh fo bharr na talmhainn. An uair a bheirteadh an uachdar e, bhiodh dath odhar air, ach ann am mionaid no dha dh' fhàsadh e cho dubh ris an fhitheach. Chuala mi mar a bhithteadh a' deanamh an dath leis an dubhaich, ach leig mi as mo chuimhne e.

28th FEBRUARY, 1901.

The paper for this meeting was contributed by the Rev. Thomas Sinton, Dores, entitled "Gaelic Poetry from the MSS. of the late Mr James Macpherson, Edinburgh," and is as follows:—

GAELIC POETRY FROM THE MSS. OF THE LATE MR JAMES MACPHERSON, EDINBURGH.

Mr James Macpherson was born at Belleville in 1837, and after passing many years in Edinburgh in connection with the Union Bank, he eventually returned to his native country, where he died at Dalnavert in 1899.

Being deeply interested in the history, poetry, and lore of Badenoch, he had amassed from many quarters a large amount of material bearing upon his favourite study. Unfortunately, however, his long illness and death prevented him from arranging this in a form which would make it easily available. He did very little indeed in the way of publishing.

His collection of MSS. being placed at my disposal by his sister, Miss Macpherson, Edinburgh, I have had much pleasure in writing out the following pieces, which have been culled from numerous note-books:—

Digitized by Google

I.

A high-spirited herd-boy is said to have given expression in these verses to his feelings when his fellow-clansmen arose to follow Prince Charlie:—

Tha luchd nam breacan, luchd nam breacan,
Luchd nam breacan sgarlaid,
'Us luchd nam breacan ballach uaine,
'Dol air chuairt le Tearlach.

'S nam bithinn fhìn a' m' shia-bliadhn'-diag,
Nam bithinn mar a b' àill leam,
'S nam bithinn fhìn a' m' shia-bliadhn'-diag,
Gum falbhainn fhìn le Tearlach.

II.

An unfortunate wight who had fallen under suspicion of an intention to betray the lurking place of Cluny Macpherson here disclaims the base insinuation:—

'S mi mo shuidh' air an tulaich,
Lion mulad is pramh mi,
Mu n-ur deidhinn, 'Chlanna Mhuirich!
'S leam is duilich bhur caramh.

Mu n-ur deidhinn, etc.,
Sibh dheanadh orm fuasgladh,
'S cha b' e gruaim an àm paidhidh.

Thoir leamsa gum bu ghorach,
Am fear thòisich ri dh-radhainn,

Gum brathainn do leabaidh';
Righ b' fhad' e bho 'm nadur.

Ged fhaighinn-sa Lunnuinn,
Bho Uilleam gun aicheadh,

Cha 'n fhaca mi riamh thu,
Bho 'n 'bhliadhna bha 'n camp ann.

III.

Ors' am meannan ris an uan,
Ors' an t-uan ris a' mheannan,
"Cha teid mi 'na chreig ud shuas."
Ors' an t-uan ris a' mheannan.

Digitized by Google

" Air eagal a' mhadaidh-ruadh',"
Ors' an t-uan ris a' mheannan;
Thuirt am meannan ris an uan,
" 'S ann tha bhuainn dol a' mhireadh."

IV.

Before and after the beginning of the nineteenth century the martial spirit was rampant throughout Badenoch, greatly due to the influence of the young and popular Marquis of Huntly. It is not surprising, however, that among the songs of the period we should occasionally come on such a note of repining as this:—

'S cha 'n 'eil reiseamaid fo 'n chrun,
Dha nach duraigainns' mo bheannachd thoirt,
Ach reiseamaid Dhiuc Gordan,
Bho 'n 's i thug og mo leannan bhuam.

V.

I do not know what were the circumstances which occasioned this verse of weird sough:—

Tha 'n oidhche 'nochd ro anranach
'S an geamhradh fada fuar;
Leig crubon aig do chasan dhomh,
Gar 'm faigh mi ach leth uair.

VI.

This death-song is connected with the parish of Alvie. The subject of it was a young man named Donald Macgregor, who was drowned in fording the Spey on the night whose morrow would have been his marriage day. His betrothed true-love, who composed this strain of woe, wandered about the country in a state of mental derangement, and soon died:—

Cha teid mi 'thigh na cuideachda,
Tha mulad air mo chlaoidh;
Nach fhaic mi Domhnull Griogarach,
Dha 'n tig an t-osan gearr.

Gur math thig feile 's bonaid duit,
An coinneamh nam fear ur;
'S a' nis o 'n dhealaich comunna,
Gur coltach gur e 'm bas.

Digitized by Google

Tha do chairdean fhein an diomb rium,
'S gur anacarrach an turn;
Mo ghruaidhean tha air rusgadh,
'S mo shuilean 's gann gur leir.

Bho 'n chaidh do chiste dhunadh oirnn,
Le ceangail dluth is ceir:
'S ann coltacha ri oinseach mi,
Nach cumadh stold' i-fhein.

Mar phelican 's an fhasach mi,
Mar chailleach-oidhch' nan gleann;
Mar bharr an fhraoich 'na theine,
Tha mo chridhe air a chraidh.

Mar fhiadh an glac nan aonaichean,
Mar choille chaill a blath;
Mar sud rinn do ghaol-sa dhomh,
Gun oidhche dhe mo shlaint'.

'S gun siubhlainn feille 's clachan leat,
'S gach crois tha 's an Taobh-tuath;
'S fear do dhealbh' 's do choltaich,
Cha 'n fhaic mi measg an t-sluaigh.

'Suil chorrach ghorm 'n ad aoduinn,
'S mar chaorunn slat do ghruaidh;
'S mo ghaol air d' aghaidh aluinn,
Ged tha thu 'n nochd 's an uaigh.

VII.

The subjoined song was composed upon Andrew Macpherson, Breakachy, by his nurse, Elspeth Grant, upon the occasion of his leaving home:—

Tha mulad, tha mulad,
Tha mulad orm fhein,
Mu 'n oganach ghasda,
Dh' fhalbh a Breacachaidh 'n de.

Mu 'n fhleasgach og uasal,
Do thigh Chluainidh nan steud;
Thug thu 'n duchas bho 'd athair,
Bhi gramail glan reidh.

Digitized by Google

Do mhathair gheal mhaiseach,
Chuireadh tlachd air coig ceud,
'Theaghlach Bheannachoir 's Inbhir-Fheisidh,
Co bu treas' na na laoich threun.

'S na Foirbeisich uasal,
Dh' eireadh suas leat gu léir;
Buidheann eile bha dhuit cairdeach,
B' ann diu Granndaich Shrath Spé.

Bu tu iasgair na h-amhuinn,
Tric 'g a tamhaich le leus;
Agus sealgair a' mhunaidh,
Bhiodh do ghunn' air dheadh ghleus.

'N uair a chluinnte do lamhaich,
Cha bu shlan mac na h-eild';
'S tric bheum do lamh teine,
Taobh Loch Eireachd so shüas.

Bu tu marbhaich' an fhior-eoin,
'S eoin chrion na sgeith' ruaidh;
Agus sealgair a' choilich,
'S tric a ghoireas 's a' bhruaich.

Naile! bheirinn ort comhairl',
Na 'n gabhadh tu i bhuam;
Ach bidh mo dhurachd ad dheaghaidh,
Bho 'n chaidh tu thar chuan.

VIII.

This pathetic stanza formed part of a forgotten elegy, composed upon a youth who was laid to rest in the ancient burying-ground of St Peter's, at Biallid:—

Cadal samhach do 'n bhradan,
'N Eas an Sgamhain 's an damhair;
Bho 'n chaidh an t-Iain og-sa thasgadh,
An Cladh Pheadail so thall.

IX.

A coronach:—

Cuiridh mi dhachaidh thu,
Cuiridh mi dhachaidh thu,
Cuiridh mi dhachaidh thu,
Gu do thigh geamhraidh.

Digitized by Google

Gu do thigh, gu do thigh,
Gu do thigh, gu do thigh,
Gu do thigh, gu do thigh,
Gu do thigh geamhraidh.

Gu do thigh fogharaidh,
Gu do thigh fogharaidh,
Gu do thigh fogharaidh,
Earraich is samhraidh.

X.

The Creag Liath referred to in this little madrigal is situated above Moc-Coul, near Kinloch-Laggan:—

Sior bhuain cùlaig,
Sior bhuain cùlaig,
Sior bhuain cùlaig,
Air a' Creig Léith.
Thusa 'g a gearradh,
Mise 'g a rùsgadh;
Sior bhuain cùlaig,
Air a' Creig Léith.

XI.

About the beginning of the nineteenth century the crofting community of Crathie were deprived of the valuable privilege of summering their stock on Drummond. This aroused keen indignation, and called forth the ready voice of song. The following verses were composed by Aonghas Mac Uilleim, who resided at Kylarachill:—

A' Chraichidh dhubh chruaidh,
Cha bhi mi fo ghruaim 'ad dheidh;
Is liuthad là agus uair,
A bha mi mu 'd bhruaichean fhein.

Cha chuir sinn fiu càl,
'S cha chuir sin aon bhraghad air each,
Ach ìre bhuntàt',
'S cha dian e dhuinn trath mu 'n seach.

'S deoch-slainnte an Diùc,
Gu 'n cuirear i air cùl an dràst',
Cha dhuraigainn triuir
A bhiodh air a thaobh 's a' bhlàr.

Digitized by Google

Cha thill reitheachan tòir,
'S cha dian ciobair le chleòc bonn stàth,
Cha chum caoraich nan gleann
Na Frangaich thall—
'S och! 's mise tha 's an àm s' fo phramh.

XII.

These lines form part of another song which the bard composed upon the same occasion:—

'S thoir fios gu fear a' Gharbha bhuainn,
Gu dearbh nach bi sinn reidh,
Bho 'n thug e bhuainn na caoraich,
'S na dh' fhaod e as an deigh.

An crodh-laoigh a bhiodh 's an langanaich,
'S na gleannaibh 'am biodh am feur.

XIII.

This elegy was composed by Emily Macdonald, who for eighteen years had been in the service of Miss Charlotte and Miss Jane Macpherson. Her aged mistresses, whose tragic fate she deplores, lost their lives when the Crubin Beg House was burned to the ground, on 16th November, 1866:—

'S mi bhi dìreadh nan stucan,
'Cur mo chuil ri tigh Chrubainn,
'S mor mo mhulad am muthadh tha air.

'S ann an clachan na creathaich,
Mu choinneamh na greine,
A dh' fhag mi Miss Séine 'na smàlan.

'S ann a dh' fhag mi na h-uaislean,
Anns an rùm mar bu dual daibh,
'S bu bhanail an gluasad 's bu chomhnard.

'S ann a dh' fhag mi an da phiuthar,
Anns an aon rùm 'n an suidheadh,
'S beag a shaoil leam's' nach suidhinns' ri mo bheò ann.

Ach mu 'n d' thainig coig uairean,
Fhuair mi rabhadh bha cruaidh dhomh,
Iad bhi 'n an guaillean 'n an seomar.

Digitized by Google

Ach fhir a chruthaich an saoghal,
Agus anamannan dhaoine,
Tha mi 'n duil gu 'n d' thug thu saorsuinn an
gloir dhaibh.

Thainig breitheanais tìmeil
Oirnne uile anns an am ud,
A dh' fhag sinne mar chaoraich air ailein.

A dh' fhag sinne gun bhuachaill',
Gun a h-aon ghabhadh truas ruinn,
Ach, fath mo ghearain, nach d' fhuair iad n-ur
cnaimhean.

Gu n-ur cur far am bu dual dhuibh,
Ann an cairidh nan uaislean,
Far am beil a chuid eile bha suairc dhe us cairdean.

Bha sibh 'thoiseach nan uaislean,
Bho Noid is bho Chluainidh,
Gar nach robh iad mu 'n cuairt duibh gu 'r tearnadh.

Nam biodh Gleann Truim is am Maidsear
Aig a' bhaile mar b' abhaist,
Cha bhiodh a' chuis mar a bha i 's an àm ud.

Bu trom ceum a' pharsain,
Tighinn 'g ur n-ionnsuidh 's a' mhaduinn,
'S a chridhe 'g a sgaradh mu 'n déidhinn.

Bha choire air Miss Charlotte,
Gur i rinn an fhaillinn,
Cha leig mise gu bràth air a taobh e.

Ach ma bha coir' ris aig daoine,
Thig latha ni innseadh,
Gar nach leighis sin m' inntinn-s' an drasta.

Tha snidh air mo ghruaidhean,
Le bhi tric oirbh 'smaoineach,
'S liuthad latha mu 'n cuairt oirbh a bha mi.

Chaill mi nise na cairdean,
Nach rachadh seachad gun m' fhaighneachd,
'S luchd-sheasadh mo chorach nam b' fheudar.

Digitized by Google

Bithidh mi nise co-dhunadh,
Le deoir air mo shuilean,
Bho nach aithne dhomh 'n cliu uile leughadh.

XIV.

In this croon an aged and expatriated hunter commemorates some of the favourite haunts of his deer-stalking days in Badenoch:—

Ho ro, air coireachan Bhaideanach,
Hi ri, air coireachan Bhaideanach,
Gu 'm beil mi fo ghruaim bho 'n dh' fhag mi ad.

Eadar an Carn Dearg 's an Lairig,
Coire Chinnein nan aighean dàireach,
Bheirinn tacar thun na fardaich,
An drasta ged tha an aois orm.

Eadar Strath Labhrach 's Glac nan Cabar,
'S tric a dh' ealaidh mi 's a' mhaduinn,
'S tric a dh' ealaidh mi 's a' mhadainn,
Is spadainn le mo dheadh spainteach iad.

XV.

Here is a reminiscence of the days when so many of the youth of the country enlisted in one or other of the regiments with which the Marquis of Huntly had been connected:—

Tha na caileagan fo mhulad,
'S tha iad uile bronach—
Liuthad fleasgach, boidheach dealbhach,
Tha falbh fo airm Righ Deorsa.

XVI.

Here is a marching song having reference to the same period:—

'S lìonar bean a bhios gun mhac—
Piuthar bhios gun bhrathair aic';
'S maighdean òg gun leannan aic',
Ma leanas sinn mar tha sinn.

Digitized by Google

'S math leam-fhìn tha 'n Samhradh 'tighinn,
Bi'dh sinn cridheil sunndach,
Bi'dh sinn air an t-sentry fhuar,
Ri broilleach tuath na Frainge.

XVII.

A coronach:—

Ochòin, a righ!
Ochòin, a righ!
Ochòin, a righ!
Thriall iad bhuam.
Ochòin, a righ!
Ochòin, a righ!
Mo dhaoin' 'g am dhith,
Fo 'n lic anns a' chill 'n an suain.

XVIII.

These verses, connected with the camp, were sung by some humourist in the ranks. They used to be often sung on the farms along the Spey; but I never heard who was the object of their sarcasm, or the occasion which called them forth:—

A bhodaich nam briogais!
Nam briogais, nam briogais;
A bhodaich nam briogais!
Bi'dh mise 'g ar fagail.

'S Leodaidh crìon, greannach,
Nan caol-chasan caime,
Gu 'm b' fhearr leam na gearran,
Gu 'n rachadh do bhathadh.

Gu 'm b' fhearr leam na 'm chota,
Ged bhiodh 'laceachan' òir air,
Gu 'm bithinns' 's Righ Deorsa,
An seomair na Frainge.

Mur bhith' dhomh Port Cheasaig,
'S Port Dun Mac Bhreati,
Cha deanainn bonn fhreagairt
Ri Caiptean no Maidseir.

Digitized by Google

XIX.

A very fine version of this song by Domhnull Donn Mac Fhir Bhothuntuinn is given by the Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair in one of his volumes, having appeared originally, I think, in "The Oban Times." It has this fault, however, that it identifies the song with places and affairs of Argyleshire, a part of the country which it is highly probable was never visited by Domhnull Donn, whose haunts and interests lay in the north.

The line, "Fhad 's a chumas fir Atholl na moid," refers to the extraordinary raid by the Atholl men on the Lovat country in Stratherrick, which was one of Domhnull Donn's favourite resorts.

'S tha mise 'n so 'm shuidhe,
Aig sàil Beinne Luighe,
'S mi 'g amharc Strath Dhubhaich an fheoir.

Beinn' Uamhais bhuam tamull,
Beallach mhor eadar bheannaibh,
'S tric thug mi aisd' daimh is crodh og:

Agus machair nan dubh-Ghall,
So thall air a cùlaobh,
'S tric mharcaich mi 'n cùrs-eich cruinn gorm.

Strath Ghlais a' chruidh cheanainn,
Cha robh mi ort aineol,
'S ro mhath b' eol domh Gleann Cannaich an fheoir.

'Dol air Moireasdain thairis,
Aig Ceanna Chnoc a' bharraich,
'S tric a fhliuch mi ann gearr-osan 's brog.

'S ro mhath b' aithne dhom 'm fior-uisg,
Air an teid na fir thairis,
B' ann diubh Luinn agus Gairidh dhubh mhor.

Chi mi thall ud fo 'm shuilean,
Beinn Mhathain 's Beinn Bhuraich,
Aghaidh Artair mu 'n dùnadh an ceo.

Cha taobh mi na strathaibh,
'S cha bhi mi 'g an tathaich,
Fhad 's a chumas fir Atholl na moid.

Luchd nan casagan dearga,
Cha b' iad a chuideachd a b' fhearr dhomh,
'S cha mhutha 's toigh leam air falbh iad luchd chleòc.

Digitized by Google

XX.

Coronach on the death of a priest:—

Ochòin, a shluaigh!
Tha ionndrain bhuainn
Cha tig e 'n uair ar bais.

XXI.

A hunting croon:—

Tha na feidh air na cuirn
'S tha fir ghleusd' air an cùl,
S gheibh Diuc Alasdair dha fhein
Dà cheann deug chum a bhuird.

XXII.

This tender wail of grief is supposed to express the feelings of a poor mother who was stolen by the denizens of the green knowes. Still in some way allowed to frequent the neighbourhood of her old home, she knew that her children were subjected to ill-treatment at the hands of a cruel step-mother.

Nach truagh leat mi 'n nochd?
O ìrriri O!
Bho cnocan gu cnoc,
O ìrriri O!
'S bho slochdan gu slochd,
O ìrriri O!
Le gaoir an t-sluaigh bhochd.
O ìrriri O!
Nach truagh leat mo chlann?
O ìrriri O!
'S bean eil' air an ceann.
O ìrriri O!
Nan tigeadh tu nall,
O ìrriri O!
Gu 'n cìrinn do cheann.
O ìrriri O!

Digitized by Google

XXIII.

A milking croon:—

Iù hóileagan, iù hó m' aighean,
Iù hóileagan, iù hó m' aighean,
Iù hóileagan, iù hó m' aighean;
Mo chrodh-laoigh is m' aighean,
Air gach taobh de 'n amhuinn.

M' fheudail a' chrodh, gur h-i 'ghuaill-fhionn,
Cha b' i 'cheann-fhionn, bo bu shuaraich;
Beannachd banaraich is buachaill,
Cha bhiodh tu duilich do chualach.

'S math is aithne dhomh do mhathair,
Nighean Glasaig, ogha Blaraig;
'S tric a lion thu an stòp-càirt domh,
'S cha bhiodh air mo mhuirnean fàillinn.

XXIV.

This piece is often alluded to as "Bothan Airidh 'm Braigh Raineach." Like "Crodh Chailein," it was very popular throughout the Central Highlands, where verses of it are still often heard.

O! 's gur bochd laigh an aois orm,
Bho nach d' fhaod mi bhi mar riut,
Ann an bothan an t-sùgraidh,
'S gun de thùbh air cach barrach.

Far 'm bi coileach dubh an tùchain,
Gabhail durdain 's a' mhaduinn;
Agus feidh anns a' bhùraich,
Tighinn ga 'r dusgadh le 'n langan.

Thig an earbag o 'n fhireach,
'S boc-biorach o 'n darach;
'S bi'dh ianan na smudail,
'S einn ciuil dhuinn bharr chrannaibh.

O! 's gur minic a bha mi,
'S tu 'm bothan-airidh 'm Braighe Raineach;
Ach nis tha 'ghruagach dhonn bhoidheach,
'Buain an eorna dhaibh thall ud.

Digitized by Google

Fhir bhig na gruaige ruaidhe,
Mheall thu bhuams' mo cheud leannan;
Na dean i bonn stà dhuit,
'S nara h-araich i leanamh.

Nar robh ìm air do bhathaich,
No càis' air do bhainne,
No do chrodh a' breith laogh dhuit,
No do chaoirich uain geala.

Nar robh cruaichean a' d' lann,
Ri oidhche chur chathaibh,
No do ghearran 's an stabull,
La Fhéill-Padruig a's t-earrach.

XXV.

It often happened that men drawn by ballot to serve in the militia had small aptitude for the military life, and took up the sword sorely against their will.

'S fheudar domh bhi togail orm,
Cha 'n fhaodar fuireach, feumar falbh;
'S fheudar domh bhi togail orm,
Dh' fheuch am faigh mi fuasgladh.

Cha b' e an daorach no a' ghoraich,
Chuir mise dh' arm Righ Deorsa;
Ach an tiocaid bhi 'n am phocaid,
'S mi gun doigh air fuasgladh.

XXVI.

A milking song:—

Tha buarach shìoda,
Tha buarach shìoda,
Tha buarach shìoda,
Air m' aghan gaoil.

'N uair bhios an sìoman
Air crodh na tìre,
Bi'dh buarach shìoda
Air m' aghan gaoil.

Digitized by Google

'N uair bhios am fodar
Air crodh nam bodach,
Bi'dh buarach shìoda
Air m' aghan gaoil.

'N uair thig an geamhradh,
Is gainne 'n fhodair,
Crodh nam bodach
Cha tog iad al.

Ach ged bhithinns'
Gun sguab a' m' shobhal,
Chuirinn cobhar
Air gogan làn.

'N uair theid mise,
'S mo chuid aighean,
Roimh an latha
Do Ruigh-Chaol.

'S mòr mo mhunnachag,
'S trom mo mhuighe,
'S leathan buidhe,
Mo chuid laogh.

XXVII.

William Mackenzie—Mac Coinnich Ghàidhig—for long head-stalker in the Forest of Gaick, composed these verses on coming off victorious in a hill-race with a Sassenach champion, upon whose success a wager had been laid:—

A hó 's toigh leam, hì gur toigh leam,
A hó 's toigh leam fonn a' Ghaidheil;
'S toigh leam fhìn an fhìor dhuin' uasal,
Bhios ag éiridh suas le ardan.

Fhuair mi fios am bial na h-oidhche,
Gu 'n robh Maighstir Fyne an Gàidhig:
Mi bhi deis gu ruith na reise,
Gu 'n robh mac a' Ghaill gu m' fhagail.

Ach nam bithinns' 'n am ochd bliadhn' diag,
Siubhail nan criochan mar a b' abhuisd;
Chuirinn dlù ri cul na h-easgaid,
Fear nach labhradh smid 'n a Ghaidhlig.

Digitized by Google

Chuirinn dlù ri cul na h-easgaid,
Fear chuir briogais riamh mu 'mhàsan;
Cha b' e gaol an cuid tasdan,
A chuir mise ruith na spairne.

Ach eagal mo dhùthaich faighinn masla,
'S mac an t-Sasunnaich 'g am fhagail;
Ach eagal mo dhùthaich faighinn masla,
'S fir Lochabair chuir fo thamuilt.

Cha 'n 'eil comhdhail, na coinneamh,
Anns an coinnich Clann nan Gaidheal;
Nach cluinnteadh iomradh soilleir
Air Mac Coinnich sin tha 'n Gàidhig.

XXVIII.

This is part of an unpublished hunting-song by Lachlan Macpherson of Strathmashie—Fear Strath Mhathaisidh. The caligraphy of the MS. which contains it is exceedingly obscure, and the writer followed no particular rule of spelling. The following verses are supposed to be a colloquy between the hunter and a stag:—

Gu 'm a slàn do 'n Spainteach,
Nach do mheall mi riamh am fheum;
Cha d' rinn i dhomh breug 's b' aithne dhi,
'N uair chaidh sinn 'nar cabhaig,
'S 'nar deannabh le cheile,
Chaidh ise air gleus mar b' ait leam.

'S mor a b' fhearr dhuit dhol gu tìr,
'S a bhi sìor-chartadh ann,
Na bhi caitheamh do thìm,
Feadh na frìthe beachdachadh,
Bhi falbh leis an "schodiluch," *
Gu eolach is gu mall,
'S i obair is fhearr na spaisdearachd.

Thoir thusa do chomhairle do 'n fhear ghabh 's i bhuat,
Cha 'n 'eil mise 's an uair a' d' "theachdairin."
Bheirinn treis air an dunan,
'S chuirinn glùn air a' bhuain,
'S gun toirinn seall uairibh a thachairt ort.

* A sort of spade.

Digitized by Google

Dh' fheuch am faicinn air fuaran
Am fear ruadh fad-chosach.
Bheirinn féin ort, "Mo thruaighe!"
Bho 'n tha luaidh agam-sa,
Dheanadh do spadadh 'n uair "bhragdh tu haull,"
'S bhitheadh an luaidh 'na mheall fo 'd aisnichean.

Tha sgeul chinnt' agam fhìn,
Ged a chi tu a' glaodhaich mi,
Mas am bith' tu am dhàil,
Gu 'm bithinn thall fada uat;
'N uair gheibhinn a' ghaotn ort,
Gu 'm b' eutrom mo cheum,
Dìreadh na beinn' gu aigeannach.

Thoir thusa 'n aire dhuit fhéin,
Tha mise gle shìochainte,
Tha beul nach dean breug,
Gleusta fo 'm achlais,
Dhean' do spadadh anns "bhragghd bhi thoull."
'S a chuireadh fo "chardach caltribh thu."

'S mòr a b' fhearr i fo mo sgiath,
Na 'chaile bhreun aineolach,
Nach deanadh beum dhomh ri mo fheum,
'S nach éisdeadh ri ceanaltas,
'S is' 'bhean-uasal gle shuairc, gun bheud,
'N uair theid mise do 'n bheinn,
Cha 'n ullachadh i.

'S ioma toman agus toll,
'S mi gu sgìth gle airsnealach,
Thug mi fhìn air do thì,
Air bheag bìdh is fallus orm;—
'N uair thainig am fortan,
Chaidh gach dosguinn mu 'n làr,
Theid leamsa thusa dheanamh daithead,
'S bha ceannach air.

XXIX.

This is another unpublished hunting-song by the same bard. It is in the form of a colloquy between himself and his gun:—

Digitized by Google

Air naile! 's i mo run an Spainteach,
Sheasadh mo nàir 's mi 'n am éiginn,
Bho 'n thachair domhsa bhi 'n am onar,
Cuideachd ort féin anns an aonach;
Deansa dìchioll mar a b' àbhuisd,
'S cha 'n iarrainn gu bràth do chaochladh,
Ge bi àit an dean sin tachairt,
Is barail leam gu 'm faigh mi h-aon diubh.

Theirigsa mu 'n cuairt gu h-iollach,
'S na bi deònach air am fuadach,
Roinn a' ghaoth as fiar a' m' thalamh,
'S na tig aineolach mu 'n cuairt dhaibh.
Dean mo theann-shàth "air an tochdair"
Leig ort fead mu 'n cuir thu suas mi,
Sìn do laimh is grad cuir suas mi,
'S bheirinn umhlach' air fear an nuallain.

Beannachd agad chionn do chomas
'S mor mo "thomiad" de do sheanachas,
'S tu mo chiad leannan-falaich,
Anns a' ghleann 's am bi an dararaich.
Chum mi roimhe o fheachd righ thu,
'Nuair thug iad a' chìs dhe Alba,
Ga do altrum gu muirneach o 'n uair sin,
'S an diugh tha chùis ri dhearbhadh.

Ciod an dearbhadh bhiodh tu 'g iarraidh,
Nach fhaod thu na b' fhiach dhiu fhaighinn,
'S co deis leamsa chrò na céir dhiubh,
Ach cuir ball do thé dhiu romham.
So am beul am bheil na dh' fhoghnas,
Beag na mor dha 'n tig 's an rathad,
'S cha bhi h-aon diu slàn gun doruinn,
Ged chaireadh tu coig diu comhnard.

Bha mi uair-eiginn gle éibhinn,
'N-uair bha mo chialla air m' àilleachaig,
Thainig 'm ionnsuidh a Dùn Eudainn,
Dùil nach robh na b' fhearr an Alba.
'S e their gach fear a bhios na bhantrach,
Nach fhaigh e mac-samhla na dh' fhalbh bhoidh,
Ach, air mo laimh! gu bheil iad breugach,
Tha mi 'n so 's mi duibh-s' 'g a ràdhainn.

Digitized by Google

XXX.

John Roy Macfarlane was a brother of Duncan Macfarlane, who shared the fate of the Black Officer at Gaick. After having won the affections of a girl from Strone, to whom he became engaged, he resiled at the formal contracting—Oidhche a' Chumhnaint—on account of his dissatisfaction—partly, no doubt, that of his friends—with the tocher which her friends were prepared to bestow upon her.

Shortly afterwards he married a daughter of Ranald Macdonald of Aberarder. The bridal party happening to pass the house where his former sweetheart lay dying of a broken heart, she asked to be raised to the window in order that she might see them. Upon her wish being gratified, she exclaimed, "Nis, nis! ni sin an gnothuch"—i.e., "Now, now! that will do"—and lay down, never more to rise. The following lines form a few snatches of a song which the poor maiden had composed in her bitter woe:—

Tha mulad, tha airsneul, tha bròn,
Tha mulad ro-mhòr orm féin,
Mu dhéighinn an fhiùrain a dh' fhalbh
Dha 'n d' thug mise gu dearbh mo ghaol;
Gu 'n siùbhlainn ri uisg 's ri gaoith,
Cur is cathadh is caochladh neoil,
'S gu 'n rachainn greis astair mu thuath,
Dh' fhios an fhleasgaich chaidh suas seach an t-Shròin'.

Dh' fhios an fhleasgaich dha 'n d' thug mi mo rùn
Car tamuill air thùs 's mi òg,
'S gu 'n d' fhàg sud snith air mo shùil,
A' ruith o 'm shùil air mo bhroig;
Tha mo chàirdean an 'anger' ro-mhòr
Cuir campair gu leòir orm fhéin,
Ach a dh' aindeoin na their iad, a ruin,
'S math mo bharail 's mo dhùil nach tréig.

Gle mhoch-thrath 's a' mhaduinn Diardaoin,
Thug ar càirdean oirn' sgaoileadh le bròn;
'S cha 'n innis mi 'neach e fo 'n ghréin,
Mo chumhadh ad dhéigh, 'ill' òig!

Digitized by Google

7th MARCH, 1901.

At the meeting held on this date Mr William J. Watson, B.A., Rector of the Royal Academy, Inverness, read a paper entitled "Place Names of Ross-shire," No. 2. As Mr Watson is preparing a book, soon to be published, on this subject, the paper will not appear in the Society's Transactions.

———

21st MARCH, 1901.

At the meeting held on this date Mrs Mary Seton Watts, Lunnerlease, Guildford, Surrey, was elected a life member of the Society. Thereafter Mr Alex. Mitchell, Inverness, read a paper entitled "Extracts from Inverness Kirk Session Records: 1661-1800." Mr Mitchell's papers have already been published.

———

18th APRIL, 1901.

The contribution for this evening was entitled "The MacGregors of Roro," and was read by Mr Charles Fergusson, Nairn, from the original manuscript, which was written before 1841 by Dr James Macgregor, 14th of Roro, who died in 1875.

THE MACGREGORS OF RORO.

Of the MacGregors of Glenurchay, generally allowed to have been Chiefs of Clan Gregor, and who are known to have had the style of Glenurchay for upwards of four centuries, viz., from about 1004 to about 1440, one of the earliest Cadets was MacGregor of Glenlyon, of which house there appear to have been, if not Nine generations, at least Nine representatives, the last of whom, John Dhu nan Lann, died soon after 1500. After having, on the death of a numerous family of sons, by his Lady, Margaret daughter of Luke Stirling of Keir, and Widow of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchay, from 1475 (the time of Sir Colin's death), and his having, as repeated by a respectable genealogist (Buchanan of Auchmar), "no near relatives," disponed his estate, or right of occupancy, to his Lady's Stepson, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchay, who took a Royal Charter

Digitized by Google

of Glenlyon anno 1502, and was King's Tenant, or occupant merely, till that date.

It would appear that the MacGregors of Roro had been a distinct family for several generations prior to John Dhu nan Lann's death, but after his death, MacGregor of Roro became the representative of that branch of the MacGregors. The first of this family of whom we have any authentic notice of is

I. Gregor, who settled in Roro about the time of his Father's death, 1415. He was married, and said to have had eleven sons. His eldest son was

II. Duncan Beg MacGregor, known as Donnacha Lienoch, who, according to an Obituary in the Latin Language written after 1531, which had formerly belonged to Sir James MacGregor, Dean of Lismore, and now in the Archives of the Highland Society of Scotland, "died at Rorow 17th February 1477 (or 1475)." He married Elizabeth, daughter of MacNaughton of Dundarawe, or of that Ilk. It may be proper to observe here that this, and marriages of the MacGregors of Roro, are given on the authority of tradition. By his said wife Duncan had several children, among whom were

1st. Gregor, his heir.

2nd. Allaster More, Ancester of the MacGregors of Dunan in Rannoch.

3d. Duncan dhu, Ancester of the MacGregors of Leragan in Rannoch.

4th. "John Duncanson," so called in the Obituary above mentioned; he died at Bellycht and was buried in Inchadin (Kenmore) on the North side of the Altar, 10th March 1491, and his Widow Katrine Cardy, daughter of the Laird of Foss, was buried in the Church of Dull, before the step of the highest Altar, on 14th August 1493.

5th. Para Rhua na Seichdanan, in Culdarbeg. His son Allaster, and his grandson called Donacha Allaster, were killed by Duncan Breac in Wester Culdar 25th May 1529. Donacha's two sons Allaster and John dhu are mentioned in record P. Seal 13th May 1586. The last Allaster had a son Donald, who was father to Allaster called the Duke, who was very zealous in the interest of the Stewart family in 1715. The Duke had a son Donald, who resided in Glenlyon, and was father to John, who had a numerous family, his eldest son Donald was a Major in the 58th Regiment.

III. Gregor Duncanson is mentioned in the Obituary above referred to as having died at Roro in April 1515 and buried at Killin. By the death of John dhu nan Lann (or of the Spears),

Digitized by Google

the last of the MacGregors of Glenlyon, Gregor became representative of that family. This circumstance appears to be alluded to in the celebrated Song

"MacGregors of Roro whose right was Glenlyon."

Gregor married a daughter of — Menzies of Weyme, and had by her a numerous issue, among others

1st. Duncan, his heir.

2nd. James, Ancestor of the Gregories of Netherdaill or Kinairdie, as appears from the Genealogy of that family in the possession of John Gregory, Esq., Advocate, Edinburgh.

3d. John, surnamed Mhallich or Vallich on account of his large Shaggy Eye brows. Ean Mhallich or Vallich died at Tulicheamin 9th February 1523, and was buried in Killin, leaving seven sons—

1. Niel, his heir, in Ardennaig.
2. Ewin, mentioned in the Commission see 4th Feby. 1589.
3. John Roy do. do. do.
4. "Duncan MacGregor alias Mac Invallich and now Drummond" 'appears in the record of the Privy Seal 30th August 1603. He was Father of Patrick Drummond, who purchased the Estate of Balhaldie 9th August 1642, who appears in record particular register of Sasines Perthshire 17th August 1617.
5. Donald, mentioned in the Commission see 4 Feby. 1589.
6. Thomas dhu in Cullemat.
7. Robert in Dalcapin, who on the 12th May 1606 got a gift of the escheat of his deceased brother Thomas, Rec. Pri. Sig.

Niel M'Ean Vallich had two sons, Gregor and William. These appear together along with their Uncle Duncan in a Bond given by some of the Principals of the Clan Gregor to the Earl of Argyle, King's Lieutenant, 22d April 1601, as descendants of Duncan Lienoch.

Mallet the Poet was a descendant of Ean Vallich, and his original name was Malloch, which had been assumed by some of his tribe on the Proscription of the Name of MacGregor.

IV. Duncan, Succeeded his father, is mentioned in a Proclamation against some of the Clan Gregor 10th January 1563.* He is there styled Duncan MacGregor in Roro.

He married Miss Macdonald of the family of Keppoch, by whom he had issue

* This was the first Act issued against the Clan Gregor.

Digitized by Google

1st. Gregor, his heir.

2d. John dhu More, who was a brave man, and made a conspicuous figure in his time. He died at Edinburgh 28th July 1612.

3d. Allaster Breac, or freckled, had three sons—

1. Duncan in Fernay, he was exectuted at Edinburgh 17th February 1604 for having been at the Battle of Glenfroon.

2. John dhu M'Allaster breac of Stronfernan, occurs in the records along with his brother Duncan, in 1589 and 1602, and likewise by himself in the Bond given to the Earl of Argyle in 1601, as a descendant of Duncan Lienoch. He was killed by John Campbell brother of Lawers, and his Head presented to the Privy Council in 1611. At the time he was killed he had a Feu of the Lands of Stronfernan from Strowan Robertson. Campbell pursued Strowan before the Council for a 19 years' Lease of MacGregor's Feu, in terms of an Act of Council, which promised such a Tack in favour of the Slayer of every MacGregor who happened to possess any Lands. Strowan was adjudged to pay a Compensation at sight of the Council, and ordered by the Council to eject from Stronfernan the Widow and Bairns of MacGregor with servants and Tenants.

John dhu had several Children, among whom were Donald, Allaster, Gillespick or Archibald. All these are mentioned in the Rec. Pri. Cou. 3d August 1602. Gregor Mac Ean dhu Vc Allaster of Easter Drumnacharrichad, as "Gregor M'Gregor in Gowlarich in Strathdowine," along with "John MacGregor his only lawful son," [got] a Charter from John Earl of Atholl of the Lands of Easter Drumnacharric in the Earldom of Atholl, Borony of Garth, and Shire of Perth, under the reversion of 3,000 Merks, 28th December 1655; and from the same Nobleman, a Charter of the Sunny Half of Nether Urquhiclavis (otherwise South Half of Nether Blorish) in the Barony of Garth, and Shire of Perth, to him, and to Christian M'William his spouse, in liferent, and to John MacGregor their son in fee, under reversion of 937 Merks, 1st July 1657 (Particular Register of Sasines, Perthshire, 6th May 1656, and 30th Decr. 1657). By the said lady, he had an only son, styled of Easter Drumnacharric, but better known as John MacGregor of Delavorer, who, as "John MacGregor Vc Eanduy Vc Allaster" and "John MacGregor of Delavorer," sold both these impignorated estates to Colonel James Menzies of Culdares 20th May 1694. John MacGregor, fiar of Easter Drumnacharric, married a daughter of Farquharson of Auchinheyle, and, by her, had several children, among others, 1. Gregor, his eldest son, who had been

Digitized by Google

enfeoffed in Easter Drumnacharric 1st November 1681 (Particular Register of Sasines, Perthshire, 21st November 1681), and with whose consent his father sold this estate as above mentioned.

He married Marjory, daughter of Robert Grant of Easter Elchies (marriage Contract 18th January 1681), who, having been enfeoffed in the lands of Drumnacharric same time as her husband, gave his consent to the sale.

3d. Allaster MacAllaster Vreac is mentioned as one of the principals of the Clan Gregor in 1614, and occurs repeatedly in the records prior to that date.

Duncan MacGregor of Roro was succeeded by his eldest son.

V. Gregor Mac Conachy in Roro, who occurs along with his brother, John dhu, in a Commission of Fire and Sword dated 4th February 1589 against a number of the Clan Gregor nominatim for the alleged murder of Drummond of Drummondergnoch, one of the under Forresters of Glenartney, who is said to have been very hostile to the MacGregors.

Gregor again appears in the record of the Privy Council in February 1592 a Tenant of the Laird of Weyme—Menzies appears to have had Roro along with Morinch, Duncrosk, &c., &c., in the Barony of Menzies, before 1520, as his son William is styled Menzies of Roro this year.

Gregor married a daughter of Robertson of Faschoille [Faskally] in Atholl—this Lady had been previously married 1st to Stewart of Appin, to whom she had one son, his heir—2ndly to Campbell of Glenlyon, to whom she had one son, his heir—3rdly to MacGregor of Roro, to whom she had several Children, among whom were

1. Duncan, his heir.

2. George, who settled in Inverness shire, progenitor of the MacGregors of Raigmore, which family is now represented by Peter MacGregor, Esq., Surgeon to His Majesty King George the Fourth.

The Genealogy of the MacGregors of Raigmore is recorded in the Lyon Office, Edinburgh, and dated 11th December, 1782.

3. John dhu MacGregor, alias Sinclair, to be mentioned hereafter.

Gregor was succeeded by his eldest son.

VI. Duncan Macgregor alias Gordon of Roro, who, 24th February 1631, granted a Renunciation of the lands of Roro in favour of Duncan Menzies of Comrie; but Menzies having died without performing his part of the Agreement, MacGregor, 24th

Digitized by Google

April 1633,* granted a second renunciation in favour of Alexander Menzies of Comrie, son of Duncan, and, at the same time, took a Wadset of the Mains of Roro in security for £1000 Scots, being the balance due to him of the price of his property at that date which the deeds themselves (which are recorded) bear.

Duncan MacGregor alias Gordon and John dhu MacGregor alias Sinclair, his brother, signed a bond and letter of Slaine, 22d May 1630, whereby they became bound for all the MacGregors of their own House of Roro, to keep the peace with Robert Buchanan of Leny, and his friends, on condition of the latter paying 1300 Merks as an assythment (compensation) for the Slaughter of Patrick and Malcolm sons of Patrick Auloch MacGregor, and Donald son of Duncan Abrach MacGregor, which sum had been agreed upon by Arbiters mutually chosen by the parties.

John dhu Sinclair had eight sons—

1. Gregor, who married Margaret, eldest daughter of John M'Nab of MacNab, as appears from their Marriage Contract dated at Kinald 14th September 1655. The Bride's Tocher was 800 merks Scots.
2. Hugh.
3. Alexander.
4. Duncan.
5. Malcolm.
6. John.
7. Donald.
8. Patrick Roy.

Duncan MacGregor alias Gordon of Roro married Catherine, daughter of Duncan Campbell of Glenlyon, by whom he had several Children, amongst others—

1. Alexander, his heir.
2. Gregor.

He was succeeded by his eldest son.

VII. Alexander, who was killed at the Battle of Inverlochy, 2d February 1645, and was succeeded by his Brother.

VIII. Gregor MacGregor of Roro, who along with Patrick MacGregor of that Ilk signed a letter of Slaines 5th August 1645 approving of the agreement between the Laird of Leny and Duncan and Gregor sons to Patrick Auloch MacGregor already alluded to. This letter of Slaines and the bond already mentioned with several other original papers referring to a feud between the MacGregors and Buchanans are in the possession of

* Appendix. See page 19 [ms.], Renunciation, 1633.

Digitized by Google

Francis Hamilton, M.D., lenial Chief of the very Ancient Clan of Buchanan which is his paternal surname.

On 25th April 1673 Gregor obtained of Commissary John Campbell of Glendaruel a renewal of the Mortgage Right of the Mains of Roro, the purchase money being the same as in the transaction 1633, viz., £1,000 Scots.

Gregor married a sister of Colonel James Menzies of Culdare. By this lady he had (besides two Daughters, Anne married to John MacGregor lenial Ancestor of Sir Evan John Murray MacGregor of MacGregor, Bart., and Mary married to MacDonald of Auchnacoichen) three sons—

1. Gregor, his heir.
2. Duncan Roy, to be mentioned in the Sequel.
3. Neil, who is mentioned in a Bond of Cautionary 18th August 1679 and recorded.

IX. Gregor MacGregor alias John Gordon of Roro succeeded his father. He burdened his Estate considerably during the rebellion 1715, by eagerly espousing the cause of the House of Stewart. He married Beatrix, daughter of —— predecessor of Tullybelton. By her he had a son Duncan, in whose favour he conveyed all his property as contained in the Wadset Right of the same by Disposition dated 14th March 1721 and recorded.

He was succeeded by his son.

X. Duncan MacGregor alias Campbell of Roro, who joined Prince Charles Stewart in 1745, and was in consequence so much empoverished as to be under the necessity of acting in the capacity of Clerk to his relation Tullybelton at Perth. Before leaving the Highlands he borrowed a sum of money from his relation John MacGregor at Lagfearn, and in security deposited the Wadset Right of Roro, which Wadset was paid off by the Earl of Breadalbane, who obtained a renunciation of the Mains of Roro 1st April 1760, signed by Duncan Campbell alias MacGregor and others at Perth, where it is recorded.

Duncan married Miss Isabella Foster, and dying 11th Septr. 1763, left by her two sons and two daughters—

1st. Gregor, who, going abroad, has not been heard of since 12th June, 1744, when he was on board His Majesty's Ship Captain at Spithead bound for India.

2nd. Alexander, who was in the East India Company's Service. He has not been heard of since 26th October 1754.

1st. Daughter Christiana died unmarried.

2nd. Catharine was married to Donald MacAndrew at Tynaline, to whom she had several children. She died at Perth 4th June 1809.

Digitized by Google

We now return to Duncan Roy, second son of Gregor No. VIII.

XI. Duncan Roy Macgregor married Ann, daughter of Baron Macdearmed, Craignevie, in Glenlyon, and had by her several sons—

1st. John, who died in England without issue.

2nd. Hugh.

3d. Alexander married -- MacNab Breadalbane Lady.

4th. Duncan.

5. Donald.

XII. Hugh, second son of Duncan Roy, married 1st Christian MacGregor (Roro), by whom he had three sons and one daughter, all of whom died unmarried. He married 2dly Christian Lothian, and had by her three sons—

1. Donald.

2. John.

3. James, who married in 1795 Janet Mackay, daughter of John Mackay in Clyth, County of Caithness, and purchased the Estate of Fonab in Atholl, 1819.

XIII. Donald MacGregor, married 1st Miss Margaret M'Intyre, sister of the Rev. Dr M'Intyre, minister of Glenurchay, by whom he had one daughter. He married 2dly Janet M'Donald (Glenlyon), and died in 1821, leaving by her two sons—

1. James.

2. Hugh—and several daughters, the eldest of them, Margaret, is married to Mr M'Intyre, Surgeon, Fortingall.

XIV. James MacGregor, Assistant Surgeon, 42d Regiment, * [and of Fonab, near Pitlochry.

James, the doctor, died in 1875.

XV. Hugh, his brother, would succeed; he was known as Eoghann Mòr, and died 1880. He had a son Charles.

XVI. Charles, who lately had the Banavie Hotel.

The present Laird of Fonab is a son of Margaret, dr. of Donald XIII. and Dr M'Intyre of Fortingall, and he resides in New Zealand or Australia].

[Appendix.—Renunciation of Roro.]

At Edinburgh the Ellevint day of Junij the yeir of God Im vjc threttie three yeirs the renunciation vnder writtен wes producit be Andw. Darling wreitter in Edinburgh and registrat

* Here Dr James MacGregor's ms. naturally ends. The rest, in parenthesis is Mr Ferguson's addition.

Digitized by Google

in the buck's of generall registre or Session appoyntit for Registratioun of saisings reversiounes and vther preittis in the 36 buik thereof and in the lieffs following conforme to the Act of Parliament maid thairanent in Anno 1617 Quhairof the tennor follows. Be it kend till all men be ther presentis lettres Mr Duncan Gordon alias MacGregor in Cambserich fforsamikle as Alexr. Menzies of Comries be his band and obligatioun subscryvet with his hand the day and dait of ther presents is bunden and obleist To content and pay to me and vtheris specifiet in the said band vpoun the provisiounes and conditiounes at lenth specifiet and conteinet thair in, all and haill the Sowme of ane thousand Pundis money gude vsuall of this realm, as principal, togidder with the sowme of ane hundreth Pundis as for the annuall of the samen yeirlie sua lang as the said principall sowme remains unpayit togidder with the sowme of Twa hundreth merks money of liquider expenses as the said band and obligatioun mair fullie proportis, and als for vther pleasuris gratitudis and gu'd deeds done by the said Alexr. Menzies to me befoir and at the tyme of the making heirof. Thairfoir Witt ye, me to have desponit transferrit freelie renunceit quytelamit and evergiven, lik as I be thair presents dispones tranferres frielie renouncies quyte clames and over gives fra me my hairs and assegnees and successouries kin and Freindis clame and kyndnes and right fra me or ony preceidand or succeedand me to the possessioun of the Lands of Roro all right tittle entres claime of right kyndnes propertie possessioun occupatioun setting and using of the saidis landis of Roro with the pertinents by and in the Centre of Glenlyon and Sherrefdome of Perth In and to the person of the said Alexr. Menzies his aires executouris and successouris my onlie cessioneris and assigneyis thereto. And grantis and confess myself lawfullie removit frae the samen and that the said Alexr. his possessioun thairof is lawfull and never sal be callit nor persuvit by me nor my Aires nor be any otheris quhom I may stop or lett directlie by way of ejectioun spuilzie wrongous intrusioun or any vther maner of way in any tyme heirefter sumand and transferrand the samen fra me and my saidis aires and all vtheris quhom I may stop or lett as saidis in the persone of the said Alexr. Menzies and his foirsaidis togidder with all richt title entres claime kyndres proppertie or possessioun petitor heritable or possessor quhilk I may predecessouris or successouris haid to the samen landis with the pertenantis in ony tyme heirefter Surrogattand and substitand thame in me and my said aires our full richt and place

Digitized by Google

of the samen forever. With power to the said Alexr. Menzies and his foirsaidis to use lett or ocupy sell and dispone the samen landis as his owne proper Landis and hereitage in tyme coming at his pleasuare. And for the saides Alexr. Menzies his better securitie I be their presentis faithfullie bindis and obleist me and my Aires to renew this present dispositioun renunciatioun and translatioun or quhatsomever richt I can mak of the foirsaidis landis of Roro sua oft as neidis beis ay and quhill the said Alexander find himself sure in the premisses keep and always the substance above written and now as then and then as now bindes and obleist me and my aires to warrant ther presentis fra the facts and deids of me my saidis haires or any vtheris quhome I may stop or lett directlie in tyme coming vnder the pane of perjurie and infamie lyke as I obleis me and my Aires to ratifie and approve this renunciatioun in the haill heids clauses Articles and Conditioun above written als oft as we sal be requyrit thairto be the said Alexr. Menzies and his foirsaidis and for the mair securitie I am content and consentis that this presentis be insert and registrat in the buiks of Counsell and Sessioun, to have the strenth of ane decreit of the Lordis thairof interponit thairto with all letteris and executonallis necessar to pass thairon, and the horning to be on an simple chairge of six dayes onlie and for that effect Constitutis

My lawfull pror. &c.

In witness quhairof written by Walter Dalgleish Notar publick, I have subscryvet ther presentis with my hand at Ballich the 25th day of Apryle Im vjc threttie thrie yeirs before ther witness Mongo Campbell fear of Laweris, Archibald Campbell brother german to Sir James Campbell of Laweris knicht, Thomas Mackie and Donald Stalker servitouris to Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurquhy knight and fewder, I the said Duncan Gordoun declaires heirby that ther presentis sall naywayes be hurtfull nor derogative to an fomer renunciation grantit be me to vnqle Duncan Menzies of Comries and his aires of the dait the twentie fourt day of February the yeir of God Im vjc thretteine yeirs, Bot rather in Corroboratioun of the samen quhilk I have subscryvet befoir the foirnamet Witnesses Sic Subr. Duncane Gordoun alias MacGregor above namet with my hand at the pen led be the notaris vnder subscryvand at my command becaus I cannot wreit myself. Ita est Walterius Dalgleishe Notarius publicus de mandate dicte Duncane Gordoune alias MacGregor scribere nescien et asseruet testemanie mea Ita est Joannes Balvaird connoturicis premisso etiam Scribere

Digitized by Google

demandate dicti Duncane Gordoune alias MacGregor scribere ut assericit nescien Test manumea M. Campbell witness, Alexander Campbell Witness, Donald Stalker Witness, Thomas Mackie Witness.

MACGREGOR OF BALHALDIE.

John Surnamed Vallich, a younger son of Gregor MacGregor of Roro, had seven sons, of whom "Duncan M'Invallich" who as one of the principals of Clan Gregor and descendant of Duncan Lienoch was 22d April 1601 proposed Party in Bail Bond by Allaster M'Gregor of Glenstrae to the Earl of Argyle, King's Lieutenant, in the Bond of Clan Gregor; and had before 30th August 1603 taken the Surname of Drummond. The latter circumstance appears from record of Privy Seal of the last mentioned date in which he is called Duncan M'Gregor alias M'Invallich and now Drummond. His son Patrick Drummond alias M'Invallich appears in record (particular register of Sasines, Perthshire, 17th August 1617). Patrick purchased the Lands of Balhaldie 9th August 1642 and is styled Patrick Drummond of Culcrieff. He died before 2nd July 1646, for at this date, was "John Drummond of Culcrieff," his eldest son, retoured in the "Glebe and land of the Parish Church of Monzievaird called Hert with the tythes." To his Younger Son

III. To Duncan he had given his more lately acquired estate of Balhaldie. On the 17th of March 1658 Duncan Drummond of Balhaldie heir Maill of John Drummond of Culcrieff his brother german was retoured in the lands of Culcrieff within the Parochin of Crieff, and Stewartrie of Strathearne, in the Glebe and Kirkland of the Vicar of Monzievaird beside the Water of Turret, with teynd sheaves of the said Glebe called Hert within the Stewartrie foresaid and in 16 acres and 3 roods of land comprehending two tenements within the Burgh of Abernethie and regalitie thereof." On the 26th of July 1666 Duncan Drummond of Balhaldie heir of Patrick Drummond his Father was retoured in the three fourths of the lands of Balhaldies otherwise Bohaddies, two fifths of the said lands within the Parochin of Dunblane and Seneschalship of Strathairn. Duncan Drummond was succeeded by his son.

Duncan Drummond of Balhaldie is celebrated as a just and benevolent character, an improver of his Paternal soil and much esteemed and beloved. He had a son and a daughter. The

Digitized by Google

latter as stated in a late Memoir of the House of Drummond married Ninian Drummond of Wester Glassingall.

IV. Alexander Drummond of Balhaldie who was retoured 6th March 1685 in the fourth part of the lands and village of Sherdail called Craigheid with the half of the grain Mill of Dolorshire commonly called Rack Mill in the Parish of Dolor and regalitie of Dunfermline. He is designed Alexander Drummond of Balhaldie in a safe conduct on the third of March the foregoing year by James Earl of Perth Lord Drummond and Stobhall, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, "to travel into the Kingdom of England and particularly to the City of London about his lawful affairs." This Voucher affords a presumption that Duncan had by this time died.

On the 26th of April 1686 Alexander Drummond of Balhaldies married Margaret eldest daughter of the renouned Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochyell knight by Isabell Daughter of Sir Lachlan M'Lean of Dowart and Morven Baronet, Chief of the M'Leans and Companion in Arms of the Great Marquies of Montrose. Lochyell was the last of the Highland Chiefs who continued Active in James VII.'s cause.

Balhaldies attached to the Royal House of Stewart both from inclination and marriage had received the following Mandate—

(Seal) "James R."

James the Eighth By grace of God King of Scotland, England France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. We taking into our Royal consideration the constant and unshaken Loyalty of our trusty and well beloved Alexander M'Gregor of Balhaldie as well as the eminent services done and performed by him to us on all occasions from his early youth to an advanced old age of which we being truly sensible are resolved to confer on him as a mark of our Special and Royal favor the Title and precedency hereafter mentioned which after him will we hope descend to our trusty and well beloved William MacGregor his eldest son of whose loyalty and attachment to our Royal Person and cause we have essential proofs by his signal services and indefatigable endeavours to promote our Interest and service. Our Will and pleasure therefore is. That Letters Patent pass under our great Seal of our Ancient Kingdom of Scotland in due and competent form Making and creating as we hereby make and create the said Alexander M'Gregor a Knight and Baronet of our said Ancient Kingdom of Scotland to have and to hold to him and the lawful Heirs male of his own body with the privi-

Digitized by Google

leges precedencies and other advantages thereunto appertaining, in as full and ample manner as any other Knight and Baronet of our said Ancient Kingdom holds and enjoys the same. And we hereby dispence with all informalities (if any be) herein contained and ordain in the said Letters Patent to pass thr great Seal of our said Ancient Kingdom of Scotland pr. Saltum, without passing any other register or seal, and for so doing this shall be a sufficient warrant. Given at our Court at Rome this 14th day of March 1740 in the thirty ninth year of our Reign.

(Signed) J. R.

Alexander M'Gregor of Balhaldie had by his Lady Margaret Cameron issue six sons and five daughters—

1st. William, his heir.

2d. Margaret, who died unmarried.

3d. Elizabeth, born 9th Septr. 1689, and married to Drummond of Colquhalzie issue two sons that died unmarried and two daughters Margaret married to — Young Esqr. and by him mother of two sons, who died in France, and Mary Wife of Philip Robertson to whom she brought three sons, John, Philip, Richard, and 3 daughters, Janet married to John Robertson Esqr. Merchant London, Margaret to Robert Keith Esqr. of Granada, and Ann to Andrew Farquharson Esqr. of Breda Aberdeen Shire.

4th. Ewan, named after his Maternal Grandfather and died without issue as did his Brothers.

5th. John.

6th. Alexander.

7th. Duncan—and Sisters

8th. Helen.

9th. Isabella.

10th. Jacobina, born 3d March 1710 and married James Wright Esqr. of Loss, but died childless.

11th. Donald, born 12th Septr. 1713 was bred a Sailor and resided at Pitceapsy New York when megrating with other Loyalists to Nova Scotia in 1782 he lost what property he had acquired. He had married Miss Ann Grosbeck of New York and by her had children, a Son, Alexander who died in the West Indies unmarried and five daughters

1. Ann, married to Lieut. M'Gibbon and mother of two sons Alexander and John and two daughters.

Digitized by Google

2. Margaret, unmarried.

3. Mary, married on Christmas 1781, the year before her family had left New York, to her Paternal Cousin German Alexander M'Gregor of Balhaldie.

4. Jacobina, married to Lieut. Dougald Campbell late of the 42d Regt. of Foot and mother of three Sons Alexander, Patrick, Ludlow, and two daughters Jacobina and Ann.

5. Susanna, married to Captain M'Lean and mother of two sons and three Daughters.

Mrs Ann Grosbeck relict of Donald Drummond Esqr. younger son of Alexander Drummond (properly M'Gregor) of Balhaldie died in 1818 aged 84. Alexander was succeeded by his eldest son.

V. William M'Gregor of Balhaldie was born 8th May 1688. He had early in 1740 the year in which his Father was created a Baronet carried to Rome an instrument Signed by his Cousin german Donald Cameron of Lochyell and six others of distinction who had thus solemnly bound themselves to endeavour in Arms the restoration of the exiled House of Stewart. In this Service had William M'Gregor of Balhaldie Esqr. on the 23d of Decr. 1743 received the following Commission—

"James R."

James by the Grace of God King of Great Brittan France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c.

To our Trusty and well beloved William M'Gregor of Balhaldie Esqr. Greeting. We reposing a Special Trust and confidence in your loyalty and good conduct—Do hereby Constitute and appoint you to be a Colonel in our Service, and to take your Rank in our Army as such from the date hereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty and trust of a Colonel aforesaid by doing and performing every thing belonging thereunto. And we hereby require all and Sundry, our Forces to respect and obey you as such, and yourself to observe and follow all such orders, Directions, and commands as you shall from time to time receive from us, The Commander in Chief of our Forces for the time being, or any other your Superior Officer according to the rule and discription of war. In pusuance of the Power and Trust hereby reposed in you.

Given at our Court at Rome the 23d day of December 1743 In the 43 year of our Reign. (Signed) J. R."

Digitized by Google

When in 1745 Prince Charles had come to win his fathers Crown or perish . Lochyell with his warriors joined his banner and when they had reached Dunblane his Royal Highness lodged in the family Mansion of Balhaldie Lochyells Son in Law. The appartment used as the Royal Levee Room on the evening of the 11th and morning of the 12th of Septr. had till lately remained as it was. It is now modernized. The bed the Prince had slept in is preserved in the family of Balhaldie. William M'Gregor of Balhaldies had been abroad since 1740 but the habits in which Balhaldies had been with the Chevalier de St George may be estimated by the following Letter—

Rome, 3d December 1748.

I received last week yours of the 4th Novr. I had already heard of Lochyells death it is a loss to the cause, and I am truly concerned for it. If my recommendation to the Court of France comes in time, and has its effect, Young Lochyell will have his Fathers Regiment and on this and all other occasions I shall be always glad to shew him the great sense I reatin of the merits of that family. Poor Lochyell did not long out live his friend Lord Sempil in whom I have also lost a very zealous subject and who had given many Proofs of his being so, I wish I could have been able to be more kind to his family. But the truth is my straits were never so great as they are now, and therefore I cannot authorize you keeping up a correspondence the expences of which I am not able to defray. The Prince in his present situation, can best judge of what use it may be and I have always approved of what you do in that respect by his directions. I desire Lochyells Lady his Brother and his Son may find here my Compliments on their late loss which I sincerely share with them and have nothing else to add at present but to assure you of my constant kindness and regard for yourself.

For Mr M'Gregor. (Signed) James R.

William M'Gregor of Balhaldie had in 1757 married Janet daughter of Lawrence Oliphant Esqr. of Gask by whom he had one son his heir.

VI. Alexander M'Gregor of Balhaldie was born 7th October 1758 and early entering the British Army he had attained the Rank of Captain in the 65 Regiment of Foot, when he died of Military fatigue in the West Indies in 1794. His Gallant conduct at the capture of Martinique and Guadaloupe were

Digitized by Google

repeatedly mentioned in terms of high approbation in the general orders of the late Sir Charles afterwards Earl Grey Commander in those well known expeditions. Balhaldies had on the 25th of December 1781 married his Cousin german Miss Mary Drummond 3d daughter of Donald Drummond Esqr. of New York by whom he had five sons and four daughters. He was succeeded by his eldest son.

VII. William Oliphant M'Gregor of Balhaldie, he had in 1796 when Fifteen received an Ensigncy in the Regiment in which his Father had bravely fought and honourably died. Having served fourteen years in India and obtained a Majority in the 77th Regiment of foot. He died in 1810 leaving a Widow but no children. He was succeeded by his Brother.

VIII. Donald M'Gregor of Balhaldie. The 3d Brother Alexander, Assistant Commissary General in the West Indies, had in February 1815 married Miss Charlotte Houstoun of the Island of Tobago where he died 19th October 1821 without leaving issue. 4th James, and 5 Robert Keith, both of them died young. Miss Ann M'Gregor only surviving daughter of the late Alexander M'Gregor of Balhaldies married on the 5th April 1826 John Murray Esqr. of Liviland Stirling.

The Family Mansion in Dunblane has been sold several years, but the Estate of Balhaldies distant four miles North East of Dunblane remains in the family.

Arms.

Argent a sword azure in bend dexter, a Fir Tree eradicated proper in bend Sinister an antique Crown with points . gules in chief and supported by the point of the Sword . alluding to the constant loyalty of the M'Gregors.

Mottoes above the crest " Srioghal mo Dhream," i.e., " Royal is my Race," on the Scroll below the Shield " Ard Choille," the war cry alluding to a place of that name, the rendezvous of the M'Gregors in Glen Dochart.

29th OCTOBER, 1901.

At this meeting the following were duly elected members of the Society, viz.:—F. Darwin, Esq. of Muirtown, Inverness; Messrs A. W. Hutton, builder, Belfast; D. Mackintosh,

Digitized by Google

Franklin, Pennsylvania; John Mackenzie, merchant, Castle Street, Inverness; Charles Kennedy, Highland Railway, Inverness; F. Murray, of Messrs Murray & Watson, Inverness; William Fraser, of Messrs Keith & Coy., Inverness; and A. Mackay, Eileandubh, Dores Road, Inverness.

Thereafter David MacRitchie, Esq., C.A., Edinburgh, read a paper entitled, "Shelta—the Cairds' Language." Mr MacRitchie's contribution is as follows:—

SHELTA: THE CAIRDS' LANGUAGE.

The existence of a language peculiar to the class of "cairds" has now been known to modern educated people for a quarter of a century. Its discoverer, and the one who first proclaimed his discovery to the public, was an eminent American man of letters, Mr Charles Godfrey Leland, who has throughout his life taken a keen interest in all kinds of out-of-the-way forms of speech. The occasion on which Mr Leland received his first intimation of the existence of this language was in the course of an interview with a tramp whom he encountered in Somersetshire. Being a student of Gypsies and vagrants of every kind, Mr Leland bethought him of addressing this man in the Romany or Gypsy language, and was not surprised to find that the man fully understood what he was saying. "'But we are givin' Romanes up very fast,—all of us is,' observed the tramp. 'It is a gettin' to be too blown. Everybody knows some Romanes now. But there *is* a jib [speech] that ain't blown," he remarked reflectively. "Back slang, an' cantin', an' rhymin' is grown vulgar. . . . Now *Romanes* is genteel. . . . But as for this other jib, it's very hard to talk. It is most all Old Irish, and they calls it Shelter.'"

"This was all that I could learn at that time," says Mr Leland. "It did not impress me much, as I supposed that the man merely meant Old Irish." But a year later, when he and the late Professor Palmer were taking a walk along the beach at Aberystwith, they met another tramp who also, like the former one, understood the Gypsy language, and who, like him also, spoke of this hitherto unknown "Shelta" speech, to which he gave the additional name of "Minklers' Thari," or "Tinkers' Speech." The opportunity was too good to be lost, and so these two philologists obtained from this man a tolerably long list of "Shelta" words. Three years after this, Mr Leland found himself in his native city of Philadelphia, and there he fell in with an

Digitized by Google

Irish tinker who could speak Gaelic, Welsh, English, Romanes, and this hidden language of "Shelta." From him, also, Mr Leland received a large addition to his growing vocabulary. And it then became evident that Shelta, as spoken by both these men, contains some English, some Romanes, and a great deal of Gaelic. Yet it was equally clear that this form of speech was something more than a mere mixture of these three languages.*

That some of the so-called "Shelta" supplied to Mr Leland was simply Gaelic, and notably Irish Gaelic, is easily seen. For example, 'to-morrow' is *moroch*, 'a fish' is *iasg*, 'a pig' is *muogh*, 'to write' is *scree*; and all the numerals from 1 to 14, except for two slight deviations, are pure Gaelic. In the short sentence, '*Tat'th chesin ogomsa*,' which means, 'That belongs to me,' not only the word '*ogomsa*,' but the idiom also, is quite Gaelic. The reason why such words were not rejected by Mr Leland was simply because, as he himself explains, he was unacquainted with Gaelic.

The book in which these lists appeared was published in 1882, but Mr Leland had previously mentioned his discovery in the pages of "Macmillan's Magazine." He also referred to it again in a paper read before the Oriental Congress at Vienna in 1886, wherein he adds the statement: "I doubt if I ever took a walk in London, especially in the slums, without meeting men and women who spoke Shelta; and I know at this instant of two—I really cannot say promising—little boys who sell groundsel at the Marlborough Road Station who chatter in it fluently." This paper being quoted in "The Academy" of 20th Nov., 1886, called forth a response from Mr H. T. Crofton of Manchester,† who gave an additional list of Shelta words obtained by him from vagrants of one kind or another. This in turn produced a letter from Mr T. W. Norwood, which appeared a fortnight afterwards in "The Academy," also with an independent list of Shelta words. Thereafter, the subject was taken up by myself and my colleagues of the Gypsy Lore Society; and in April, 1890, we printed two new collections of specimens of the same form of speech. One list was supplied by Mr G. A. Wilson of Inverness, who, in the course of a visit to the late Rev. J. Gregorson Campbell, Tiree, obtained this list from a lady who had written down the words as they were given to her by a little tinker girl, then in the island. And, in passing, it may be noted that this occasion illustrates the fact

* Mr Leland's statements will be found at pp. 354-372 of "The Gypsies," Boston, 1882.

† The Academy," 18th Dec,, 1886, pp. 412-3.

Digitized by Google

that this language has been, if it is not now, jealously guarded by the people who use it among themselves. For, when the mother of this child learned, as she did through the little girl's brother, that she had supplied the lady with some of their words, she—the mother—called at the manse next day, and explained to the lady that "the words did not belong to any language at all, but had been made up by the little girl herself." Nevertheless, although the child had not made use of the name "Shelta," her language was found by comparison to be the same as that obtained by Mr Leland, by Mr Crofton, and by Mr Norwood. The same thing can be said of the words contributed to the *Gypsy Journal* by the Rev. Canon ffrench of Clonegal, in the south-east of Ireland, who had received them from a tinker of that neighbourhood. This man, when questioned by Mr ffrench, stated that the name "Shelta" was unknown to him; but he was well acquainted with what he called the "Tin-Men's Cant"; and of this he gave Mr ffrench several examples, which, on investigation, proved to be nothing else than Shelta. This tinker, it may be be added, stated that the people in Ireland who use this speech have a strain of Gypsy blood in their veins, although they are not real Gypsies.*

In August, 1890, another member of the Gypsy Lore Society, Dr Fearon Ranking, encountered a family of West Highland tinkers, whom he found to be well acquainted with Shelta speech, in addition to Romanes, Gaelic, and English. These people owned "a good-sized fishing smack," in which they cruised about, "sailing from place to place on the West Coast, and among the Islands, making and mending pots and pans." What is still more interesting is that their grandfather was one of those from whom Campbell of Islay obtained his *Sgeulachdan*, and was presumably the "John Macdonald, travelling tinker," who is described in the notes to the tale of "The Brown Bear of the Green Glen."†

Thus far I have told how, from various sources, specimens of Shelta got into print within recent years. Of course, it is not to be supposed that I have cited every instance in which the existence of this speech became known to educated men. Many students of the Gypsies (notably Mr Francis Hindes Groome) were well aware that a caste of people, whom real Gypsies regard as much inferior to them, were accustomed to use a jargon which

* They are known, he says, as "Gilly Goolies," a term which perhaps signifies coal or firemen (from *gille* and *gval*, coal or fire, otherwise "blackened with fire or coal.")

† "West Highland Tales," Vol. I., pp. 174-175.

Digitized by Google

Gypsies speak of as "Mumpers' Talk." And a well-known student of Gaelic lore, Mr Alexander Carmichael, has compiled a Shelta vocabulary (h therto unpublished) from words gathered by him from a family of Highland Cairds. But I have been here keeping in view the way in which our knowledge of the language was gradually increased by means of published lists.

The real practical outcome, however, of the growing attention which Shelta thus received was the serious study of it, in the first place, by Mr John Sampson of Liverpool, and thereafter by the eminent Celtic scholar, Professor Kuno Meyer. The result of their combined study is thus concisely stated by Mr Sampson:—"Shelta, or Shelrū, is a secret jargon of great antiquity spoken by Irish tinkers beggars, and pipers, the descendants of the ancient ceards and bards." It is "a systematic perversion of the pre-aspirated Gaelic spoken anterior to the 11th century."*

Here I cannot do better than quote from a paper of Mr Sampson's,† wherein he embodied the result of investigations carried on by him among people of this caste in Liverpool, as well as in Ireland:—

"The remote origin of this jargon is attested, not only by the universal tradition of the people, but by the number of Shelta words which have passed into English cant (i.e., old slang), some, at least, as early as the middle of the sixteenth century Sounder and more interesting evidence of the extraordinary antiquity of Shelta is, however, contained in Shelta itself. Historical students of Gaelic are, of course, familiar with the tendency to aspiration, which has exercised such a fatally refining influence upon the old language. The late Dr Angus Smith, in his 'Loch Etive and the Sons of Uisnach,' cites an instance where a phrase, 'Achadh a Chath' [The Field of the Battle], has been corrupted to Achaw, and proceeds to observe:—'The language, I must confess, is breaking down; and first the consonants go, and then the intermediate vowels, and nothing will be left soon, as a friend says, but "pechs and sighs."' Sometimes we find the original sound of a word surviving in a local name, as in Inch na Damf (Stag Island), where the last word is still pronounced Damf, although the same word as ordinarily used has shrunk to damh (pronounced dav or daö). Dr O'Donovan, referring to the same aspirating principle in Irish Gaelic, says:—'A tendency to aspiration seems to be a conspicuous characteristic of all the dialects of the Celtic.' . . . Now in Shelta we meet with numerous instances of the survival of the

* See Mr Sampson's article, "Shelta," in "Chambers's Encyclopædia."
† "Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society," Vol. II., pp. 204-220.

Digitized by Google

archaic unaspirated forms, clearly indicating that these words must have originated before the modification of the Gaelic took place. . . . Gaelic scholars will doubtless be able to speak with more or less precision as to the period at which this change occurred: some idea may, however, be formed from the fact that in Cormac's Glossary (attributed to Cormac, King and Bishop of Cashel, obt. 903), some of these words, such as *mathair*, *athair*, *bothar*—all unaspirated in Shelta—have already assumed their modern aspirated form."

Considerations of space forbid further quotation from Mr Sampson's instructive paper; and it seems preferable to turn now to the analysis of Dr Kuno Meyer—not only because of the latter's acknowledged position in Celtic studies, but also because he had the advantage of surveying the pioneer work done, and admirably done, by Mr Sampson. But a few words may first be said regarding that group of Shelta vocables described by Mr Sampson as "Gaelic back-slang." By this is meant that a certain portion of Shelta consists of ordinary Gaelic words pronounced backwards. Thus mac, 'a son,' becomes kam; da, 'two,' becomes ad or od; carr, a 'waggon or car,' becomes râg; naoi, 'nine,' becomes ayen; pog, 'kiss,' becomes gâp; ban, 'white,' becomes nâp; and so on. Some words of this kind are very interesting, because they clearly show that they were inverted at a date prior to the aspiration of the consonant. Such a word is marrk, 'a bone,' which must date from the time when the Gaelic word was cnàim, without any aspiration of the labial, as at present.

One other feature worth mentioning in connection with "back-slang" is that the same principle forms a distinguishing characteristic of the jargons used by two different castes of Gypsies or semi-Gypsies, the one in Bengal, the other in Egypt. In these latter cases, the languages so inverted are Bengali and Arabic respectively. This fact, however, would form a very insecure basis for a theory of affinity between these castes and our Shelta-speaking nomads; because the plan of disguising a word by the simple process of inversion seems almost an instinct common to mankind.

To come now to Dr Kuno Meyer's analysis of Shelta:—

"In this paper," he says, "I propose first shortly to recapitulate and substantiate Mr Sampson's conclusions as to the Irish origin of Shelta, and, secondly, to show that Shelta is a secret language of great antiquity, that in Irish MSS. we have mentions and records of it under different names, and that, though now

Digitized by Google

confined to tinkers, its knowledge was once possessed by Irish poets and scholars, who, probably, were its original framers.

"The vocabulary of Shelta* consists of Irish words disguised in various ways. . . . Its grammar is a mixture of Irish and English. . . . As for the vocabulary, we can clearly distinguish the following processes, by which Shelta words were fabricated from Irish ones :—

[Of these, he enumerates four classes. The first is the process of spelling the Gaelic word backwards, of which I have already given illustrations.]

"Sometimes, to the word thus obtained, a suffix is added : *thal-osk*, 'day,' *latha* [for this inversion had taken place before latha had been refined into *la-a*] ; *thŭrp-og*, 'rag,' *brat*. Or the final is changed as in nŭp, 'neck,' from Irish *muin*.

"The second process is that of prefixing an arbitrary letter or letters, *e.g.*, *g-ather*, 'father,' from *athair* ; *s-lūn*, 'Monday,' from *lùan* ; *gr-imsher*, 'season, weather,' from *aimser* ; *gr-asol*, 'ass,' from *asal* ; *grani*, 'to understand,' from *aithninn*.

"Sometimes a suffix is added : s-rīg-o, 'king,' from rí*g* (now rí*ogh*) ; gr-ūl-a, 'appl*e*,' from ubhal.

"Another transfiguring process consists in substituting another letter or letters for the initial, *e.g.*, slŭnya, 'glass,' from gloine ; granko, 'turkey,' from francach ; Grasano, 'Scotch,' from Sasanach † ; graura, 'summer,' from samhradh ; grarro, 'foal,' from searrach ; grānya, 'ring,' from fáinne ; grenog, 'window,' from fuinneog ; griwog, 'fairy,' from siabhróg ; shako, 'to sin,' from peacadh ; shalawa, 'dumb,' from balbh ; sheldhrū [otherwise shelrū or shelta, signifying 'speech,' and secondarily, this special cryptic speech], from bélre (now béarla) ; sroijin, 'morning,' from maidin ; cherpa, 'to boil, cook,' from bearbadh ; charp, 'true,' from dearb ; sharrog, 'red,' from dearg ; Jumnik, 'Sunday,' from Domnach. With suffixes : shūka, 'fi*ve*,' from cúic.

And a fourth variety of change is effected by the transposition of letters, as illustrated by acháram, 'to-morrow,' instead of amárach, and by mŭgathon, 'fool,' instead of amadàn.

Professor Meyer continues thus :—"I would scarcely have taken much interest in Shelta, if it were nothing but tinkers' cant, fabricated from Irish in modern times, of a kind not superior

* As spoken by Barlow, the Ulster tinker from whom Mr Sampson obtained his words.

† Dr Meyer explains that in Ulster the word Sasanach is commonly applied to the Lowland Scotch settlers and the Protestants. It is to be remembered that the vocabulary here analysed is exclusively the Ulster dialect of Shelta.

Digitized by Google

to the back-slang of costers and cabmen. It was the fact of there being evidence to the great antiquity of Shelta that made me anxious to know more about it. Mr Sampson has already noticed that many Shelta words are evidently not framed on the modern Irish word, but on its old Irish form. Thus Shelta des (pronounced dyesh), 'yes,' is the old Irish 'sed, 'it is,' spelt backward, which in modern Irish has become seadh, pronounced sha; chima, 'stick,' was formed from old Irish maite, not from modern maide, which would have made djima; grē, 'rise,' is from old Irish érg, not from modern éirgh; thober, gather, thalosk, chal (*i.e.*, theal), tharpon, 'porridge,' were formed at a time when *th* in bóther, athair, latha, leth, broth, was yet pronounced = *t* + *h*, not as now, = *h*; mālya, 'hand,' Jumnik, 'Sunday,' were formed when *m* in lám and domnach had not yet become *v* and *w* respectively, as in modern Irish lámh and domhnach. This carries us back to a period of the Irish language the exact limits of which have not yet been defined, but which was certainly anterior to the eleventh century.

"Another testimony to the antiquity of Shelta is the fact that it has preserved words which have long since died out in Irish, *e.g.*, karb, 'an old woman, grandmother,' from Irish brac or frac, cognate with Welsh gwrag, a word found in the early Irish sagas, but no longer used. . . . But there is other direct evidence of the age of Shelta, which will appeal more strongly to those not familiar with the laws of Irish sound-change.

"We have very early testimony in Irish literature to the manufacture of a jargon by the very methods described above. Dr Whitley Stokes, in the second edition of his "Goidelica," p. 72, after describing the processes by which some obscure words in an old glossary—about which more anon—were formed from Irish words, says:—'The manufacture of such jargon is recognised not only in the preface to the "Amra Choluimchille," preserved in the "Lebor na huidre," a MS. of the beginning of the twelfth century, but also in the "Auraicept na n-éces" (Instruction of the Poets), copies of which are found in the books of Lecain and Ballimote. Dr Ferguson, moreover, has detected on Ogham inscriptions examples of the practice of disguising words by the introduction of arbitrary ingredients. Each of the processes of fabrication has a name."

"Formolad denoted the addition of a syllable.

"Deichned was the addition of a letter only.

"When the final was dropt, the process was Dichned.

"When a word was spelt backwards, the process was termed Delidind.

Digitized by Google

"Cennfocrus túis was the change of a word's initial: Cennfocrus déid the change of a final.

"The Connail of fer is fefrier, that of ben is befrien, that of nem, 'heaven,' is nefriem.

"The Mallrugud of fer is feer; of ben, been; of nem, neem.

"From the examples given by the commentator of the 'Amra Choluimchille,' it appears that some at least of these practices were actually employed by Irish filid or poets. The commentary says they did so either to disguise a word, or for the purpose of filling up their lines.

"How far poetical licence extended in such arbitrary violation of the language [as displayed in a verse cited], I cannot, at present, say. The fact remains that in a MS. dating from the end of the eleventh century the practice of the arbitrary disguising and altering of words in ways identical with those observed in Shelta is recognised, and ascribed to the filid or poets.

"I will now mention," continues Professor Meyer, "a second still more remarkable testimony to the age and use of Shelta.

"The remarks from Stokes's 'Goidelica,' quoted above, occur in the introduction to an edition of a curious glossary of 291 obscure words and their Irish equivalents. This glossary was written in 1643 by the celebrated Irish antiquary Dudley Mac Firbis. 'But,' says Stokes, 'that Mac Firbis was the copyist, not the compiler, of the glossary, and that it was originally produced some centuries before his time is plain enough from the old and early middle Irish forms occumm, ocut, adrubuirt, innsi.' This glossary bears the title 'Dúil Laithne,' which Stokes renders by 'Liber Latiniensis.' But the Irish laiden, from genitive laidne or laithne (a loan from Latin Latina) seems here to have the meaning of 'dialect, idiom, jargon.' It is remarkable that one of the English names under which Shelta is known is Bog Latin. Cf. the German use of Latein as 'jargon, cant;' *e.g.* Jägerlatein, 'hunters' cant;' also old English lœden, from later leden, 'language.'

"Professor Thurneysen, of Freiburg, has shown* that a large number of the obscure words of Dúil Laithne are fabricated from Irish words in the following way. One or two letters of an Irish word are replaced by the name which these letters bear in the Irish alphabet called Beithe-luis-nion. Thus the Irish word dúnad, 'a fort,' becomes dur-únad; daur, the name of the letter d being substituted for the initial d of the word. Irish corn, 'a horn,' becomes cul-orn, coll being the name of the letter c, etc.

* In an article entitled "Du Langage secret dit Ogham" ("Revue Celtique," vii. pp. 369-375).

Digitized by Google

"The jargon thus created was anciently called Ogham, as we know from a passage in O'Molloy's Irish Grammar, written in 1677, who says, p. 133:—'Obscurum loquendi modum, vulgo Ogham, antiquariis Hibernicis satis notum, quo nimirum loquebantur syllabizando voculas appellationibus litterarum, dipthongorum, et tripthongorum ipsis dumtaxat notis.' That this secret language was actually spoken about 1300 we know from the following obituary notice in the 'Annals of Clonmacnoise,' quoted by O'Donovan, 'Annals of the Four Masters,' iii., p. 537, note p. A.D. 1328:—'Morishe O'Gibelan, master of art, one exceeding well learned in the old and new laws, civille and canon, a cunning and skillful philosopher, an excellent poet in Irish, an elegant and exact speaker of the speech which in Irish is called Ogham, and in some [sum], one that was well seen in many other good sciences.'

"Now, a number of Shelta words, that cannot be explained by any of the processes described above, are formed on this principle of Ogham; and, what is more, some of them are identical with words of the Dúil Laithne list . . ."

After giving examples of these, Professor Meyer goes on to say:—

"It would seem, then, that 'the speech which, in Irish, is called Ogham,' and 'MacFirbis's Laiden' are both the same as Shelta. But, he continued, there seems to have been yet another name by which it was known. In the ancient grammatical treatise called 'Auraicept na n-éces,' or 'Instruction of Poets,' five distinct béarla, or dialects, of Gaelic are enumerated. Fénius Farsaid, a mythical personage, is fabled to have formed them, at the request of his pupils, from all the existing languages of the world. . . . 'Then they asked Fenius, the sage' (says the treatise), 'to extract for them out of the many languages a language such as none else had, but which they alone should possess. And therefore the 'extracted language' was invented for them, with its augmentations, viz., bérla Féini with its augmentations, and iarmbérla, and the language that is interspersed between the various letters of the (Ogham) alphabet, as we have put it in the 'Great Book of Letters' ('Duile Fedha Máir'), and the language of the poets, by which each of them would address the other, and the common language which serves everyone, both men and women.

'This ancient account of the origin of Irish [observes Dr Meyer] seems to be the only source of all the confused and absurd statements and theories about the various forms of Irish speech here enumerated. Béarla Féini is simply ancient or archaic Irish. Iarmbéarla I cannot explain; but the language 'interspersed

Digitized by Google

between the letters of the Ogham alphabet' is, I think, clearly another designation for the Ogham language. And that language, we have seen, is evidently the same as our modern "Shelta."*

In concluding this account of Shelta, I cannot do better than quote some further remarks of its discoverer—its discoverer, that is to say, in modern times :—

"It was suggested by a reviewer of my book on the Gypsies [says Mr Leland] that possibly Shelta was a language peculiar to the old craft of bronze-workers and jewellers who roamed about in companies all over the northern world. There is some reason to believe that these men occupied a very high position in culture. The subjects of their work indicate a deep knowledge of mythology and magic. The complicated interlaces of their designs were intended to avert the evil eye, for it was believed that a witch when she once saw such a pattern must follow it out, and so the influence of the *fascinatio*, which always struck at the first glance, was avoided. . . Discoveries have shown that the early bronze-smiths were nomadic, that they went about from village to village, making and selling new objects, and buying up old and broken ware to melt and remould. The bronze-worker's craft was closely connected with that of the jeweller ; in most cases both were exercised by the same person. His wares were immensely valuable in those days, out of all proportion to the present worth of such objects. Therefore the bronze-smiths must have travelled in large bands for mutual protection. Nothing is more likely than that they formed, in time, a community with distinct laws

* Professor Meyer also refers to "an Irish idiom, which, from some statements, might seem to have some connection with Shelta, but which must be regarded as quite distinct from it. There is or was spoken, within the memory of men now living, a Gaelic idiom in Ireland, called béarla eagair or béarla eagair na saor, 'an artificial or technical cant, jargon, or gibberish used by masons and pedlars, beggars, &c.,' says Peter O'Connell in his MS. Dictionary (Brit. Mus., Egerton, 84). But, judging from the few words of this idiom, given by MacElligott in the 'Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Dublin,' pp. 11 and 12, such as—be, 'woman' ; bochna, 'sea' ; dearc, 'eye,' all genuine old Irish words, this speech seems by no means a mere artificial cant or jargon, like Shelta. O'Donovan, in the supplement to O'Reilly's Dictionary, gives the word fonsura, 'chisel,' as belonging to béarla eagair, and shows, by a quotation from the 'Four Masters,' that this word likewise is a genuine old word." On the other hand, Mr Sampson points out that beurl' eagair is defined in the Highland Society's Dictionary as "Cairds' Latin" (Laidionn nan ceard), and as "the gibberish of tinkers and wandering potters" ; and that, moreover, the very name Latin, as applied to the cairds' speech, recalls the term "Bog Latin," sometimes given to Shelta at the present day. It may be added that the English word "gibberish" is translated "cainnt chèard" (i.e., "the speech of cairds"), in Macleod and Dewar's Dictionary.

Digitized by Google

and language. Nor is it improbable that this was transmitted to the tinkers. It takes a long time for men to form a distinct class with a separate tongue. The Celtic tinkers of England [by which term Mr Leland obviously means to denote the whole British Isles] are unanimous in claiming for their class, or clan, a very great antiquity. Now, when we find in the same country two nomadic classes of men pursuing the same calling of working in metal, though separated by a long historical interregnum, or, more correctly, a long period of time, we may rationally surmise that they had a common origin and a common language."*

In all this there is much that is suggestive. 'Cèard,' it must be remembered, at one time denoted something much higher than a mere vagrant. In Macleod and Dewar's Dictionary it is defined as 'a tinker, a smith, a brazier: any tradesman working at smith-work of any kind.' In the same dictionary, a gypsy is styled 'cèard-fiosachd,' *i.e.*, 'a soothsaying caird.' Much may lie behind definitions such as these. "In our own Highland glens," observes Mr Cosmo Innes,† "I have heard more legends of supernatural smith-work than ever I could gather of Ossian." Does it not seem likely that those 'supernatural smiths' belonged to the same caste as the 'soothsaying cairds' of the dictionary and the Shelta-speaking cairds described by Mr Sampson as still practising the arts of divination in modern Ireland? Of course, the *status* of these modern people is immeasurably below that of their predecessors. But the language itself has the same history of social degradation. Mr Leland is justly credited with having made known the existence of 'Shelta' to modern educated people. Yet, as Professor Meyer has clearly indicated to us, the people who used it eight centuries ago *were* educated people.‡

However, the object of this paper is not so much to speculate upon the past of the Shelta-speaking castes, as to draw attention to the speech itself, and to show the result of the investigations recently made by Celtic scholars. These seem to denote clearly that the language or jargon presently spoken by certain vagrants in the British Islands—while it contains a number of words derived from other sources—is mainly "a systematic perversion

* "Jour. Gyp. Lore Soc.," April, 1891: *Notes and Queries*, 30 Nov., 1895, p. 436.

† "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1880-81," p. 354.

‡ "It is unfortunately not always possible to say," writes Professor Meyer (6th Oct. 1901), "what in each case is meant by 'cerd' or 'aos cerda' in Irish stories. The word may mean 'poet,' 'smith,' or any sort of artificer. But I think, *e.g.*, when we read in the 'Youthful Exploits of Finn' that he fled with 'aes cerda' into the mountains and lived with them there, these were probably wandering smiths of some kind."

Digitized by Google

of the pre-aspirated Gaelic spoken anterior to the 11th century"—and that many of the words so perverted are formed on the principle of the cryptic speech which a writer of the year 1677 says was "commonly called Ogham."

And, as a practical outcome of the statements here made, I shall now add several lists of examples of this speech, in the hope that, after they have appeared in the printed "Transactions" of this Society, they will stimulate others to further study and research. For the language is still a spoken one, and it may be studied in any part of the Highlands of Scotland, with great possibilities of a much wider knowledge of its nature being ultimately attained.

The following, then, is the list of words obtained, as already stated, from a tinker child in Tiree :—

Noìd, a man.
Beor, a woman.
Peartaig, a girl.
Glomhach, an old man.
Liogach bin, a small boy.
Suillean, a baby.
Mo chàmair, my mother.
Mo dhatair, my father.
Clèidean,* clothing.
Luirean, shoes.
Pras, food.
Turan, a loaf.
Tur, fire.
Reagain, a kettle.
Sclàtaich, tea.
Mealaidh, sweet.†
Cian bin, a tent. [Literally, "a small dwelling."]
Cian toim, a white house, or cottage. [More correctly, "a large or fine dwelling."]
Gifan, a horse.
Blànag, a cow.
Deasag shean, a ragged, old, or dirty person.
Deasag toim, a pretty, clean, or neat person.

* Mr G. A. Wilson suggests that this is simply the Lowland-Scotch pronunciation of 'clothing,' viz., claidin' or cleedin'. There seems to be no doubt that this is the correct explanation.

† From Gaelic mil, honey, and milis, sweet (G. A. Wilson).

‡ Air a sgeamhas is probably literally translated for 'on the spree'; air a being the Gaelic for 'on the' (G. A. Wilson).

Digitized by Google

Air a sgeamhas, drunk.‡
S' deachag òb, I am tired.
S' deis sium a meartsacha air a charan, we are going on the sea.
Noìd a maslachadh air an lanach, a man walking on the highway.
S' guidh a bagail air mo ghil, it is raining.

Several of the words in this little vocabulary are found in Mr Leland's Shelta lists:—Beor, a woman; bin, small; pras, food; tur, fire; sgeamhas or ishkimmish, drunk; and cian, a dwelling. In the following tabular view of a selection of words from five different lists, it will be seen that cian is common to all, and that beor is only absent from one. Canon ffrench's complete list is here given, and in parallel columns are the corresponding words in Mr Leland's Gypsies, in the Tiree list, in the list of Mr Crofton's which appeared in the "The Academy" of December 18, 1886, and in the list contributed by Mr T. W. Norwood to "The Academy" of January 1, 1887:—

Canon ffrench.	Mr Leland.	Tiree List.	Mr Crofton.	Mr Norwood.
Fien, or Feen, a man.*	..	..	..	..
Bioer, or Biuoer, a woman.	Bewer, a female thief (p. 208). Bewr, woman (pp. 358 and 368).	Beor, a woman.	Beör, married woman.	..
Goyan, a child.	Gothlin, or goch'thlin, child (p. 358). Gothni, gachlin, child (p 368).	..	..	..
Lackeen, a girl.	Lárkin, girl (p. 359). Leicheen, girl (p. 364).	..	Lackan, girl.	..
Keen, a house.	Kléna, house (pp. 365 and 370).	Cian (applied to tent, house, and cottage).	Kin, house.	Kain, a house.
Curragh, a horse.	..	..	..	..
Mouge, a pig.	Muogh, pig (p. 364).	..	..	..
Gillamese, boots.	Gullemnocks (p. 364) Gullemnoch (p. 365) shoes.	..	..	..
Rishpah, trousers.	Réspes, trousers (p. 364).	..	..	..
Rawg, a car.	Rawg, wagon (p. 365).	..	..	..
Gath, whisky.	..	..	..	..
Lush, porter.	..	..	..	..
Crop, money.	..	..	..	..
Gassel, a donkey.	..	..	..	..
Nutha, a hat.	..	..	..	..
Griffin, a coat.	..	..	..	..
Millthogue, a shirt.	Mélthog, inner shirt (p. 364).	..	..	Mill-togs, shirt.

* Cf. "Fionn, an Irishman": O'Reilly's Dictionary; Dublin, 1817 (Supplement).

Digitized by Google

In order to show the precise nature of Shelta as it is spoken to-day in Ulster, I now reproduce two tales which were told to Mr Sampson by an Ulster tinker. An examination of these specimens shows that the sentences follow the rules of the English syntax, although occasionally influenced by Gaelic. Moreover, scarcely a sentence is quite independent of English words. Nevertheless, the language employed is pre-eminently Shelta, and the tales are absolutely unintelligible to any one who is not acquainted with that form of speech.

Two Shelta Stories.

Glox[1] sharog na Srōinya.

Dūúlsha aχíver glōrhi gloχ sharog na skai srōinya? Grēs swŭrth chal the *skai* when a *gloχ*'s *mislïin'* to *sahu* his *dīl. Gyetas a gyetas* and *thribli grīnthala sūni* his *dīl, gramal gloχ sharog, rīlthug sūlya nyuk.*

Thalosk awárth, larkr shel'd Sharkey *mislïin' swŭrth lim a srōinya, sūni*'d *sharog gloχ, chal swŭrth skai. Sūni*'d and *thari*'d *nīdesh Larkr sūni*'d *od-lim* to *sūni* some *nīdya skai* his *dīl. Nīdesh nīdya. Nŭrth grē*'d *swŭrth od thwŭrk, thari*'d "*Nījesh thōri!*" and *misli*'d *shīrth* the *skai yīrth. Grē*'d *swŭrth shīka thwŭrk, gorri*'d *swŭrth mālya warth,* and *thari*'s "*Simaj swŭrth; gloχ nijesh thōri*in'!" *Nŭrth larkr sūni*'d *gloχ shurral thom, nap*'d *a grifin,* and *goihe*'d on the *thōber. Larkr misli*'d *swŭrth, granhē*in' the *gloχ,* and *bug*'d *a milk* of his *dīl.*

The Red Man of the Boyne.

Did you ever hear of the Red Man of the river Boyne? He rises half out of the water when a man's going to drown himself. Scores and scores and families of friends have seen him, like a red man, with a winding-sheet around his head.

One day a tailor named Sharkey, walking by the banks of the Boyne, saw the Red Man, half out of the water. He (the Red Man) looked around and said nothing. The tailor looked each way to see some person drown himself. No one came. Now he (the Red Man) rose up a second time, and said, "Not come yet!" and sank down again into the water. He rose a third time, put up one hand, and says, "Time's up, and the man's not coming!" Then the tailor saw a man rush up, and take off his coat and throw it on the ground. The tailor came up, knowing the man, and caught hold of him.

[1] This is really the *glomhach* of the Tiree list, spelt by Mr Sampson according to English phonetics, the Greek χ expressing the guttural *ch.*

Digitized by Google

"*Car dhī-īlsha mislïin'?*" "*Get mī-īlsha! nījesh sŭmaj* to *kraji.*" "*Kradyi*, my *mŭni gloχ.*" "*Nijesh thari dhī-īl!*" *Larkr bug*'d *a milk* of the *gloχ ayírth, stēsh thom thrīpus lim a skai. Larkr lōber*'d *gloχ shīrth od thwŭrk*, and *shīka thwŭrk gloχ gwili*'d on *thōber.* "What's to *grēdhi* with *dhī-il?* Do you *granhē mīdhril thōri*'d for *dhī-īl?*" *larkr thari*'d. *Gloχ gop gorri*'d *swŭrth od mālya, thari*in' *stafaris.* "*Nūs a dhalyon! Bug mūílsha gather skai!*" "*Thōri swŭrth ken gather*" *larkr thari*'d *gloχ.* "*Bug dhī-īl slunya skai-hōp.*" *Sroidyan aχárram, gloχ bua*'d *larkr od nŭmpa.*

*Thalosk ērpa, gush*in' *lim slarskr skai, mū-īlsha* and *gloχ slarskr thari*in' of *thrīpus*in' *gloχis. Nŭrth gloχ slarskr sūni*'d *gloχ sharog stŭrth skai.* "*Stēsh minúrth a sahū!*" and he *sūni*'d *gloχ swŭdhal rilhu—stēsh gloχ radhum—shurral thom shīrth skai.* "*Get, swibli, get! Sūni in gloχ-swŭdhal sahu* his *jūl!*" *Gloχ misli*'d *shurral, thari*in' *gami lŭbas a mīdhril*, and *misli*'d *shlīm stŭrth skai. Mūílsha nap*'d my *grifin* and *gulimas. Gloχ slarskr bŭg*'d *a milk* of my *dīl.* "*Kradyi!*" he *thari*'d, "*Kradyi mūílsha. Sūni muílsha grēthi.*" "*Gloχ* be *sathū.*" "*Nīdesh! Get! Nījesh misli stŭrth* till *mūílsha lesk* you. *Nurth bŭg sŭrhū;*

"Where are you going?" "Let me go! I haven't a minute to wait." "Hold on, my good man." "I can't talk to you!" The tailor caught hold of the man again, and there was a great fight on the banks of the river. The tailor floored the man three times, and the third time the man lay on the ground. "What's the matter with you? Do you know that the devil came for you?" said the tailor. The poor man put up both hands, saying his prayers. "For God's sake, give me a drink of water." "Come down to the inn," said the tailor to the man, "and I'll give you a glass of whisky." Next morning the man gave the tailor two pounds.

Another day, sitting by the river lock, I and the lock gate-man were talking of famous fighting men. Now the gate-man saw the Red Man in the water, and he thought, "Now for a drowning!" Then he saw a mad gentleman (he was a soldier) rushing down to the water. "Hold on, boy, hold on! Watch this gentleman drown himself!" The man came rushing on, saying bad words of the devil, and went jumping into the water. I took off my coat and boots, but the gate-man caught hold of me. "Wait!" he said, "wait for me, and watch what I'll do!" "But the man will be drowned." "No! wait! don't go into the

Digitized by Google

stēsh thardyur mīdhril!" Gloχ swŭdhal misli'd *shīrth, od thwŭrk thūur an skai, jŭmmikin' gami lŭbas, thariin a mīdhril. Nŭrth* the *gloχ slarskr shlēm'd asthŭrt* and *bŭg*'d *a milk* of his *dīl, solk*'d *mālya, lōber*'d *gloχ swŭdhal, gorri*'d him on his *nŭp,* and *solk*'d his *dīl lim a skai. Mūilsha solk'd gloχ swudhal* on *ladhu. Shika gloχi misli*'d *shurri*-in', *chollii*n' *gloχ-swudhal rilhu.* "*Goihe* his *dīl*" *gloχ slarskr tharis mīlsha.* "*Thōri mīlsha,* and *suni thōman gurredh* we *bŭg. Misli*'d *shīrth ken thom.* "*Nyŭrth* this *gloχ* and *mūilsha solk*'d him *aχím skai*" *gloχ slarskr tharis,* "*Buq mūilsha shūka nŭmpa,*" "*Nídesh a skurrig!*" *yēdug tharis,* "*Mūilsha bŭg dhī-īl od thwŭrk* or *shika thwŭrk* if *dhī-ílsha bŭg* him to *thasp.*" *Bīūer-swŭdhal shērku na slī, getūl a gather rilhū.*

Stēsh gloχ bog'd *armíslo thwŭrk mūénya ayírth* and *skai*'d his *dīl. Od thwŭrk sahw*'d *; gloχ slarskr nyēsh napr*'d his *dyīl.*

Lim a srōinya thoman nīdyas misli rilhū. Goshta rilhū nīdyas, gāt lakins and *gāt swiblis, stēsh* and *krish gloχi* and *krish karbs mukinya lim a srōinya. Lashul*-est *nedhas* you could *misli, skai* and *slŭfa* and *ken thoms—stēsh grēdhis nīdgas rilhū.*

water till I tell you. Now he's getting tired. Sure he's a strong devil!" The gentleman sank twice to the bottom of the river, cursing out bad words, and talking to the devil. Then the gate-man jumped in, and caught hold of him, took his hand, and struck him insensible, carried him on his back, and took him to the river-bank. I lifted the man on land. Three men came running, following the mad gentleman. "Leave him there," the gate-man says to me. "Come with me, and let's see how much money we get." We went down to the great house. "Now this man and myself got him out of the water," says the gate-man; "give us five pounds." "Not a farthing!" the lady says, "but I'd have given it to you two or three times over if you had let him drown." The lady was his daughter-in-law, and she lived in dread of her mad father.

The same man escaped again and threw himself into the water, and this time he was drowned, and the lock gate-man never interfered with him.

By the banks of the Boyne many people go mad. Numbers of mad people, young girls and boys, and old men and women, too, dwell near the river-banks. It's the loveliest place where you could walk, with wood and water and grand houses, but it drives the people mad.

Digitized by Google

OD MINKUR KUNYAS.

*Od minkur, mŭnni thari*ers of *staffri, misli*'d through the *mŭnkera*, where they were *nījesh granhē*'d, *tharal* they were *od klisp kunyas. Stēsh od nyark minkur. Od bŭg*'d *gashta grīnlesk, stēsh* and *bŭg*'d *goshta lūog. Kunya-a-rabbister glōrhe'd* the *od nyark, shēb*'d *them chŭrpers, tharal* "*Mwī-īl thori asthurt* their *nedhers* to *sŭnni* their *dīls.*" The *swiblis* and *gloχis thari*'d *gami* of the *kunya* for *napp*ing with their *dīls, lesk*'d *od klisp kunyas kunya-a-rabbister thōri olomi ahúnshk. Minkur thari*'d "*Mwīlsha grostar* to *sŭnni* the *kunya.*" *Stē-esh gredhe*'d *nīd'has munnier grostar.* (*Nŭrth* the *od nyark minkurs grostar* to be *gyeta līman armislo, getterl kunya* and *stēsh nīd'has*).

Nŭrth they *misli*'d *tharain' staffaris. Grag* was *thâon nid'has, kīéna bwikadh nīdesh thomier. Chinnoχ-awárth minkur thari*'d *kunya*'s *tharal*: "Oχ! *gettūl ar ma thūr-sâ. Oχ! gettūl ar ma thūr-sā.*" *Sharkar kunya thari*'d, *lōber*'n' his *grīsh, athómier gredhiin' aχím* he was *sraiχa*: "*Mūílsha arárk!* mūílsha arárk!" *grassi*in' *nīd'has lyē charp staffris.*

THE TWO TINKER PRIESTS.

Two tinkers, good sayers of prayers, travelled through the country, where they were not known, giving out that they were two suspended (lit. broken) priests. They were, however, two rogues of tinkers. The pair got plenty of flax and wool, and also plenty of meal. The parish priest heard of the two rogues, and called them impostors, saying: "I am coming to their lodgings to see them." The boys and men spoke ill of the priest for meddling with them, and told the two suspended priests that the parish priest was coming next night. The tinkers said, "We shall be pleased to see the priest," and this made the people still more delighted. (Now the two tinker rogues would have been glad to have been twenty miles away for fear of the priest and the people too).

Now they went on saying their prayers. The road was full of people and the houses could hold no more. One tinker would say, pretending to talk Latin (lit. priest's language), "*Oχ! gettūl ar ma thūr-sa.*" "I'm afraid from the small of my back down." His brother priest would say, beating his breast and making out that he was the clerk, "*Mūílsha arárk!*" "Sure, I'm the same! Sure, I'm the same!" charming the people with their fine prayers.

Digitized by Google

Sroijan misli'd and *lyesk'd* the *nīd'has*, "*Mūilsha thōri agrésh ōlomi aχárrm*," *goiχe*'d *grīnlesk, klūtya, lūog, sharkr numpa thwŭrl, mūéna, nīdēsh thori*'d *aχíver*.

In the morning they went away, and told the people they would return the next night, left flax, wool, and meal, five pounds' worth, behind them, and returned no more.

JOHN SAMPSON.

But, in considering Shelta, it is of great importance to keep in view the fact that it is frequently interlinked with Romanes—the language of the Gypsies. Professor Meyer and Mr Sampson, in their analyses of this speech, have clearly demonstrated that it is mainly a perversion of old Gaelic. Yet, in some dialects of Shelta, the Romani element is very marked. Indeed Mr Leland, who, while not professing to understand the exact nature of Shelta, had nevertheless conversed with many of those who speak it, made this remarkable statement:—"I class it with the Gypsy, because all who speak it are also acquainted with Romany."* And Dr Fearon Ranking, who is familiar both with Gaelic and with Romanes, has recorded a meeting with some West Highland tinkers, who could speak not only these two languages, but Shelta also—and, of course, English. He thus describes his interview:—

"The party consisted of three men and two women, with two or three children. They were stunted in appearance, and quite young; the women reddish-haired, the men rather darker. On a venture, I asked whether they spoke 'Shelta,' as I was anxious to learn something of this language, of which I knew nothing. One of the men said that they did speak it, and, on being questioned, gave the names of several common objects mentioned by me. Unfortunately, I had neither pencil nor paper with me, and was therefore unable to make any notes, and, the words being entirely strange to me, I could not retain them. The only word I can remember is yergan = 'tin.' One of the men suddenly said, 'But we have another language, which I do not think anyone knows but ourselves; it is not in any books.'

"'What do you call a boat in your language?' I said. To my great astonishment, he replied 'Bero' [which Dr Ranking, of course, knew as the Romany word for a boat or a ship]. On my then asking for the word for 'man,' 'woman,' and 'child,' he gave mush or gairo, monisha, and chavo [all of these being excellent Romanes]. Feeling now tolerably sure of my ground, I said,

* "The Gypsies," Boston, (U.S.), 1882, p. v.

Digitized by Google

'Kushto bero se duva' ['That is a good boat.'] He stared at me as if I had been a ghost, and, on my continuing with a few more words, he called to one of the women in the boat and said, 'Come here; I never saw anything like this. Here is a gentleman knows our language as well as we know it ourselves.' I continued asking the names of various common objects, such as fire, water, the names of animals, parts of the body, etc., and soon noticed that for each they had two or three names, one being always good 'Rommanis,' the other, I presume, 'Shelta.'"*

Here then we have a family of Shelta-speaking tinkers who could also talk fluently in Romanes, the speech of true Gypsies. It seems clear that they regarded these as two distinct and separate languages; as, indeed, they are. Nevertheless, there are evidences that these two forms of speech have become confused and blended together by many of our nomadic castes. Nowhere is this more plainly seen than in a vocabulary collected in 1895 by Mr Alexander Carmichael from some tinkers in the Island of Arran. This list has never yet been published, and, by the favour of Mr Carmichael, I have now the privilege of printing it as an appendix to this paper.

An analysis of Mr Carmichael's Arran list reveals the fact that one-fourth of the words are not Shelta but Romanes, the language of the true Gypsies. In this respect, therefore, it differs in a remarkable degree from the Ulster dialect of Mr Sampson's "Two Shelta Stories," in which, except for an occasional English word, the language employed is purely Shelta. Of the Arran list it may be said that another fourth consists of words that are, in a few cases, corrupt Latin (doubtless derived from hedge-priests), while others are either old cant or modern vulgarisms, with a sprinkling of genuine Gaelic words. The remaining two-fourths may be regarded as Shelta; that is to say, consisting either of recognised Shelta words or of words that suggest themselves to be Shelta.

It is also of interest to compare with this Arran vocabulary the two short lists already referred to as obtained by Mr H. T. Crofton and Mr T. W. Norwood. These are here introduced for the purposes of comparison:—

Mr Crofton, writing to "The Academy" of 18th December, 1886, with reference to Mr Leland's discovery of Shelta, observes as follows:—

"Shelta" is well known to Gypsies as "Mumpers' Talk." In June, 1879, a Gypsy supplied me with—

* "Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, Vol. II., p. 319.

Digitized by Google

Bonar, good (Hotten's Slang Dict., bone).
Brogies, breeches.
Dunnick, dunny, cow (Hotten, dunaker, cow-stealer).
Klapper, turnpike gate.
Kin, house (Hotten, ken; Leland, kiena).
Koggies, turnips.
Mahs, sheep (onomatop.)
Rum-kin cove, gentleman (fine-house man).
Slang, to put or stay in a field.
Slum, good (Hotten, "slum the gorjer," "best," or cheat the fellow). [Gorjer is the Romani gaujo].

A few days later a lace hawker at Southport gave me, among other common words,

Beör, married wóman (Leland, bewr; Hotten, burerk; murerk, lady).
Gloch (guttural), master, policeman (Hotten, gloak, man; Scotch).
Gōveli, cow (Gypsy, Grōvni).
Garjer, man (Gypsy, gaujo).
Hearing, ear (simile).
Lackan, girl (Leland, leicheen).
Manging, talking (Hotten, mang, to talk; Scotch).
Nethrus, bed (Gypsy, woodrus).
Ne jish, stand back, look out (? Gypsy, na jas, don't go).
Rooski, basket.
Sharag, kiss.
Sōbli, sir.
Tōrog, mumper (Scotch, tory).

Mr Leland's collection is much more extensive, and affords a better idea of the capabilities of "Shelta," *e.g.*:

Lashool, nice.
Loshools, flowers.
Loshūn, sweet.
Mailya, finger, hand (Erse, meur, finger).
Mailyen, to feel.
Thom, violently (Erse, trom, heavy).
Thomyok, magistrate (great one ?).
Tomgarheid, gold (trom airgiod, heavy silver).
Tom-numpa, bank-note (great pound).

The formation of "Shelta" by the application of "back slang" to Erse is curious:

Digitized by Google

Do, odd, two (Erse, do).
Nai, ayen, nine (Erse, naoi).
Dai, ten (Erse, deach).
Hinniadh, eleven (Erse, aon-deug).

This raises a suspicion that the well-known slang adjective rum is "back slang" for mor, great. "Shelta" also comprises "rhyming slang" or "head slang":

Grascot, waistcoat.
Grawder, solder.
Grupper, supper.

This drew from Mr T. W. Norwood a list of words obtained by him more than thirty years previously, and which are here reproduced from "The Academy" of 1st January, 1887:—

I.—PERSONS.

Ges'timer, Pókkonus } a magistrate or justice.
Tom'-pat, a parson.
Króker, a doctor.
Múmper, a tramp.
Múskro, a policeman.
Mort, a daughter.
Fóky, people.
Bóshtárdy, a pregnant woman.

II.—ANIMALS.

Képhyl, Prâd, Grâs } a horse.
Késsig, a mare.
Méilor, Mólson } an ass.
Mor'ghen, Shŭshei } a rabbit.
Mátchticóve, a cat.
Lágprat, a fish.
Dun'nux, a cow.

III.—MONEY.

Bar, Kutár, Kúttĕr } a pound.
Finnif, a five-pound note.

Digitized by Google

Schúfel Finnif, a bad ditto.
Kúllĕr, Kălor } a shilling.
Bool, Bûl, a crown.
Vonger, money.
Wedj, silver.

IV.—CLOTHING AND FURNITURE.

Krees, a saddle.
Blácky, a tin vessel.
Hórer, Yewr } a clock.
Skípsy, a basket.
Kúrrŭ, a quart.
Sóopen, a watch.
Blátchy, coal.
Crab-shells, shoes.
Stamp-drawers, Olivers } stockings.
Tróopers, breeches.
Mill-togs, shirt.
Teil, Star'dy } hat. [Teil is no doubt "tile."]

V.—FOOD.

Tinglers, onions.
Spréddum, butter.
Spénton, cream.
Póplars, Sim'my } broth.

VI.—PLACES AND THINGS.

Rom-kain, a gentleman's house.
Veil, town or village.
Kítshĭmĕr, an alehouse.
'Attam, a church.
Gránnum, a barn.
Fóros, a fair.
Humble-bump, a hayrick.
Plimmer, a stone.
Jigger, a door.
Stigger, Klapper } a gate.
Gatter, rain.
Graft, work.

Digitized by Google

VII.—SEASONS.

'Attam-day, Sunday.
Mal-dívvus, Christmas.
Stretcher, a year.

VIII.—OTHER WORDS.

Jilt, to shut.
Ex. "Jilt the jigger" (shut the door).
Hatch, to remain.
Ex. "Hatchi Kootshi"* (stop a little longer).
Fake, to play.
Ex. "Fake the boshamingy"† (play the fiddle).

A number of the words in the above list are pure Gypsy (i.e., Romani). Mr Norwood, however, does not seem to have realised this. He concludes by saying:—"I offer these as samples of this Mumpers' or Tramps' talk, which I think Mr Borrow somewhere called 'The Germania.' The word 'Shelta' I never heard."

Mr Norwood's closing words are worthy of consideration, because it is by no means certain that the term Shelta or Shelru is known to all the people who make use of the jargon so named. Indeed, the Irish tinker interviewed by Mr ffrench only knew the language as "Tinmen's Cant."

In all these latter lists the Romany and Cant or slang elements are very clearly discernible, and therein they all differ from the purely Shelta vocabulary of the Ulster tinkers. The enquiry into these obscure forms of speech is still too imperfect to admit of any permanent explanation of this discrepancy. So far as we have gone, it would seem that among certain Irish vagrants the old disguised and perverted Gaelic of the ancient bardic caste is still in use, and that a very large number of its words are familiar to similar people throughout the whole length of Great Britain. To judge from Dr Ranking's brief experience at Crinan, some, at least, of these people can converse in this jargon or in the Romany language quite independently the one of the other. But most of the lists here supplied indicate, on the other hand, that Shelta and Romanes are often jumbled together, and thus employed as a hybrid language. It may be that the compilers of these lists had not sufficient warrant for assuming that the words thus given to them were indiscriminately used by the speakers, who may have been able, like their congeners at Crinan, to make exclusive use of

* Romani *atch* (stay) and *koosi* (a little).
† Romani *boshamengri* (fiddle).

Digitized by Google

Romanes at one time and of Shelta at another. But the probability is that this was not the case, and that they only knew these words as constituting a secret form of speech, without being aware that they were originally drawn from very different sources. It is, at least, an encouraging thought that a great deal more may yet be learned by the simple process of collecting vocabularies, which may be afterwards brought together and compared; and I shall be glad if this paper induces the members of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, especially those members living in the country (who have peculiar facilities), to turn their attention to this interesting study.

Lists of Shelta and Other Words Obtained by Mr C. G. Leland in 1877-1880.

Note.—It must be remembered that Mr Leland, as he himself explains was not acquainted with Gaelic. His words, consequently, are written according to English phonetics. Thus, for example, he writes 'ishkimmish' where a Gaelic-speaking person (in the Tiree list) writes 'a sgeambas.' Mr Leland also accepted the Gaelic numerals, from one to fourteen, under the impression that they were Shelta; and some of his words, such as 'muogh' (pig) and 'yiesk' (fish) are simply Gaelic. This, indeed, he points out in his list; but a Gaelic-speaking person would have refused altogether to include these words in a Shelta vocabulary.

I. Vocabulary obtained by Mr Leland and Professor Palmer from an itinerant fern-seller at Aberystwith, South Wales, in 1877.

Bewr, woman (Young bewr, girl).
Biyêg, to steal.
Biyêg th'eenik, to steal the thing.
Biyêghin, stealing.
Borers, gimlets. (Borers and jumpers, tinkers' tools).
Bug, talk [See under "Shelta"].
Charrshom, Cherrshom, Tusheroon, a crown.
Chiv, knife [Romany, a pointed knife, *i.e.*, tongue].
Crack, a stick.
Derra, Durra, bread.
Dinnessy, cat.
Dingle fakir, a bell-hanger.
Dunnovans, potatoes.
Fay (vulgarly* fee), meat.

* Our informant declared that there are vulgar forms of certain words.—[C. G. Leland].

Digitized by Google

Ghesterman, Ghesti, magistrate.
Glad'herin, Glantherin, money, swindling.
Gladdher, ring the changes (cheat in change). "No minkler would have a bewr who couldn't gladdher."
Goch'thlin, Gothlin, child.
Jumpers, cranks (Borers and jumpers, tinkers' tools).
Kurrb yer pee, punch your head or face.
Lárkin, girl.
Luthrum's gothlin, son of a harlot.
Max, spirits (slang).
Midgic, a shilling.
Minkler, tinker.
Minklers' Thari, tinkers' language. ("The right name for it is Shelter or Shelta," added the man. "Can you thari Shelter?" "Can you bug Shelta?" = "Can you talk tinkers' language?"
Mithani, Mithni, policeman.
Monkery, country.
Mush-faker, umbrella mender. [Mush is from mushroom, a humorous name for an umbrella].
Mushgraw. Our informant did not know whether this word, of Romany origin, meant, in Shelta, policeman or magistrate. [Romany mooshkero or moskero = policeman].
Nêd askan, lodging.
Needi-mizzler, a tramp.
Nyock, head [? Gaelic ceann reversed].
Nyock, a penny [? a queen's-head].
Nyö(d)ghee, a pound.
Odd, two [Gaelic da reversed].
Ogles, eyes (common slang).
Pani, water (Romany).
Pee, head or face.
Prat, stop, stay, lodge.
Rauniel, Runniel, beer.
Reader, a writ. "You're readered soobri" = "You are put in the 'Police Gazette,' friend."
Reesbin, prison.
Reepuck, a harlot [from Gaelic striopach].
Sai, Sy, sixpence [Gaelic].
Sanni, Sonni, sea.
Scree, Scri, to write. [Gaelic sgríobh].
Shelkin gallopas, selling ferns.
Shelta, Shelter, "Can you bug Shelta?" "Can you thari Shelter?" = Can you talk tinkers' language.

Digitized by Google

Snips, scissors (slang).
Soobli, Soobri, brother, friend—a man.
Stall, go, travel.
Stiff, a warrant (common cant).
Strépuck, a harlot [Gaelic striopach.]
Strépuck lusk, son of a harlot.
Thari, talk [as in "Minklers' Thari" = tinkers' speech.]
Thari, to speak or tell. "I thariedthe soobri I sonnied him" = "I told the man I saw him."
Tré-moon, three months, "a drag."
Tré-nyock, three pence.
Tripo-ranniel, a pot of beer.
Tusheroon, a crown.
Yack, a watch (cant, i.e., bull's eye: yack = eye in Romany).

[NOTE.—Mr Leland concludes this list as follows:—"This vocabulary is, as he (the fern-seller) declared, an extremely imperfect specimen of the language. He did not claim to speak it well. In its purity it is not mingled with Romany or thieves' slang. Perhaps some student of English dialects may yet succeed in recovering it all. The pronunciation of many of the words is singular, and very different from English or Romany.]

II. VOCABULARY obtained by Mr Leland from Owen Macdonald, an Irish tinker, in Philadelphia, U.S., in 1880.

Aidh, butter.
Ainoch, thing.
Alemnoch, milk.
Anālken, to wash.
Anālt, to sweep, to broom.
Ayen, nine [naoi reversed.]
Binny, small.
Binny-soobli, boy ["small man."]
Bladhunk, prison.
Blyhunka, horse [? house.]
Bog, Bogh } to get.
Bogh, to cook [as in "boghin the brass" = "cooking the food."]
Bord, table.
Brass, food.
Bulla (ull as in gull), a letter.
Cāb, cabbage.
Carob, to cut.
Cāmbra, dog.

Digitized by Google

Chaldroch, knife.
Cherpin, book.
Cherps, fortunes [as in "lyesken cherps" = "telling fortunes."]
Chimmel, stick.
Chimmes, wood or stick.
Chlorhin, to hear [Cf. glorhoch, ear.]
Clisp, to fall, let fall.
Clishpen, to break by letting fall.
Crīmūm, sheep.
Crowder, string.
Cunnels, potatoes.
Dainoch, to lose.
Deal, self [as in "my deal" = "I" and "me."]
D'erri, bread.
Dyūkās, or Jukas, gentile, one not of the class [of Shelta-speaking people.]
Faihé, or feyé, meat.
Ghoi, put.
Gh'ratha, grata, hat.
Gial, yellow, red.
Glorhoch, ear [Cf. Chlorhin, to hear.]
Goihed, to leave, lay down.
Goo-ope, guop, cold.
Goppa, furnace, smith (gobha, a smith, Gaelic).
Gorhead, gorheid, or godhead, money. Tomgarheid (i.e., big money), gold.
Gotherna, guttema, policeman. (A very rare old word).
Gothin, gachlin, child.
Graigh, hair.
Grainyog, window.
Grannis, know.
Granny, know.
Grannien, with child. ["Greenin'," in Simson's "History," p. 227. These words seem to be connected with groaning, as used in "Guy Mannering." See Chap. III. and Note A "The Groaning Malt."]
Granya, nail.
Grascot, waistcoat ["waistcoat" with gr substituted for w.]
Grawder, solder ["sawder" with gr substituted for s.]
Griffin, or Gruffin, coat.
Gritche, dinner [? Gaelic itheadh, with gr prefixed.]
Gruppa, supper [? English supper, with gr substituted for s.]
Gullemnocks } shoes.
Gullemnoch }

Digitized by Google

Gūshūk, vessel of any kind.
Guth, gūt, black [? Gaelic dhubh.]
Gyami, bad [probably the origin of the common canting term gammy, bad.]
Ishkimmisk, drunk.
Jukas, or Dyūkās, gentile; one not of the [Shelta-speaking] class. [See also Yook, and cf. the Slang or Cant term "a rum duke."]
Kainé, or kyni, ears (Romany, kan).
Kaldthog, hen.
Khadyog, a stone.
Khaihed, chair.
Khoi, pincers.
Kiéna, house (ken, old Gypsy and modern Cant).
Koras, legs.
Koris, feet,
Kor'heh, box.
Koony, or Okonneh, a priest.
Kradyin, being, lying.
Krädyin, to stop, stay, sit, lodge, remain.
Krad'hyē, slow.
Krépoch, cat.
Laprogh, goose, duck, bird.
Lashool, nice.
Leicheen, girl.
Lorch, a two-wheeled vehicle.
Loshools, flowers.
Loshūn, sweet.
Lūbran, luber, to hit.
Lurk, eye.
Lūrks, eyes.
Lychyen, people.
Lyesken, telling [as in "lyesken chirps" = "telling fortunes."]
L'yogh, to lose.
Madel, tail.
Masheen, cat.
Mailya, hand.
Mailyas, arms.
Mailyas, or moillhas, fingers.
Mailyen, to feel [*i.e.*, to handle.]
Médthel, black.
Mélthog, inner shirt.
Menoch, nose [see Noch.]

Digitized by Google

Merrih, nose (?)
Miesli, mislí, tr. go (origin of "mizzle" ?).
Misli, coming, to come, to send.
Miseli, quick.
Mislain, raining (mizzle ?).
Mislí dáinoch, to write a letter; to write; that is, send or go.
Mislí to my bewr, write to my woman.
Mish it thom, hit it hard.
Moïnni, or moryeni, good.
Moryenni yook, good man.
Munches, tobacco.
Muogh, pig (muc, Gael.)
Mush, umbrella (slang).
Nidia, person } Cf. Aberystwith needi-mizzler, a tramp, which
Nidias, people } seems to mean "a travelling person."
Noch, nose. [This is conjectural. Mr Leland has "Menoch,' but as "Nok" is the Romanis for "nose," it is not unlikely that the tinker said "my noch."]
Numpa, sovereign, one pound.
Tomnumpa, bank-note.
Nglou, nail.
Nyadas, table.
Nyok, head [also Aberystwith.]
Okonneh, or Koony, a priest [Kūnya, Sampson.]
Oura, town.
Rawg, waggon.
Rawglan (roglan), a four-wheeled vehicle.
Réglan, or räglan, hammer.
Réspes, trousers.
Réspun, to steal.
Riaglon, iron.
Rumogh, or Rūmog, egg.
R'ghoglin (gogh'leen), to laugh.
Salkaneoch, to taste, take.
Salt, arrested, taken.
Shadyog, or Shaidyog, police.
Shelta, tinkers' language.
Shliéma, smoke, pipe.
Shoich, water, blood, liquid.
Shum, to own.
Skawfer, skawper, silver.
Skoich, or skoi, button.
Skoichen, rain.

Digitized by Google

Skoihōpa, whisky.
Skolaia, to write. Skolaiyami, a good scholar.
Smuggle, anvil.
Soobli or subli, male, man (Gaelic siublach, vagrant).
Sobyé (?).
Straihmed, a year.
Strawn, tin.
Styémon, rat.
Sūnain, to see.
Talosk, weather.
Tanyok, halfpenny.
Tashi shingomai, to read the newspaper.
Tédhi, thédi, théddy, terri, fire; coal; fuel of any kind.
Têrry, a heating-iron.
Tarryin, rope.
Thari, word, language.
Thom, violently, "Mish it thom" = "Hit it hard."
Thomyok, magistrate.
Th-mddusk, door.
Tom, big. [Tomgarheid = big money: Tomnumpa = big pound].
Yiesk, fish (Gael. iasg).

List of Tinker Words obtained by Mr Alexander Carmichael from Tinkers in Arran, in June, 1895.

[This list has been revised by Mr Francis Hindes Groome and Mr John Sampson, to ensure the identification of the true Gypsy (Romani) words. Mr Sampson has also indicated those words which he recognises as Shelta; but in addition to these there are many other words which are presumably Shelta also. In the annotations, the letter G = Gaelic, R = Romanes (Gypsy), C = Cant, or Old Slang, and Sh = Shelta. The references to Mr Leland's lists relate to his book on "The Gypsies," Boston, 1882.]

Ain, one, G.
Avri, away, R.
Brod, house.
Bere, Bire } boat, R.
Bero, Biro } ship, R.
Bathoma, policeman, Sh. Cf. Guttema and Gotherna in Leland's "Gypsies," p. 367.
Bin, fine, gentle (Bien. Cant).
Bin-manishi, fine woman (Manishi is R. for "woman").

Digitized by Google

Bin-gadgy, fine man (Gadgy or Gaujo is R. for "man").
Blaa } meal.
Blaw }
Blaikie, pot (*i.e.*, the "black" thing).
Bin-chit, brooch (cheat, chete, Cant).
Bin-liuer, brooch.
Binsip-chitri, do. (Benship, Old Cant).
Backeri, sheep, R. (Welsh and Continental form; cf. Eng. Bokro).
Bricklers, bowl.
Brastni, rain-water, R.
Ballast, hair, R.
Blinkie, window (from "blink").
Bori, gentle, mild, R.
Bori gadgi, gentleman, R.
Bori rani, gentlewoman, R.
Bing, come, C.
Bingam, come.
Bing yerram, blood, C.
Beor, woman, Sh.
Bar, rock, R.
Blinkam, candle.
Blinklum, light.
Buffart, do.
Blanig } cow, Sh.
Blan }
Bovi, bull.
Bin, little, Sh.
Bani, meal.
Belliamunt } door.
Bellimunt }
Bing, devil, R.
(No name for God.)
Bruskler, bowl.
Binsi, wings.
Binsi bire, winged boat. Bire, R.
Cran, farm.
Cran cier, farm-house. Cier, R.
Cesum } cheese, C.
Cæsum }
Castis, whins, R (kāsht = stick).
Cashtri, walking-stick.
Cacklers, eggs.
Chitshi, smoke, ? R.

Digitized by Google

Chutshi, pipe.
Censhin, child, C (kinchin, i.e. German kind-chen).
Cretum, sand (? grit).
Carthson, needle.
Cutler, knife (from 'cut').
Coni, coney (English).
Camir, mother.
Cleidim, Cleidin, } clothing. Lowland-Scotch for "clothing.
Conyin, child, little child.
Cima, stick (Sh. chīma = G. maide).
Cair, four. G. ceithir.
Cen, Cine, Cian, Ciam } house, Sh
Ciar, house, R.
Clach, stone, G.
Clachs, stones.
Chav, Chava, Chavo, } boy, R.
Calshis, Calisis, Calsi, Cleaspis, } trousers, R.
(? Cleashes, inaccurately transcribed).
Coúl, man (Old Cant, cull).
Carni, red.
Carnis, Carmus, } beef.
Curis, blanket.
Cani, hen, fowl, R.
Ceel, butter, R.
Cleni, Clini, } stone
Casti, stick, R.
Cug, Caog, } five. G. caoig.
Chid, lamb.
Chitri, jewels.
Crunshers, apples.
Coldni, Coldi, } bud

Digitized by Google

Carmush, shirt.
Dickman,
Dicki, light, ?R. R. dik = to see.
Dickman, matches, ?R. dikipen.
Dicki a gadis, goodbye, R. = to see a man.
Dick a gadges, I see a man.
Dicki, night, dark night.
Dius, money. See Jius.
Deivis, day, R.
Datir, Datair } father. ?Sh. gather.
Dat, Datan } little father. Cf. Dad, daddy; Welsh Tad.
Dat-chen, father-in-law, R.
Deasag, person, Sh.
Deasag, two.
Dec, ten, G.
Filsh, Filshi } stick, staff.
Fesum, hay, hair, wire.
Fiki-chiti, ear-rings.
Femal, Femli } shirt.
Flattern, herring (Cf. Simson).
Feadar, gull.
Fable, finger. (?C. famble).
Fichel, clout.
Frod, frog.
Fichlie, matches.
Fontai, rain.
Fonti, well (Cf. font).
Gani, hen, R.
Gauni, fowl, R.
Grani, hill.
Graini, mountain.
Graini, Graineol } finger-ring, Sh.
Gadges, man, R.
Grubin, digging. ?grubbing (F.H.G.)
Gowri, girl.
Gouri, romp.
Ginn, brooch.
Giv, corn, oats, R.
Gouni, cow, R.

Digitized by Google

Grai, horse, R.
Graisi, steed, R.
Gauni, bag, R.
Gransi, barn, R.
Gran-ciar, cow-house. ciar, R.
Grubin-ciar, poor-house.
Gadi, garden.
Gav, Gaff, Gaur } town, R.
Glim, light, C.
Glimer, good.
Glimer, fire, C.
Glimmers, peats.
Granum, corn, C.
Gran, corn (grain).
Gender, goose (gander).
Glazi, Glasgow.
Grifi, griffi, pig, sow ? also "grumphy" (Cf. grice).
Groder, solder, Sh.
Green chitris, parsley.
Glom, Glomhach } man, Sh.
Gad, shirt, R.
Gochlin, young person, Sh.
Gochlim, ninny.
Grip, Grop, Goup } money
Grivin, coat.
Grī, gree, high, rise, get up, bear the gree, Sh.
Gifan, horse.
Gouri, woman, R.
Ged, bog.
Geilsi, spring.
Hollofers, Holovers } Stockings, R.
Hog, money, C.
Ten hog, ten shillings.
Haben, Halin } bread, R. ("food").
Hiri, one penny, R.
Hotchets, leek.
Hotchitri, pepper.

Digitized by Google

Hi colour, red. (English, "high colour").
Hinger, kilt (i.e., something that "hings" or "hangs").
Ise. ass G
Jus
Jius } money. See Dius.
Jinis, two pence.
Five jus, five shillings.
Jugle, five shillings.
Juggle, hound, R.
Jigger, door, C.
Jan, go, R.
Jan avri, go away, R.
Jaglers, pins (i.e., things that "jag" or "prick").
Kip, bed.
Laig, road.
Luig, way.
Lui
Liui
Liuer } money, R.
Lower
Lenum, ground.
Lidiri, zinc.
Lodge, watch (Cf. Fr. horloge. F.H.G.).
Lupi, serpent.
Linki, adder.
Loan, salt, R.
Ludni, haste.
Lurin, prattler, G.
Liurin } child
Lairin
Lairgin, footling (child).
Mounticler, water, sea.
Munticler, rain.
Morye, bird
Murge, hen
Morghe, fowl } Cf. moorghee, "a hen," the word given to Dr Ranking by tinkers, at Crinan Harbour, in August, 1890. Dr Ranking states that "moorghee" is the common Hindustani name for a fowl.
Mī, Mē, sheep (onomatopœic).
Munisi, girl
Munshi, wife
Manishi, woman } R.
Manishi, female
Munshi, tobacco, Sh.

Digitized by Google

Mum, mouth, C.
Mansi, pail.
Meoutcat, cat, R.
Mumli, candle, R.
Mast, Mass } beef, R.
Masser, butcher, R.
Masser cier, butcher's shop, R.
Muitis, Mungins, Mungens } rabbits.
Mulled, death, R.
Mullet, dead, R.
Mordid, break.
Muni, dyke, wall.
Muris, do.
Musi, porridge. See Simson's "History" (F.H.G.). Also, Welsh-Romanes, obtained by Mr Sampson from two Welsh Gypsies (Matthew Woods, mūsi, 'porridge,' and Taw, mūsi, 'flummery'). In the United States, mush is the everyday word for maize-porridge.
Meali, sweet, G. Also in Tiree list.
Mort, Moirt } woman, C.
Maiselum, wire.
Maise, house.
Megit, sheep.
Masi, jug.
Mough, pig, G.
Ned, potato. Neddis, potatoes. } With "Ned" and "Neddy" compare "Murphy" = potato.
Nantis, turnips.
Noig, man, Sh.
Neoutat, cat.
Nanwil, anvil. Apparently a mis-pronunciation of "anvil."
Nai, nine, G. (naoi).
Oozel, ass. See Isel and Usel in this vocabulary, and Asal in Simson's History. Also German Esel, and Gaelic Asal.
Outliers, stones.
Pani, water, R.
Pauni, river, water, R.
Piof, Piovin, Piom } spirits, whisky, R. (Literally, "drink").

Digitized by Google

Pingel, beer, ale, porter, R.
Piom Ciar, spirit house, R. (Literally, "drinking-house").
Piam Cian, hotel, R. + Sh.
Porge, arch, R. purj.
Panam, bread, C.
Pigle, Pingle, Pinkie } pail.
Pluffer, Pluffin } tobacco. Simson's "History."
Pauvis, apples, R.
Prinker, Prinkler, } pin.
Paplers, Paplus } porridge.
Prass, Pras } food, Sh.
Prodge, bull.
Pranklers, Pranklus } horses, C.
Quack, Quacker, Quacki } duck.
Rowler, Routler } cow. Simson's "History," F.H.G.)
Rouler, bridge.
Rusgi, basket.
Rusgin, peel.
Raun, Raun } wand, R.
Ran, switch, R.
Rani, woman, R.
Rarni, female, R.
Rackli, girl, R.
Ratli, woman, girl, R.
Rockman, mark, pencil.
Ruble, bottle.
Ratler, train (formerly Cant for "coach." F.H.G.)
Runk, camp.
Ruffart, come.
Reader, licence.
Rat, dark, R. (night).
Rufi, devil, C.

Digitized by Google

Rachalt, death, dead.
Rinnies, sky.
Rinni, stars.
Radger, sour milk.
Rockens, dockens.
Racan, rat (? ratton).
Rengan, kettle, pot.
Runis, turnips.
Stramal, standing corn; straw, C. (Simson's "History").
Strod, boots.
Scruf, bonnet
Smish, Smush, } shirt, C. Cf. comish, carmush; also Fr. chemise.
Spirl, Spirli, } match. Cf. Eng. spill.
Smout, butter. Simson's "History."
Stioma, Stiomagars, } pipes, Sh.
Stiomara, Sh. = piper.
Selvings, fish.
Shach, broth, R.
Shan, steam.
Shan bero, steamboat, R. (bero).
[Shan is also cant for "bad," whence the following.]
Shan chavi, bad boy, R. (chavi).
Shan rackli, bad girl, R. (rackli).
Shan gadgés, rude man, R. (gadji).
Shan manisi, rude woman, R. (manisi).
Slab, tea, C. = slop, (F.H.G.)
Sweetni, sugar.
Shauchi, coat, R.
Sugar Sicuar } good, R. (shukar).
Sugar shauchi, good coat, R.
Scrive, cart.
Sieucar, jars.
Spuds, potatoes. Scotch slang.
Sputigi, coach.
Shriki Smiki } smoke (? former from "reek," latter "smeeky.")
Spracham Sprachram } beggar.
Stogi, stack, R.

Digitized by Google

Salachan, cursing, G.
Suilin, Suilean } child. Sh. Suillean = "baby" in Tiree list.
Screeves, trousers.
Sneaps, Sneeps, turnips. (? from Scotch 'neeps).
Shinder, sun.
Sindin, ear (Cf. R. sūn = hear).
Sclat, tea.
Sclataich, tea feast.
Scree, write, G.
Sgeamhas, drink, Sh.
Isgeamhas, drunk person, Sh.
Shay, Shaw, six, G. (sea).
Shach, Shachd, seven, G.
Sheora, head, end, R.
Tog, petticoat
Tug, coat
Tugi, jacket
Tugari, clothes } Sh. Cf. togs, toggery, &c.
Thoui, Thowi } tobacco, R.
Tatters, watch, C.
Tachi, Takis, } boat
Test, head, Old French.
Theovi, shop. Sh. chōvi.
Tilam, Tulum, Tilem, } spoon.
Teorī, fire, G.
Toim, Taim, } white, Sh. Toim = "white" in Tiree list.
Tid, tea.
Thud, milk, R.
Tut, bread.
Tutsi, pipe.
Tri, three, G.
Tior, Tiuri, Tivi, } three.
Usel, ass. See Oozel; ante.
Utliers, stones. See outliers; ante.
Veis, tree, R.

Digitized by Google

Veist, meal.
Vasti, shirt.
Wallop, calf.
Wattle, camp.
Watches, beyond (land beyond).
Whirli, cart. Ordinary Scotch, "hurley."
Whirli ceir, cart shed. R. ceir.
Wid, tea. See Tid; ante.
Widera, Wunera } window. ? Fr. Fenêtre, F.H.G.
Winkli, eye.
Winklers, Winklus } eyes.
Winklers, spectacles.
Wipe, plaid. ? confused with C. "wipe" = handkerchief.
Yaffin, dog, hound (Onomatopœic, from "yap.")
Yag, coals, R.
Yanus, Yaunas, Yearris } eggs, R.
Yennam, Yerram } milk.
Yargin, Yerder } tin. Sh. yergan (Dr Fearon Ranking, Crinan Harbour, 1890).
Yerger, iron.

Digitized by Google

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

HONORARY CHIEFTAINS.

Alexander Macbain, M.A., LL.D., rector, High (Secondary) School, Inverness
William Mackay, solicitor, Inverness
Duncan Campbell, editor, "Northern Chronicle," Inverness
John Mackay, C.E., Hereford
Alex. Carmichael, F.S.A., 32 Polwarth Gardens, Edinburgh
William Mackenzie, secretary, Crofters' Commission, Edinburgh
William J. Watson, M.A., (Aber.), B.A. (Oxon.), Rector, Royal Academy, Inverness

LIFE MEMBERS.

Baillie, James E. B., of Dochfour.
Bignold, Arthur, of Lochrosque, Ross-shire
Brodie, W. A. G., 15 Rutland Square, Edinburgh
Burgess, Peter, Craven Estates Office, Coventry
Dewar, John A., M.P., Murrayshall, Scone, Perth
Falconer, J. J. Maclennan, St Anns, Lasswade
Ferguson, R. C. Munro, of Novar, M.P.
Fletcher, J. Douglas, of Rosehaugh
Finlay, Sir R. B., Q.C., Solicitor General, Phillemore Gardens, London
Grant, Ian Murray, of Glenmoriston
Grant, J. P., of Rothiemurchus
Lord Lovat, Right Hon., Beaufort Castle, Beauly
Macdonald, Lachlan, of Skaebost, Skye
Mackay, Donald, Gampola, Kandy, Ceylon
Mackay, George F., Roxburgh, Otago, New Zealand
Mackay, James, Roxburgh, Otago, New Zealand
Mackay, John, C.E., J.P., Reay House, Hereford
Mackenzie, Sir Allan R., of Kintail, Bart.

Digitized by Google

Mackenzie, Thomas, Dailuaine House, Carron, Strathspey
Mackenzie, W. D., of Glen Kyllachy and Farr, Inverness
Maclean, L., Castle Packets, Cape Town, Africa
Macleod of Macleod, Reginald, 50 Draycott Place, London.
Matheson, Sir Kenneth, of Lochalsh, Bart.
Munro, Sir Hector, of Fowlis, Bart.
Ross, John M., 2 Devonshire Gardens, Glasgow
Scobie, Captain N., late of Fearn, Ross-shire
Sivewright, Sir James, K.C.M.G., Commissioner of Crown Lands, Cape Colony, Africa
Watts, Mrs Mary Seton, Lunnerlease, Guildford, Surrey
Yule, Miss Amy Frances, Tarradale House, Ross-shire

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Baillie, Major Aug. C., Dochfour, Inverness
Brown, Chas. Marshall, Manager, Caledonian Bank, Inverness
Burgess, Alexander, Caledonian Bank, Gairloch
Cameron, Donald, of Lochiel, Achnacarry, Fort-William
Cameron, Sir Ewen, manager of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Company, London
Campbell, Duncan, editor, "Northern Chronicle," Inverness
Campbell, J. A., Trinity College, Cambridge
Chisholm, Roderick Gooden, Whincroft, Wimborne, London
Davidson, Major, of Cantray
Davidson, Sheriff, Fort-William
Falconer, Dr J., St Ann's, Lasswade, Midlothian
Grant, A., Maryhill, Inverness
Grant, Lieut.-Col. Brigade Surgeon Alex., Reay House, Inverness
Grant, Hugh, Victoria Terrace, Inverness
Grant, Ian Macpherson, yr. of Ballindalloch, Milton Cottage, Kingussie
Lord Kyllachy, The Hon, Edinburgh
Macallister, ex-Bailie T. S., Inverness
Macdonald, Lieut.-Col. T. R., The Haven, Inverness
Macdonald, Callum, Highland Club, Inverness
Macdonald, John, The Hotel, Altnancealgach, Lairg
Macdonald, L., C. and M. Engineer, 1317 Eleventh Avenue, Altoona, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.
Macdougall, Miss C. E., Canaan Lodge, Canaan Lane, Edinburgh
Maceachern, Rev. Dugald, M.A., Coll
Mackay, Eric, 7 Royal Exchange, London, E.C.
Mackay, William, solicitor, Union Street, Inverness

Digitized by Google

Mackenzie, Mackay D., National Provincial Bank of England, Clifton, Bristol
Mackenzie, Simon, The Hotel, Lochboisdale, S. Uist
Mackintosh of Mackintosh, Moyhall
Mackintosh, M. A. Geddes, Nairn
Mackintosh, A. R., Balmoral House, Nairn
Mackintosh, Andrew (of Barclay, Mackintosh, & Co.), Buenos Ayres
Mackintosh, Duncan, Franklin, Pennsylvania
Mackintosh, Neil R., of Raigmore
Maclaren, J., Gordon Highlanders, Edinburgh
Macleod, Rev. Dr Norman, Ravenswood, Inverness
Macpherson, Charles J. B., of Bellville, Kingussie
Macpherson, Duncan J., of Glentruim, Kingussie
Macpherson, George, 8 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
Macpherson of Cluny, Albert Cameron, Cluny Castle, Kingussie
Macritchie, D., C.A., 4 Archibald Place, Edinburgh
Menzies, A. J. P., S.S.C., Queen Street, Edinburgh
Morrison, Rev. Angus J., M.A., The Manse, Moy
Morrison, G., 4 Hastings Street, Calcutta
Robertson, John L., H.M. Inspector of Schools, Inverness
Scott, Roderick, solicitor, Inverness
Wimberley, Captain D., Ardross Terrace, Inverness

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

Anderson, John, solicitor, Stornoway
Atkin, Captain Percy H., 3 Plowden Buildings, Temple, London
Barrett, Mrs, 3 Duncairn Terrace, Bray, Co. Wicklow
Barron, James, editor, "Inverness Courier," Inverness
Batchen, Thomas M., C.E., Clooney Villa, Londonderry
Beaton, Angus J., C.E., Alexandra Terrace, Rockferry, Cheshire
Beaton, M., H.M.I.S., Inverness
Bentinck, Rev. Chas. D., E.C. Manse, Kirkhill, Inverness
Beveridge, Erskine, St. Leonard's Hill, Dunfermline
Birkbeck, Robert, 20 Berkeley Square, London
Bisset, Rev. Alexander, Chapel House, Nairn
Black, F. A., solicitor, Inverness
Brand, Kenneth J , solicitor, Inverness
Brooks, Rev. Canon, Inverness
Buchanan, F. C., Clarinnish, Row, Helensburgh
Burness, Charles, Kilcoy, North Kessock
Burnett, J. R., Romford, Crown Drive, Inverness
Butter, D., travelling auditor, Highland Railway, Inverness

Digitized by Google

Call, D. W., burgh assessor, Inverness
Cameron, Alex., Highland Railway, Inverness
Cameron, Rev. Allan, Free East Church, Inverness
Cameron, Rev. Angus, Duddingston, Midlothian
Cameron, Colin, ironmonger, High Street, Inverness
Cameron, D., Ardlarach, Culduthel Road, Inverness
Cameron, D. M., wholesale grocer, Dempster Gardens
Cameron, D., teacher, Blairour, Spean-Bridge, Kingussie
Cameron, D., merchant, Muir of Ord
Cameron, Dr, Firhall, Nairn
Cameron, John, bookseller, Union Street, Inverness
Cameron, Kenneth, factor, Ullapool
Cameron, Miss M. E., of Innseagan, Fort-William
Cameron, Neil R., of D. Cameron & Co., grocers, Church Street, Inverness
Cameron, Paul, Blair-Atholl
Cameron, Rev. Alex., Sleat, Skye
Cameron, Mrs, Chipping, Campden, Gloucestershire
Campbell, Dr, Oban
Campbell, Donald, merchant, Kingussie
Campbell, Rev. D., Petty, Inverness
Campbell, Ewan, cabinet maker, Kingussie
Campbell, Fraser (of Fraser & Campbell), High Street, Inverness
Campbell, Sheriff, Portree
Campbell, James, builder, Ardross Place, Inverness
Carmichael, Alexander, 32 Polworth Gardens, Edinburgh
Cattanach, Dr, 3 Alvanley Terrace, Edinburgh
Chisholm, Father, Eskdale, by Beauly
Chisholm, deputy chief constable, The Castle, Inverness
Clarke, Colonel Cumming, Achindoun, Beauly
Connell, Rev D., Free West Church, Inverness
Cook, John, commission agent, 21 Southside Road, Inverness
Copland, R. M., 38 High Street, Inverness
Cran, John, Kirkton, Bunchrew
Crerar, Alexander, merchant, Kingussie
Crerar, Duncan Macgregor, 93 Nassau Street, New York
Cruickshanks, Dr, Nairn
Cumming, D. G., Royal Bank, Forres
Cumming, John, Knockie Villa, Beaufort Road, Inverness
Cumming, William, Allanfearn, Inverness
Darwin, the Rev. Arthur, Empton, Bury St. Edmunds
Davidson, D., Waverley Hotel, Inverness
Dewar, Alexander, solicitor, Dingwall

Digitized by Google

Dewar, John, M.B., C.M., Portree
Dey, Robert, M.A., Berryhill Public School, Wishaw
Dow, Rev. J., M.A., The Manse, Munlochy
Findlater, A. K. (of Messrs Macdonald & Mackintosh), Inverness
Finlayson, R., Ardjachie, Tain
Forsyth, John H., Southside Road, Inverness
Fraser, Alex., Millburn Distillery, Inverness
Fraser, Alex., draper, High Street, Inverness
Fraser, Alexander, solicitor, Inverness
Fraser, Alexander, grocer, Tomnahurich Street, Inverness
Fraser, Alexander, Kineras Lodge, Woodlawn Avenue, Toronto
Fraser, Miss Catherine, 42 Union Street, Inverness
Fraser, D. Munro, H.M. Inspector of Schools, Argyleshire
Fraser, Farquhar, Inverness
Fraser, D. P., commission agent, Murray Place, Haugh
Fraser, Hugh, Armadale Cottage, Greig Street, Inverness
Fraser, Dr Hugh E., Royal Infirmary, Dundee
Fraser, James, C.E., Inverness
Fraser, James, Mauld, Strathglass
Fraser, John, draper, 44 High Street, Nairn
Fraser, John, grocer, Haugh, Inverness
Fraser, Rev. J., Erchless, by Beauly
Fraser, Captain J. Wilson, of Balnain, Stratherrick
Fraser, Rev. John, U.F.C. Manse, Dores
Fraser, Roderick, contractor, Argyle Street, Inverness
Fraser, Simon, Southside Road, Inverness
Fraser, Thos., 82 George Street, Edinburgh
Fraser, William (of Messrs Keith & Co.), Inverness
Freer, Miss Goodrich, Holy Trinity Vicarage, Paddington, London, W.
Gibson, Thomas (of Messrs Mactavish & Gibson), Inverness
Gillanders, K. A., grocer, Queensgate, Inverness
Gillies, Norman, governor, Poorhouse, Lochmaddy
Gossip, James A., Knowsley, Inverness
Gracie, D. S., Inland Revenue, Inverness
Graham, Hugh M., solicitor, Church Street, Inverness
Grant, George Macpherson, yr. of Ballindalloch
Grant, Rev. J., E.C. Manse, Kilmuir, Skye
Grant, James, commercial traveller, Arthur & Co., Glasgow
Grant, Dr Ogilvie, Inverness
Grant, Rev. Donald, Dornoch
Grant, D., teacher, Royal Academy, Inverness
Grant, J. B., Eastlands, Horsham, Sussex

Digitized by Google

Grant, Colonel Robert, Beanachan, Carr-Bridge
Grant, R. M., manager, "Chronicle" Office, Inverness
Grant, William, Gresham Insurance Office, London
Gunn, Rev. Adam, Durness, Lairg.
Haggart, Rev. Mr, The Manse, Lochcarron
Harvey, William, The Schoolhouse, Munlochy
Henderson, Rev. Dr George, The Manse, Eddrachilles
Henderson, John, factor for Rosehaugh, Fortrose
Holmes, James, 4 Finchley Road, Plimlico, London
Holmes, T., 15 New Alma Road, Portswood, Southampton
Hood, John, secretary, English and Scottish Law Life Association, Edinburgh
Hutton, A. W., coachbuilder, 34 Chichester Street, Belfast
Innes, A. Lee, Kingsmills, Inverness
Johnson, Lieut., H.M.S. Briton, Inverness
Kemp, D. William, Ivy Lodge, Trinity, Edinburgh
Kemp, Wm. (Messrs Strothers & Coy.), Inverness
Kennedy, A., G.N. of Scotland Railway Company, Inverness
Kennedy, Chas., Stores Superintendent, Highland Railway, Inverness
Kennedy, Rev. John, Caticol Manse, Lochranza, Arran
Kerr, Dr, Inverness
Kirkaldy, Geo. W., Honolulu, Hawaii
Lang, Dr Gordon, Inverness
Lawson, Geo., Beaufort, Beauly
Lindsay, Professor W. M., The University, St Andrews
Livingston, Colin, Fort-William
Lumsden, Miss Louisa Innes, Glenbogie, Rhynie, Aberdeenshire
Macarthur, Alex., Texa Villa, Inverness
Macaulay, chief constable, Dingwall
Macbain, Alexander, M.A., LL.D., rector, High (Secondary) School, Inverness
Macbean, William, Provost, 35 Union Street, Inverness
Macbean, George, writer, Queensgate, Inverness
Macbeth, R. J., architect, Queensgate, Inverness
Maccallum, Henry V., solicitor, Queensgate, Inverness
Maccallum, John, Volunteer Arms Hotel, Inverness
Macdiarmid, Rev. A., M.A., F.P.S., U.F. Manse, Grantown-on-Spey
Macdiarmid, James, Morenish, Killen
Macdonald, Professor A. G., Norman School, Truro, Nova Scotia
Macdonald, Alex., Accountant, Highland Railway, Inverness
Macdonald, Alex., Station Hotel, Forres
Macdonald, A. R. D., Hubert Place, Lancaster
Macdonald, Dr Alex., Olive Lodge, Polworth, Edinburgh

Digitized by Google

Macdonald, Rev. Alex. J., Killearnan, North Kessock
Macdonald, Rev. A., E.C. Manse, Kiltarlity
Macdonald, Rev. D. J., Killean Manse, Muasdale, Kintyre
Macdonald, Rev. Allan, R.C., Eriskay, North Uist
Macdonald, David, Clarence Street, Aberdeen
Macdonald, Dr D., Glen-Urquhart
Macdonald, D. A., solicitor, Portree
Macdonald, Bailie Donald, Inverness
Macdonald, Ewen, Lyminge, Kent
Macdonald, Hugh, Accountant's Office, Highland Railway, Inverness
Macdonald, Hugh, solicitor, Aberdeen
Macdonald, James, builder contractor, Kingussie
Macdonald, James, hotel-keeper, Fort-William
Macdonald, John, wood merchant, Inverness
Macdonald, Thomas, builder, Hilton, Inverness
Macdonald, Donald, flesher, Union Street, Inverness
Macdonald, John, collector, Inland Revenue, London
Macdonald, John, wholesale merchant, Castle Street, Inverness
Macdonald, John, chief constable, Inverness
Macdonald, J. E., clothier, Bridge Street, Inverness
Macdonald, Kenneth, town-clerk, Inverness
Macdonald, Murdo, C.E., Nile Water Works, Assuan, Egypt
Macdonald, Murdo, M.A., Schoolhouse, Dores
Macdonald, Pipe-Major, Highland Rifle Vols., Inverness
Macdonald, Professor Arthur A., Lochgarry Lodge, Bunbury Road, Oxford
Macdonald, Ronald, solicitor, Portree
Macdonald, William, contractor, George Street, Inverness
Macdougall, Rev. R., Resolis Invergordon
Macewan, A. M, solicitor, Inverness
Macewan, John, Trafford Bank, Fairfield Road, Inverness
Macfarlane, And., sporranmaker, Kingussie
Macfarlane, Donald, Omaru, Otago, New Zealand.
Macgregor, Donald, Bank of Scotland, Beauly
Macgregor, John, Kingussie
Macgregor, Rev. Peter, M.A., Assynt
Machardy, Alex., chief constable, The Castle, Inverness
Macintyre, P. B., Commissioner, Crofters' Commission, Findon
Macintyre, Peter, 6 Parliament Square, Edinburgh
Macintosh, Rev. John, Free Church Manse, Fort-William.
Mackay, A., Ellandubh, Inverness
Mackay, Æneas, bookseller, Stirling

Digitized by Google

Mackay, Charles, contractor, Dempster Gardens, Inverness
Mackay, Donald, Victoria Buildings, Inverness
Mackay, Donald, Braemore, Dunbeath
Mackay, Dr, Lochcarron
Mackay, John, editor, "Celtic Monthly," Glasgow
Mackay, J. G., merchant, Portree
Mackay, Thomas A., British Linen Coy.'s Bank, Edinburgh
Mackay, William, bookseller, High Street, Inverness
Mackay, William, National Bank of Scotland, Edinburgh
Mackenzie, Alex., C.E., Kingussie
Mackenzie, Alex., Dochfour Estates Office, Inverness
Mackenzie, Rev. C., U.F.C. Manse, Badcaul, Ullapool
Mackenzie, D., Edinburgh
Mackenzie, D. F., solicitor, Inverness
Mackenzie, Evan N. B., yr. of Kilcoy, Belmaduthy House, Munlochy
Mackenzie, Dr F. M., Inverness
Mackenzie, Mrs Isabel, Silverwells, Inverness
Mackenzie, John, gamedealer, &c., Union Street, Inverness
Mackenzie, John, jun., Dunvegan, Portree
Mackenzie, John, merchant, Castle Street, Inverness
Mackenzie, Rev. J., U.F.C. Manse, Golspie
Mackenzie, Malcolm, M.A., 30 Woodburn Terrace, Edinburgh
Mackenzie, Roderick, Oban Hotel, Dunedin, New Zealand
Mackenzie, William, secretary, Crofters' Commission, Edinburgh
Mackenzie, William, clothier, Church Street, Inverness
Mackinnon, Alexander D., solicitor, Portree
Mackintosh, Alex., New Market Inn, Inverness
Mackintosh, Andrew, H.M. Customs, Inverness
Mackintosh, D. J., Huntly Street, Inverness
Mackintosh, John, writer, Grantown, Strathspey
Mackintosh, John, solicitor, Queensgate, Inverness
Mackintosh, Rev. A., Chapel House, Fort-William
Mackintosh, Lachlan, merchant, Kingussie
Mackintosh, Miss M. A., of Mackintosh, 37 Melville Street, Edinburgh
Mackintosh, P. T., Milton, Drumnadrochit
Mackintosh, R. L., wine merchant, Bridge Street, Inverness
Mackintosh, William, Fife Estate Office, Banff
Maclachlan, Duncan, Public Library, Edinburgh
Maclagan, R. C., M.D., 5 Coates Crescent, Edinburgh
Maclean, Rev. D., Duirinish, Portree
Maclean, Ewen, Lyon's Court, Academy Street, Inverness
Maclean, Rev. J., Carnoch, Strathconon

Digitized by Google

Maclean, Rev. Norman, The Manse, Invergarry
Maclean, Peter, merchant, Dunvegan
Maclean, Roderick, C.A., Union Street, Inverness
Macleay, William, birdstuffer, Church Street, Inverness
Macleish, D., banker, Fort-William
Maclennan, Alex., flesher, New Market, Inverness
Maclennan, John, M.A., rector, Dundee Academy
Maclennan, John, wine merchant, Inglis Street, Inverness
Maclennan, Rev. D. S., New Zealand
Macleod, Angus, Union Hotel, Inverness
Macleod, Angus D., Bellsfield Hotel, Windermere
Macleod, Rev. A, U.F. Manse, Laggan
Macleod, G. G., teacher, Gledfield Public School, Ardgay
Macleod, Henry Dunning, Oxford and Cambridge Club, London
Macleod, John, 15 Union Street, Inverness
Macleod, John, Public School, Drumsmittal, North Kessock
Macleod, John, Woodlands, Dores Road, Inverness
Macleod, John, M.A., The Schoolhouse, Lairg
Macleod, M. C., "People's Journal" Office, Dundee
Macleod, M. D., M.B., of Beverley, Yorkshire
Macleod, Neil, 22 Viewforth Gardens, Edinburgh
Macleod, Norman, bookseller, 7 North Bank Street, Edinburgh
Macleod, R., clothier, East Gate, Inverness
Macleod, William C., 55 West Regent Street, Glasgow
Macnab, John, teacher, Kilmuir, Portree
Macnaughton, Dr, Stonehaven
Macneill, Rev. J. G., Free Church Manse, Cawdor
Macnish, Rev. Dr, Cornwall, Ontario, Canada
Macphail, I. R. N., advocate, 87 Great King Street, Edinburgh
Macphail, Rev. J. S., Free Church Manse, Griminish, Benbecula
Macphail, Samuel Rutherford, M.D., medical superintendent, Derby Borough Asylum, Derby
Macpherson-Grant, Alister, Ballindalloch
Macpherson, Captain, J. F., Caledonian United Service Club, Edinburgh
Macpherson, Duncan, steamboat agent, Union Street, Inverness
Macpherson, Duncan, Inverguseran, Knoydart
Macpherson, D., postmaster, Falkirk
Macpherson, Miss E. Phoineas, Braid Road, Edinburgh
Macpherson, John, Inverness
Macpherson, Lachlan, 8 Smith Place, Leith
Macpherson, A. J., Balbhadain, Newtonmore
Macqueen, Rev. John, Chapel House, Inverness

Digitized by Google

Macqueen, William, Baron Taylor's Lane, Inverness
Macrae, Miss C. F., 2 Circus Gardens, Edinburgh
Macrae, Rev. Farquhar, M.A., E.C. Manse, Glenorchy, Dalmally
Macrae, Rev. A., Free Church Manse, Clachan, Kintyre
Macrae, R., posting master, Beauly
Macrae, John, solicitor, Dingwall
Macrae, Dr, Jesmond, Newcastle
Macrury, Rev. John, Snizort, Skye
Mactavish, Alexander, Ironmonger, Castle Street, Inverness
Mactavish, Duncan, Academy Street, Inverness
Mactavish, P. D., solicitor, Inverness
Macvean, C. S., Kilfinichen House, Pennyghael, Mull
Martin, W. A., Beauclerc Road, London, W.
Masson, Rev. Dr Donald, 36 Comiston Drive, Edinburgh
Matheson, J., Ordnance Survey, Edinburgh
Matheson, R. F., factor, Tarbert, by Portree
Maxwell, Thomas Edward Hall, of Dargavel, Dunolly, Inverness
Medlock, Arthur, Bridge Street, Inverness
Menzies, Duncan, farmer, Blairich, Rogart
Middleton, J. M., solicitor, Inverness
Miller, Dr, Belford Hospital, Fort-William
Mitchell, Alex., 28 Market Street, Aberdeen
Moncrieff, Sheriff Scott, Lanark
Morgan, Arthur, 6 Parliament Square, Edinburgh.
Morrison, Angus, 16 Union Street, Inverness
Morrison, Dr A., Kinloid House, Larkhall, Lanarkshire
Morrison, John M., Stornoway
Mortimer, John, 344 Great Western Road, Aberdeen
Munro, D., teacher, Dochgarroch
Munro, Geo., Lonroighte, Alness
Munro, John, North of Scotland Bank, Inverness
Munro, Thos., architect, Inverness
Murray, D., commercial traveller, Inverness
Murray, Francis, Messrs James Finlay & Co., 34 Leadenhall Street, E.C.
Murray, S. R. (of Messrs Murray & Watson), Inverness
Nairne, David, sub-editor, "Northern Chronicle," Inverness
Nicolson, Donald, Salisbury Cottage, Uig, Portree.
Oberbeck, C., Alexandra Hotel, Inverness
Paterson, Rod., town chamberlain, Inverness
Polson, A., teacher, Poolewe
Ritchie, Rev. R. L., Creich, Sutherlandshire
Robertson, Rev. Charles M., Inverness

Digitized by Google

Robertson, Rev. Duncan, The Manse, Luss
Robertson, Ossian, banker, Stornoway
Rose, D., Ardross Place, Inverness
Ross, A. M., editor, "Northern Herald," Wick
Ross, ex-Provost Alex., LL.D., Inverness
Ross, David, solicitor, Church Street, Inverness
Ross, Donald, accountants' department, Highland Railway, Inverness
Ross, Robert, Gellion's Hotel, Inverness
Ross, William A., solicitor, Stornoway
Rusterholtz, J., manager, Palace Hotel, Inverness
Scott, Thomas, Rhifail, Kinbrace
Sellar, Geo., merchant, Kingussie
Shand, J. Harvey, 38 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh
Sharp, D., 81 Scott Street, Garnethill, Glasgow
Shaw, James T., Gordonbush, Brora
Shirres, George Buchan, Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge
Sinclair, Rev. A. Maclean, Belfast, Prince Edward's Island
Sinton, P. J., farmer, Glen-Nevis, Fort-William
Sinton, Rev. Thomas, Dores, Inverness
Skinner, John R., Thornbush Brewery, Inverness
Smith, Dr D. H., West 34 Street, New York
Smith, J., writer, Queensgate, Inverness
Souter, J. F., agent, Commercial Bank, Inverness
Steele, A. F., agent, Bank of Scotland, Inverness
Steven, Frank, Caledonian Hotel, Inverness
Stevenson, W., Collector of Customs, Inverness
Stuart, Rev. Alex., E.C. Manse, Daviot
Sutherland, John, rector, Andersonian Institution, Forres
Swan, D. Cameron, 12 Phœnix Lodge Mansions, Brook Green, London
Thomson, Hugh, stockbroker, Inverness
Urquhart, And., M.A., Rosehall, Invershin
Urquhart, Donald, Public School, Staffin, Portree
Urquhart, J., farmer, Uig, Skye
Urquhart, Robert, jun., solicitor, Forres
Walker, A., H.M.I.S., Aberdeen
Wallace, Thomas, rector, High School, Inverness
Warren, John, accountant, British Linen Co.'s Bank, Forres
Watson, W. J., rector, Royal Academy, Inverness
Whyte, John, "Highland Times," Inverness.
Woolfenden, Wm., Star Hotel, Kingussie
Young, David, secretary, Caledonian Bank, Inverness

Digitized by Google

Young, Jas., Cadboll, Fearn
Young, John (of Young & Chapman, drapers), Inverness

DECEASED MEMBERS.

Campbell, Paul, Castle Street, Inverness
Campbell, T. D., Ness Bank, Inverness
Fergusson, Charles, Nairn
Fletcher, C. Fitzroy, Letham Grange, Arbroath
Macfarlane, D. H., 46 Portman Square, London
Mackay, Rev. Thomson, B.D., Strath, Skye
Mackintosh, Angus, of Holme
Mackintosh, Duncan, Bank of Scotland, Inverness
Macpherson, Colonel, of Glentruim, Kingussie
Macpherson, Geo. Phoineas, Braid Row, Edinburgh
Murdoch, John, Horton Cottage, Uddingstone
Ross, James, Broadford, Skye

Digitized by Google

LIST OF BOOKS

IN

THE SOCIETY'S LIBRARY

A

NAMES OF BOOKS.	DONORS.
Adhamh agus Eubh, by Lachlan Macbean	Mr L. Macbean
Agriculture, First Report of the Secretary of (1889).	
Agriculture, Chemistry of. C. A. Cameron, M.D. (1857)	Mr John Murdoch
Agricultural Class-Book. Rev. Mr Hickey (1862)	ditto
Annals, Ritson's, volumes I. and II. (1828)	Sir Kenneth J. Mackenzie of Gairloch
Antiquities, Ancient Caledonian. Rev. J. Macpherson, D.D.. Skye (1768) .	Mr J. Craigie, Dundee
Apocrypha in Gaelic (tr.). Rev. A. Macgregor (1860)	The Translator
Avesbury, The Winged Sons of. Owen Morgan (Morien) (1901) . . .	Mr J. Mackay, Hereford

B

Banking, The Elements of. H. D. Macleod, M.A. (1891)	The Author
Bardic Stories, The, of Ireland. Patrick Kennedy (1871)	Mr John Murdoch
Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica. John Reid (1832) (two copies)	Mr John Mackay, Hereford, and Mr J. Craigie, Dundee

Digitized by Google

NAMES OF BOOKS.	DONORS.
Bible, English and Irish, from Genesis to Joshua. Rev. John MacHale (1868)	Canon Bourke
Biobla Noamtha (Irish), partly MS. . .	J. Mackenzie, M.D., of Eileanach
Biobul, Old (1823)	Mr L. Macbean.
Biobla Noamhtha (Bedel) (1817) . .	
Biobull Noamhtha (1855) . . .	Mr J. Craigie, Dundee
Biobla Naomhtha (Bedel) (1685) . .	
Biobla Noamhtha (Bedel) (Irish) (1830) .	Mr A. R. MacRaild
Bible (Welsh) (1859)	Mr L. Mackintosh
Bliadhna Thearlaich. John Mackenzie (1844)	Mr Alex. Mackenzie
Brigade, The Highland. Jas. Cromb (1886)	Mr J. Mackay, Hereford
Britannia, The Light of. Owen Morgan (Morien)	ditto
Bull "Ineffabilis," The, in Latin, English, Gaelic, and French. Rev. H. J. Burke (1868)	Canon Bourke
Boston agus na Mairtirich. Aonghas Macdhomhnuill (1863) . . .	Mr J. Craigie, Dundee
Burke, Edmund, The Works of (8 vols.) (1808)	Mr Colin Chisholm, Inverness
Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland (Jamieson edition) (1876). . . .	L. Macdonald of Skaebost
Bute Docks, The. John M'Connachie, C.E. (1876)	The Author.

C

Carmina Gadelica. Alex. Carmichael (1900)	Mr J. Mackay, Hereford
Celtic Gleanings. Rev. Thos. Maclauchlan (1857)	Dr Maclauchlan
Celtic Language, Affinity between the Hebrew and the. Thos. Stratton, M.D. (third edition) (1872) . .	The Author
Celtic Language, The History of. L. Maclean. F.O.S. (1840) . . .	Mr J. Craigie, Dundee
Celtic Magazine, vol. iii., iv., v., vi., vii., viii., ix., x., and xiii.	The Publishers and Purchased
Celtic Origin of Greek and Latin. Thos. Stratton (1870)	Rev. Alex. Macgregor
Chronicles of Eri, Fragments from (German). O'Connor (1838) . . .	Mr John Mackay, Ben Reay

Digitized by Google

NAMES OF BOOKS.	DONORS.
Church of Scotland, The Ancient. Mackenzie E.C. Walcott, B.D., F.S.A. (1874)	Mr A. Burgess, Gairloch
Church, The Early Scottish. Rev. Thos. Maclachlan, D.D. (1865)	Rev. Dr Maclauchlan
Clan Battle at Perth. A. Mackintosh Shaw (1874)	The Author
Clan Donald. Vols. i. and ii. Revs. A. J. and A. Macdonald (1899-1900)	The Authors
Celtic Tradition, Waifs and Strays of. J. G. Campbell (1895)	Miss Yule, Tarradale
Clan Maclean, History of. J. P. Maclean, Cincinnatti (1889)	Purchased
Clarsach an Doire. Neil Macleod (editions 1883 and 1893)	The Author
Clarsach nan Beann. Ecbhann Maccolla (second edition, 1838)	Mr J. Craigie, Dundee
Club of True Highlanders, The Book of. C. N. Macintyre North (1881)	Purchased
Còinneach 'us Coille, Songs and Poems in Gaelic. A. Macdonald, Inverness (1895)	The Author
Còmhraidhean 'an Gàidhlig 's 'am Beurla. Rev. D. Macinnes (1892)	The Author
Common Order, The Book of (Carsewell). (Maclachlan's edition, 1873) (Gaelic).	Purchased
Corso di Lingua Italiana. (1819)	Mr Chas. Fergusson
Cuchullinn Saga, The, in Irish Literature. E. Hull, 1898	Miss Yule, Tarradale
Culdees, The History of. Rev. Duncan M'Callum (1855)	Rev. A. Macgregor

D

Dàin agus Orain, Gilleasbuig Grannda Gleannamoraisdain (two copies)	Mr Charles Mackay
Dàin Spioradail. Rev. Jas. Macgregor	
Dàn an Deirg, etc. C. S. Jerram, M.A. (1874) (two copies)	The Author.
Dàn Uile-Làthaireachd Dhé (tr.) Rev. John Lees, A.M. (1837) (two copies)	J. Craigie, Dundee
Dean of Lismore, The Book of. Rev. T. Maclachlan (1862)	Rev. Dr Maclauchlan
Dictionary, Gaelic and Euglish. Alex. Macdonald (1741)	Rev. Alex. Macgregor

Digitized by Google

NAMES OF BOOKS.	DONORS.
Dictionary, Gaelic. A. Macbain, M.A., LL.D. (1896)	The Author
Dictionary, Gaelic, Highland Society's .	Sir Ken. S. Mackenzie of Gairloch, Bart.
Dictionary, Gaelic. M'Alpine . .	Maclachlan & Stewart
Dictionary, Gaelic. Macleod and Dewar's (1830)	Rev. Dr Maclachlan
Dictionary, Gaelic. Shaw (1780) . .	Rev. A. Macgregor.
Disruption, The, Dialogues in Gaelic (tr.) Rev. Alex. Clark (1843) . . .	Mr J. Craigie, Dundee
Doctrine, The Christian. Archbishop of Tuam	Mr C. Grant, Baltimore
Druids, Toland's History of the. R. Huddleston (1814)	Mr J. Craigie, Dundee
Duain Ghaelig. Macdhun-Leibhe (1858).	Mr John Murdoch
E	
Eachdraidh Beatha Chriosd. Iain Macruairidh (1893)	The Author
Eachdraidh na h-Alba. Rev. A. Mackenzie (1867) (3 copies) . . .	The Author.
Earail Dhurachdach. J. Alliene (R. Baxter)	
Eisemplier Shoilleir. Ceasnuighe air Leabhar aithghearr nan Ceist (tr.) Leis an Urramach Eoin Uillison (1799)	Mr J. Craigie, Dundee
Eminent Scotsmen, Chambers's Biography of. Vols. 1 to 9 (1859) . . .	Mr A. R. Macraild
English Language, Gaelic Etymology of. Charles Mackay, LL.D. (1877). .	Mr J. Mackay, Hereford
Epistles and Gospels, The Catholic, in various Celtic Languages. . .	ditto
F	
Fair Maid of Perth, Illustrations from. (1878)	Miss Fraser, N. Berwick
Fians, Fairies, and Picts. D. Macritchie (1893)	The Author.
Fingal, The, of Ossian. Ewen Cameron (1777)	A. H. F. Cameron, Esq. of Lakefield
Fingal, an Epic Poem. Archibald Macdonald (1808).	ditto

Digitized by Google

NAMES OF BOOKS.	DONORS.
Fingal, Macpherson's (1762) (2 copies)	L. Macbean and C. Fraser-Mackintosh, LL.D.
Fingal's Cave. J. P. Maclean, Cincinnatti (1890)	Purchased
Fulangais Chriosd. Duncan Macfarlane	Mr J. Craigie, Dundee

G

Gael, Thoughts on the Origin and Descent of the. Jas. Grant (1814)	ditto
Gaelic Antiquities. Rev. John Smith, Kilbrandon (1780)	Col. Mackenzie of Parkmount
Gaelic Astronomy. D. M. Connell	Mr Chas. Mackay
Gaelic Charter, Photograph of. 1408	Rev. Wm. Ross, Glasgow
Gaelic Journal (Irish), 1891 to date	The Publishers
Gaelic Language, Antiquity of. Rev. D. Macintyre (1865)	Mr John Murdoch
Gaelic Poetry, The Beauties of. J. Mackenzie (1872)	Rev. W. Ross, Glasgow
Gaelic Primer (new). James Munro, H.M.E.I., I.C. and O.S.G., etc. (1873)	Maclachlan & Stewart
Celtic Race and Language, The Aryan Origin of. Rev. U. J. Bourke, M.R.I.A. (1875)	Mr J. Mackay, Hereford
Gaelic Society of Glasgow, Transactions. Vol i., 1887-1891	The Society
Gaelic Society of Inverness, Transactions of. Vols. i. to xxiv.	
Gaelic Songs, Collection of. Pat Turner (1813) (2 copies)	Mr A. Mackintosh Shaw
Gaelic Songs, Collection of (old)	
Gaelic Songs and Poems ("An Duanaire"). Donald Macpherson (1868)	Maclachlan & Stewart
Gàidheal—"An Gàidheal" (1873)	The Publishers
Grammar, Gaelic, Elements of. Rev. Alex. Stewart (1801)	Mr Duncan Mackintosh
Grammar, Gaelic. James Munro (1843)	Purchased
Grammar, Gaelic (Irish). (1808) (2 copies)	Canon Bourke
Gypsies, Scottish, under the Stewarts. D. Macritchie (1894)	The Author

Digitized by Google

H

NAMES OF BOOKS.	DONORS.
Harp Music, Collection of (French) . .	Mr C. Fergusson
Heart of Midlothian, Illustrations from (1873)	Miss Fraser, North Berwick
Hebrides, History of. J. Walker, D.D. (1812) (2 vols.)	Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch
Hermit, The, in Edinburgh (1824) . .	Dr Cameron, Liverpool
Highland Clans, Language, Poetry, and Music of. Lieut. D. Campbell (1862)	Mr J. Murdoch
Highlander, The. May 1873 to May 1874	Dr Cameron, Liverpool
Highlanders, Sketches of. Stuart of Garth (1822) (2 vols.) . . .	Col. Mackenzie of Parkmount
Highlanders, The, of Scotland. W. F. Skene (1836)	The Editor Alex. Macbain, M.A., LL.D.
Highlands, Letters from the. Robert Somers (1848) . . .	Mr John Murdoch
Historia Scotiae. Buchanan (1762). .	Mr William Mackay
Historie de Gil Blas, De Santillane (French) (1831)	Mr Chas. Fergusson
Hymns, Spiritual (Gaelic). D. Dewar (1806)	

I

Inscriptions The Vernacular, of the Ancient Kingdom of Alban. W. B. Nicolson, M.A. (1890) . . .	The Author
Inverness Kirk-Session Records . .	The Editor Mr Alex. Mitchell, Inverness
Iona, The Family of, and other Poems (1850)	
Ireland, Ecclesiastical History of. Right Rev. P. J. Carew (1838) . . .	Mr Wm. Mackay
Irish Texts Society. Volumes I., II., and III. (1899-1900)	The Society
Iron Smelting in Sutherland, Notes on. D. W. Kemp (1887). . . .	The Author
Islay, Sketches of. William Macdonald, A.M., M.D., and John Murdoch (1850)	Mr John Murdoch

Digitized by Google

L

NAMES OF BOOKS.	DONORS.
Leabhar an Dara nan Sgoilean Gàidhealach (1826)	
Leabhar an Treas nan Sgoilean Gàidhealach (1837)	
Leabhar nan Sonn. Alex. Fraser, Toronto (1897)	The Author
Legend of Montrose, Illustrations from (1877)	Miss Fraser, N. Berwick
Lexicon, Greek and English (1831)	Mr Chas. Fergusson
Lighting, Artificial, Address on. D. Bruce, Peebles, F.R.S.C. (1888)	D. W. Kemp, Esq.
Literature of the Celts (Dr Magnus Maclean)	The Publishers Messrs Blackie & Son, Edinburgh

M

Mackay's Regiment, History of. J. Mackay, late of Herrisdale	J. Mackay, Hereford
Mackenzies, History and Genealogies of. A. Mackenzie (2nd edition) (1894)	The Author
Man, Manual of the Antiquity of. J. P. Maclean, Cincinnatti (1887)	
Mastodon, Mammoth and Man. J. P. Maclean, Cincinnatti (1880)	
Melodies and Original Poems, etc. Donald Macpherson (1824)	Mr J. Craigie, Dundee
Moore's Melodies, Irish (Tr.) Rev. John MacHale (1871)	Canon Bourke
Mound Builders, The. J. P. Maclean, Cincinnatti (1887)	
Mountain Heath, The. Poems and Songs. David Macdonald, Inverness (1838)	A. H. F. Cameron, Esq. of Lakefield
Music, Collection of. J. Anderson, Inverness (1808) (MS.)	Dr Cameron, Worcester
Music, Highland, Collection of. Capt. S. Fraser of Knockie's (new edition, 1874)	Mr Mackenzie, Bank Lane, Inverness

O

Obscure Words in Shakespeare, Glossary of. Dr C. Mackay (1887)	Mr J. Mackay, Hereford
Oireachtas, The Proceedings of (1897)	

Digitized by Google

NAMES OF BOOKS.	DONORS.
Orain Ghaidhealach. Donnachadh Mac-an-t-Saoir (1804)	Maclachlan & Stewart
Orain Ghàidhealach. Raonall MacDhomhnuill (Turner's Edition) (1809) (2 copies)	F. C. Buchanan, Helensburgh
Oranaiche, "An t-Oranaiche." (Collection) (1879). A. Sinclair.	The Compiler
Oranaiche Nuadh Ghàidhealach. Alasdair MacDhomhnuill (1759) - - -	
Oratio Dominica, in various languages (1715)	Mr J. Mackay, Hereford
Ossian, Dain Osiein Mhic Fhinn (1818) (2 copies)	Col. Mackenzie of Parkmount
Ossian, Dain Oisein Mhic Fhinn (1859) (Maclachlan's Edition) (2 copies) .	Maclachlan & Stewart, and Mr L. Macbean
Ossian's Poems. J. Smith, D.D., Campbelton (2 copies) (1787)	Colonel Mackenzie of Parkmount and Mr L. Macbean
Do. (Macpherson's). Mr L. Macbean	
Do. 1 Volume, with Dissertations by Dr Blair (1809). . .	
Do. Report on, Highland Society Committee (1809) . .	Col. Mackenzie of Parkmount
Do. Illustrations from, Paolo Priolo, (1873)	Purchased

P

Pedigrees, Irish. John O'Hart (1876) .	The Author
Pentateuch, The first two books of (Irish). (1820)	Canon Bourke
Piobaireachd, MacCrimmon's (Collection). Macleod of Gesto (1828) . . .	Rev. Alex. Macgregor
Picts and Scots, Chronicles of. Skene .	Sir K. S. Mackenzie of Gairloch
Pococke's Tour in Scotland. Scottish History Society	D. W. Kemp, Esq.
Poems, Collection of. Vols. ii. & iii. (1763)	Mr D. Mackintosh
Poems, Death of Cuchullin, etc. (Wodrow) (1769)	Mr A. Kennedy
Poems, Gaelic (Collection). P. Macfarlane (1813)	Miss Hood
Poems, Gaelic and English. Mary Mackellar (1880)	The Authoress.
Poems, Struan's	Mr A. Kennedy

Digitized by Google

NAMES OF BOOKS.	DONORS.
Poems of Ossian in the original Gaelic, with a literal translation into Latin (Robert Macfarlane, A.M.). 3 vols.	Colonel Hugh Mackenzie Author
Poetical Works. Alex. Macdonald (1839)	Mr J. Craigie, Dundee
Prayer Book, English Church, Gaelic (1819)	Rev. A. Macgregor
Presbytery Records, Inverness and Dingwall (1643-1648). Edited by Mr Wm. Mackay, Inverness . . .	The Editor
Psalm Book, The, and Shorter Catechism, Gaelic (old) (1783)	
Psalms, The, and Shorter Catechism, Gaelic (old)	Mr J. Craigie, Dundee
Psalms of David, Gaelic (edition 1659) .	
Psalms of David in Irish (1836) (2 copies)	Rev. A. Macgregor (1 copy)
Psalms, Scottish Metrical. J. W. Macmeeken (1872).	Mr J. Fraser, Glasgow

R

Rathad Dhé gu Sìth (tr.). H. Bonar, D.D. (1865)	
Reay Fencibles, The. John Mackay (1890)	Mr J. Mackay, Hereford
Red-Gauntlet, Illustrations from. (1875-6)	Miss Fraser, N. Berwick
Reliquiæ Celticæ. Dr Cameron. Edited by Dr A. Macbain, M.A., and Rev. J. Kennedy (1894)	The Editors
Royal Dublin Society, Economic Proceedings of. November (1889) . .	The Society
Royal Dublin Society, The Proceedings of. June 1886 to Sept. 1901 (incomplete)	The Society
Royal Dublin Society, The Transactions of. April 1888 to October 1901 . .	The Society
Royal Irish Academy, Proceedings of. Volumes i. to No. 4 of Volume v. .	The Publishers
Royal Irish Academy (Todd Lecture Series). Vols. i. to vii., 1870 to 1891 (incomplete)	The Publishers
Royal Society of Antiquaries and Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland	The Publishers

Digitized by Google

S

NAMES OF BOOKS.	DONORS.
Scotland, History of. Vols. i. to viii. (with Index). John Hill Burton (1876) .	L. Macdonald of Skeabost
Scotland, Place Names of. J. B. Johnston (1892)	Mr W. A. G. Brodie
Scots Magazine, The. Vol. xix. (1767) .	Mr A. Macbean
Scottish Geographical Magazine. From Jan. 1890 to date	The Royal Scottish Geographical Society
Scottish Story, The Book of. (1884) .	Mr A. Burgess, Gairloch
Seafield, In Memoriam of Ian Charles, VIII. Earl of. (1884). . . .	The Dowager-Countess of Seafield
Searmona Eobhann. MacDiarmid (1804) (2 copies)	Mr J. Craigie, Dundee and Mr Colin Maccallum
Sermons, Gaelic (M.S.) H. MacDiarmid. Volume i. (1772-1773) . . .	Rev. A. Macgregor
Sermons in Gaelic (tr.) Dr Blair (1812).	Mr J. Craigie, Dundee
Sermons, O'Gallagher's, (Irish Gaelic), etc. Rev Canon U. J. Bourke (tr.) (1877)	Mr J. Mackay, Hereford
Shaw, Highland Families of. A. Mackintosh Shaw (1877)	The Author
Skye Crofters, The Past and Present Condition of. L. Macdonald (1886).	L. Macdonald of Skeabost
Skye, History and Traditions of. Cameron (1871)	Mr John Murdoch
Songs of the Highlands, Gaelic, with English translation set to music, with piano accompaniment	The Publishers Messrs Logan & Coy., Church St., Inverness
Songs and Poems, Gaelic. William Ross. (Second Edition) (1834) . . .	Maclachlan & Stewart
Songs and Poems. Robert Mackay (Rob Donn) (1829). (Dr Mackintosh's Edition)	Mr J. Craigie, Dundee
Songs, Spiritual. Gaelic and English. D. Grant (1862)	ditto
St Columba, Life of. Dr Smith (1798) .	ditto
St James's Magazine. (April to July, 1861)	Mr Wm. Mackay, bookseller, Inverness
St John, The Gospel of (Latin). Hamiltonian System (1804) . . .	Mr Chas. Fergusson
Statistics, Lands of Inverness, Ross, and Cromarty. H. C. Fraser (1871) .	The Author

Digitized by Google

NAMES OF BOOKS.	DONORS.
Stuart Papers, Correspondence. Vol. i. (1847)	Mr A. Burgess, Gairloch
Stuart, Relics of the Royal House of. Gibb & Skelton (1890)	Mr J. Mackay, Hereford
Sutherland Papers, The. Edited by Donald Macleod, M.A. (1888)	

T

Teachdaire, "An Teachdaire Gàidhealach" (2 copies). Dr Norman Macleod (1830)	Col. Mackenzie of Parkmount and Mr J. Murdoch
Testament, Greek	Mr Chas. Fergusson
Testament Gaelic (1800)	Mr L. Macbean
Testament Old Irish (1685) (Bedel).	Mr Paul Cameron, Blair-Atholl
Testament, Irish (1828)	Dr Cameron, Worcester
Tradition, The Testimony of. David Macritchie (1890)	The Author
Tour through Great Britain, Diary of. Wm. Macritchie (1897)	
Tour in the Highlands (Dr Johnson's Remarks on). Rev. D. Macnicol (1852)	Mr John Murdoch

U

Uist, "The Uist Collection." Poems and Songs (Gaelic). Rev. Arch. Macdonald (1894)	The Editor
Unconverted, Call to the, (Gaelic). Bunyar	
Urquhart and Glenmoriston. Mr William Mackay (1893)	The Author

V

Valuation Roll of Counties of Inverness and Ross (2 volumes) (1869-70, 1871-72)	Mr Chas. Fergusson
Vocabulary, English and Welsh. Thos. Evans (1804)	

Digitized by Google

W

NAMES OF BOOKS.	DONORS.
Wales, The Proverbs of. T. R. Roberts (1885) (2 volumes)	Mr J. Mackay, Hereford
Waverley, Illustrations from (1865) .	Miss Fraser, North Berwick
West Highlands, Popular Tales of. J. F. Campbell (3 volumes) (1860-1862) .	Mr Alex. Mackenzie

---

PAMPHLETS, &c., &c.

A

Abstinence Defended. Dr F. R. Lees, F.S.A., and John Fordyce, M.A. (1879)	
Abstract of Accounts, Parochial Board of Boleskine and Abertarff (1880). .	
Amadain agus Oinsichean. Mr D. Macleod, M.D. (1901)	The Author
Answer, Form of Libel before Presbytery of Aberdeen. Professor Robertson Smith (1878) (several copies) . .	
Apocalypse, The, Unveiled. Mr Wm. Gow (1888)	

B

Bodleian Library, Donations to the, year ending Nov., 1873	

C

Caledona Anthologie. The Eight Caledonian Dialects (1862) . . .	
Caraid a' Ghàidheil—Discourse. Rev. N. Macleod, D.D. (1865) . . .	Mr John Murdoch
Celtic Language and Dialects. An Englishman, B D. (1867)	Canon Bourke
Celtic Tongue, Philological uses of. Prof. W. D. Geddes (1872-1831) . .	Mr D. Maciver and the Author
Church of Scotland Assembly Papers—	

Digitized by Google

NAMES OF BOOKS.	DONORS.
(The Poolewe Case) (1880) . .	Mr W. Mackenzie
Clan Chattan, Notes on the Names of. John Macpherson, Esq., M.D. (1874).	The Author
Co-Operative Farming in New Zealand. James Hayes, Esq., C.E. (1872) .	Mr John Murdoch
D	
Dotair Bàn, An. Mr D. Macleod, M.B., of Beverley (1899)	The Author
Duan Gàidhilg le "Ughdair Tagraidh nan Gàidheal" (1859)	
E	
Earail do dh' Oigridh na Gàidhealtachd (Gàidhlig)	
G	
Gaelic Songs (Old). Mr Colin Chisholm, Inverness	The Collector
Game Laws, The. R. G. Tolmie, Esq. (1871)	Mr W. Mackay
H	
Hebrew Language, Gaelic Elements of. J. P. Maclean, Cincinnatti . .	
Highland Echo, The. March 10th, 1877, to Feb. 2nd, 1878 (2 Sets) . .	Purchased
Highland Garb, The. J. G. Mackay (1878)	
Highlander, The. August, 1881, to January, 1882 (complete) . .	Purchased
Historical Characteristics of the Celtic race (Sir William Geddes, Aberdeen University)	Lady Geddes, Aberdeen
I	
Inscriptiones Latines de L'Irelande. M. H. Gaidoz (1878)	
Islay, Review of Eight Days in. The Islay Association	Mr John Murdoch

Digitized by Google

K

NAMES OF BOOKS.	DONORS.
Kelto-Saxon. J. P. Maclean, Cincinnatti (1887)	Mr John Murdoch
Kilchonan People Vindicated. Islay Association (1867)	ditto

L

Language of Ireland, Review of. M. E. Murtagh (1870)	Mr John Murdoch
Lecture, Highland History. Mr W. Livingston (1860)	ditto

M

Mac Talla, 1896 to 1899 . . .	Mr W. Mackay, Inverness

P

Philological Society, Action and Time in the Irish Verb. Professor Strachan.	The Author
Do. Deponent Verb in Irish. Professor Strachan	ditto
Do. Sigmatic Future and Subjunctive in Irish. Professor Strachan	ditto
Pioneer, May 1875 to May 1876 (incomplete)	
Primitive Christianity in Scotland. Mr W. Livingston (1859) . . .	
Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (3 issues) . . .	

R

Regalia, The Scottish, Essay . . .	Mr John Murdoch
Religion des Gaulios. H. Gaidoz (1879).	

S

Scoto-Celtic Philology, Some Helps in. Lord Neaves, LL.D., F.R.S.E. (1872)	The Author
Scots Charitable Society of Boston (1878)	Mr John Mackay (Ben Reay)

Digitized by Google

NAMES OF BOOKS.	DONORS.
Searmoinaibh leis an Urramach. Dr Deòrach, Glasco	Maclachlan & Stewart
Sermon, by C. H. Spurgeon (Sept. 1883).	
Do. by Edmund Kell, M.A., F.S.A. (1857)	
Do. (Highland Clearances). Rev. E. J. Findlater, M.A. (1885) .	
T	
Trees, Shrubs, Plants, &c., Gaelic Names of. Mr C. Fergusson (1878) . .	The Author
U	
Urquhart, The Glen and Royal Castle of. Mr W. Mackay (1878) . . .	The Author
W	
Worcester Diocesan, Architectural and Archæological Society . . .	Dr Cameron, Worcester

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
3 9015 06905 7795

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google